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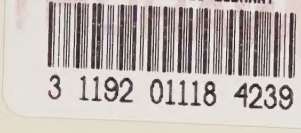

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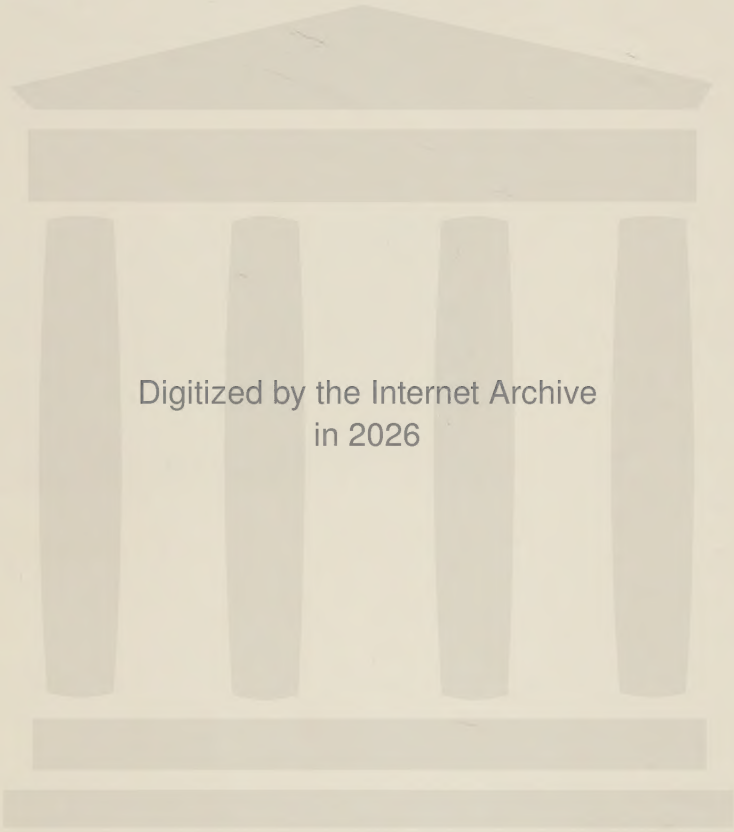
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THE SCOTCH-IRISH

OR

HE SCOT IN NORTH BRITAIN, NORTH IRELAND, AND NORTH AMERICA

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VOLUME II

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The Knickerbocker Press
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CONTENTS

APTER		PAGE
I	The American Union	1
II	Seventeenth-Century Emigration from Scotland and Ulster	6
III	The Seaboard Colonies	14
IV	Pennsylvania	60
V	The Settlements Enumerated	94

APPENDIXES:

A	James Wilson and the Convention of 1787	133
B	Pennsylvania's Formative Influence upon Federal Institutions	136
C	Andrew Hamilton's Argument for Liberty of Speech in America	138
D	Francis Makemie's Argument for Religious Liberty in America	150
E	Parliamentary Examination of Joseph Galloway, March, 1779	154
F	Separation of Church and State in America Brought about by the Scotch-Irish of Virginia	157
G	Christianity in Early Britain	162
H	Henry VIII's Reformation and Church	167
I	Scotland vs. the Divine Right of Kings	169
J	The Repression of Trade in Ireland	172
K	The Test Act, etc.	175
L	Tithes and Oppressions in Ulster	177
M	The Scotch-Irish and the Revolution	181
N	Notes on the Genealogies of the Presidents	185
O	Extracts from the Irish Annalists	192

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PAGE

P—Extracts from the Norse Sagas 204
Q—The Ragman Roll 213
R—The Scottish Martyrs 237
S—The Montgomery Manuscripts 272
The Hamilton Manuscripts 308
T—Conditions of the Ulster Plantation 340
U—The Adair Manuscript 345
V—Early Presbyterian Congregations in Ireland . . . 371
W—Family Names in Scotland 384
X—Families of Scotland 422
Y—Scottish Dignitaries and Members of the Scottish Parliaments 440
Z—Locations of Scottish Families in Ireland . . . 518

Scotch-Irish Bibliography 531

Index to the Two Volumes 553

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

THE AMERICAN UNION

TO the thoughtful student of American history in its entirety, one of the most interesting aspects of the subject comes from its consideration in connection with the part performed by the Scotch-Irish in helping to unite the thirteen original colonies. Although sometimes ignored, one important fact needs to be realized before we can properly estimate the forces and influences which operated to bring about and perpetuate this union. This fact, which relates peculiarly to the people whose genesis and development have now been passed in review is, that, prior to the Revolution, no other one people, of uniform race, customs, religion, and political principles, made such extensive settlements in so many of the thirteen American colonies as did the Scotch and Scotch-Irish.

While it is true that New England, Pennsylvania, and Virginia were all originally settled by emigrants from different parts of England, yet the three English populations of those colonies probably differed more, one from another, in all things but a common language, than did the majority of them from the Scotch-Irish. In New England the English settlers were Puritans, individualists, and republicans—in principles the exact opposites of the English in Virginia and Carolina, who were Episcopalians, Royalists, and upholders of a slaveholding aristocracy. However, neither differed more from one another than both differed from the English of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, who were Quakers, persecuted in New England and Virginia alike, and themselves the only considerable body of English settlers in America who consistently followed their professions of religious tolerance. In Maryland, the English Cavaliers were of the Romish and Episcopal faiths, both practically united when it came to the question of driving Puritans and other dissenters from that colony. Indeed, the settlement of the English along the Atlantic seaboard in three widely separated colonies, under different laws, religions, and systems of government was chiefly due to the fact that their component elements were so radically different from and irreconcilable with one another, that at first they could not be combined.

The Puritans would not admit the Quakers to breathe the same air with

themselves; they endeavored to prevent the formation of Presbyterian congregations in their own communities by misrepresentation, abuse, and the destruction of church property; they hated the Cavaliers quite as much as they themselves were despised and reviled by the latter. The ruling sect in Virginia persecuted and imprisoned the Quakers and Baptists, and unjustly treated the Presbyterians. The Germans settled chiefly in Pennsylvania and Western Maryland; the Dutch in New York. The Welsh and the Huguenots were scattered over many of the colonies, but with few strong or distinctive settlements of their own in any.

But the position of the Scotch-Irish in the New World was peculiar. They alone, of the various races in America were present in sufficient numbers in all of the colonies to make their influence count; and they alone of all the races had one uniform religion; had experienced together the persecutions by State and Church which had deprived them at home of their civil and religious liberties; and were the common heirs to those principles of freedom and democracy which had been developed in Scotland as nowhere else. At the time of the American Revolution, there were nearly seventy communities of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish in New England, including Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut; from thirty to forty in New York; fifty to sixty in New Jersey; over one hundred and thirty in Pennsylvania and Delaware; more than a hundred in Virginia, Maryland, and Eastern Tennessee; upwards of fifty in North Carolina; and about seventy in South Carolina and Georgia: in all, above five hundred settlements (exclusive of the English Presbyterian congregations in New York and New Jersey), scattered over practically all the American colonies. Their system of worship in every one of these communities was uniform with that of the Scottish Church, one incident of which was a representative form of church government. Under this system, in each of the different colonies the ministers and elders of neighboring congregations were united together as presbyteries, and were accustomed to hold quarterly meetings, which passed in rotation from one settlement to another. More than fifty years before the Revolution, nearly all the presbyteries in the country were combined together into one general synod (divided from 1741 to 1759) which held annual meetings, usually at Philadelphia, for the primary purpose of transacting such business as was of general interest to all the churches composing the body, or passing upon such particular cases of discipline, morals, or church government as might be referred to it by any one of the component presbyteries. These annual assemblies or conventions, attended at times by representatives from congregations all over the country, unquestionably must have had the effect of preserving and developing that spirit of solidarity which had been natural to the Scots in Ireland. Thus primarily established on national lines, their church broadened and received new elements from outside sources, particularly from the Dutch and English of New Jersey and New York. The influence of its annual

conventions also gradually extended, thereby increasing the spirit of unity and identity of interest wherever it became felt.

In this germ of a national union, even though at first limited to matters of religion alone, the position of the Scotch-Irish in the American colonies was unique. No other element of the population had or could have any organization like it; because no other one element was diffused in such strength throughout the various provinces.

Bearing these things in mind, therefore, we must realize that here is a most important phase in our evolution as a nation; and one that has been usually overlooked or ignored by writers on American history. While it would be absurd to claim for the Presbyterian Church any superior credit for the part it took as a religious organization in the events which led to the Declaration of Independence, it cannot be gainsaid, in view of the conditions just stated, that with the Scotch-Irish in America, and with that element alone, the idea of national unity first took tangible form. Hence we can perceive the essential justness of the conclusion reached by Mr. John Adolphus in his *History of England from the Accession of King George III. to 1783* (London, 1802), when he says:

> The first effort toward a union of interest was made by the Presbyterians, who were eager in carrying into execution their favorite project of forming a synod. Their churches had hitherto remained unconnected with each other, and their union in synod had been considered so dangerous to the community that in 1725 it was prevented by the express interference of the lords-justices. Availing themselves, with great address, of the rising discontents, the convention of ministers and elders at Philadelphia enclosed in a circular letter to all the Presbyterian congregations in Pennsylvania the proposed articles of union. . . . In consequence of this letter, a union of all the congregations took place in Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties. A similar confederacy was established in all the southern provinces, in pursuance of similar letters written by their respective conventions. These measures ended in the establishment of an annual synod at Philadelphia [the Synod of Philadelphia held its first meeting in 1715] where all general affairs, political as well as religious, were debated and decided. From this synod orders and decrees were issued throughout America, and to them a ready and implicit obedience was paid.
>
> The discontented in New England recommended a union of Congregational [which were confined almost exclusively to New England] and Presbyterian interests [which covered New England and all the rest of the country besides]. A negotiation took place, which ended in the appointment of a permanent committee of correspondence, and powers to communicate and consult on all occasions with a similar committee established by the Congregational churches in New England.
>
> By this union a party was prepared to display their power by resistance, and the Stamp law presented itself as a favorable object of hostility.[1]

NOTE TO CHAPTER I

[1] See also *The American Historical Review*, vol. vi. pp. 498–507. The article to which reference is therein made as having been published in Gaine's *New York Gazette* for September 25, 1769, reads as follows:

NEW YORK, Sept. 6, 1769.

MR. GAINE:

I make no doubt but the "Famous Circular Letter and the Articles of a certain Society of Dissenters in this City" published in your *Gazette* of July 24, have, by this time, fallen into many Hands, and fully convinced every unbiased Reader of the malevolent Designs of that Society against the *Church of England*. But that other religious Societies may not be lulled into Security by imagining that the Rancour of Presbyterianism militates only against the Church, I now send you *another* Circular Letter and Articles, which were propagated some time ago, through Pennsylvania, in Order to bind the *covenanting Fraternity* into one firm *Fascine*, to oppose the Quakers, whom they *then* looked upon to be the only People who stood in the Way of that Superiority, Power, and Pre-eminence, which their Souls have so long yearned after. In Consequence hereof, these Children of Knox, both *legitimate* and *illegitimate*, *Old Side* and *New Side*, *Old Light*, *New Light*, and *No Light*, united into Body Politic, *growled* and *grunted*, *printed* and *preached*, *prayed* and *prophesied*, till *Disappointment stared them in the Face*, and convinced them at last, that the most sanguine Expectations are liable to be frustrated. Soon after this, when every Attempt to *crush* the Quakers had failed, a principal Leader of the Junto (for there is a *Junto* even in *Pennsylvania*) and one of the Signers of the following Articles, wrote thus to his Friend, "We are determined in a few Months to be at as great Variance with Churchmen as ever we were with the Quakers: And for this Purpose *salutary* Steps are now taking to get the Whole Presbyterian Interest, on the Continent, more firmly united."

N. B. This letter was wrote in the Year 1766 long before Dr. Chandler's *wicked* Appeal came into the World to torment *Whigs* and *Centinels*, *Ramchickens* and Authors.

Now, is it possible, after all this, that any thinking Man can be made to believe that this *Appeal* (as has been pretended) *provoked* the Presbyterians to the late ungenerous Attacks against Episcopacy and the Church, when it appears evident that those Attacks were so early planned and meditated? Or, that a *general* Regard for *religious Liberty* hath influenced their Conduct when that Conduct manifestly proves that their Scheme hath been, not only to break the Church of England in *Pieces*, but every other Denomination of Christians, who might obstruct their ambitious Views; and to erect a Fabrick of their own upon their Ruins? If there be really any Person who does not believe that this has been their Aim, I must conclude, that he "*would not be persuaded tho' one rose from the Dead.*"

The Circular Letter and Articles of "Some Gentlemen of the Presbyterian Denomination" in the Province of Pennsylvania:

PHILADELPHIA, March 24, 1764.

SIR,

The Want of Union and Harmony among those of the Presbyterian Denomination has been long observed, and greatly lamented by every public spirited Person of our Society. Notwithstanding we are so numerous in the Province of Pennsylvania, we are considered as *Nobody*, Body of very little Weight and Consequence; so that any Incroachments upon our essential and Charter Privileges may be made by evil-minded Persons, who think they have little to fear from any Opposition that can be made to their Measures by us. Nay some Denominations openly insult us as acting without Plan or Design, quarrelling with one another, and seldom uniting together, even to promote the most *salutary* Purposes; And hence they take Occasion to misrepresent and asperse the whole Body of Presbyterians, on the Account of the indiscreet Conduct of Individuals, belonging to us. It is greatly to be wished that we could devise some Plan that would cut off even the least Ground for such

Aspersion—that would enable us to prevent the *bad Conduct* of our *Members;* and that would have a Tendency to unite us more closely together; so that when there may be a Necessity to *act as a Body*, we may be able to do it whenever we may be called to defend our civil or religious Liberties and Privileges which we enjoy, or *to obtain any of which we may be abridged.*

A Number of Gentlemen in this City, in Conjunction with Clergymen of *our* Denomination here, have thought that the enclosed Plan may be subserviant to this desirable Purpose, if it be heartily adopted and prosecuted by our Brethren in this Province, and three Lower Counties; and in this View we beg Leave to recommend it to you. It cannot possibly do any *Hurt* to us, and it will, beyond Doubt, make us a *more respectable Body*. We therefore cannot but promise ourselves your hearty Concurrence from your known public Spirit and Desire to assist any Thing that may have a Tendency to promote the Union and Welfare of *Society* and the general Good of the Community to which we belong.

We are, Your's &c.

THE PLAN OR ARTICLES.

Some Gentlemen of the Presbyterian Denomination, having seriously considered the Necessity of a more close Union *among ourselves*, in order to enable us to *act as a Body*, with Unanimity and Harmony, &c. have unanimously adopted the following Plan, viz.:

I. That a few Gentlemen in the City of Philadelphia, with the Ministers of the Presbyterian Denomination there, be chosen to correspond with *their Friends* in different Parts, to give and receive Advices, and to consult what Things may have a Tendency to promote our Union and Welfare, either as a Body, or as we are connected together in particular Congregations, as far as it will consist with our Duty to the best of Kings, and our Subjection to the Laws of Government.

II. That a Number of the most prudent and public spirited Persons in each District in the Province and three Lower Counties, be chosen with the Ministers in said Districts, to correspond in like Manner with one another, and with the Gentlemen appointed for this Purpose in Philadelphia. . . . Or,

III. That the same be done in each Congregation or District where there is no Minister, a neighbouring Minister meeting with them as oft as is convenient and necessary.

IV. That a Person or Persons shall be appointed in each Committee, thus formed, who shall sign a Letter in the Name of the Committee, and to whom Letters shall be directed; who shall call the Committee together, and communicate to them what Advice is received, that they may consult together what is best to be done.

V. That one or more Members be sent by the Committees in each County and District yearly, or half yearly, to a general Meeting of the whole Body, to consult together what is necessary for the *Advantage of the Body*, and to give their Advice in any Affairs that relate to particular Congregations; and that one stated Meeting of said Delegates be on the last Tuesday of August yearly.

VI. That the Place of General Meeting be at Phila. or Lancaster, on the last Tuesday of August, 1764.

VII. That each Committee, transmit to the Committee in Philadelphia, their Names and *Numbers* with what Alterations may at any Time be made in them.

VIII. That the Committee in Town consist of the Ministers of the Presbyterian Denomination in this City, and Mr. *Treat*, together with Messrs. *Samuel Smith, Alexander Huston, George Brian, John Allen, William Allison, Hugh Williamson, Thomas Montgomery, Andrew Hodge, John Redman, Jedediah Snowden, Robert Harris, Thomas Smith, Samuel Purviance, John Mease, Hugh M'Cullough, Peter Chavalier, Jun., Isaac Smith, Charles Pettit, William Henry, William Humphreys, John Wallace, John M'Pherson, John Bayard, John Wikoff, Samuel Purviance, Jun., William Rush.*

CHAPTER II

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EMIGRATION FROM SCOTLAND AND ULSTER

THE history of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish settlements in America during the eighteenth century is too extensive to be covered by a work like the present one. These settlements were so numerous that their records alone, incomplete as they are, which have already been collected and formulated by the writer for future publication, will fill many volumes. In the arrangement of this material, the early records of each community where the Scottish people largely settled have been collated in connection with the history of the Presbyterian Church of that community — each one of which churches marked a centre of settlement. Such an arrangement is necessary from the fact that in no other way can the history of the Scotch-Irish in America be rightly viewed or understood. In the ensuing chapters it is proposed to give some lists of their chief settlements.

The annals of the actual emigration from Ulster to America are very meagre and imperfect. Few records have been preserved of the departure of vessels from ports in Scotland or Ireland prior to the present century, and such incomplete lists of passengers as have come down to us owe their preservation rather to accident than design. In the case of exiled prisoners, transplanted for rebellion, or banished during seasons of religious persecution, Hotten's *List of Emigrants to America from 1600 to 1700*, contains the names of many of Scottish blood who were first sent to Barbadoes or the Bermudas, and afterwards found their way to the English settlements on the continent.

The Rev. George Keith, a Scotchman, was the first dissenting minister in the Bermudas, having gone there in 1612, with the first governor of the islands, Richard Moore. He also served as the governor's chief counsellor. Keith removed to Virginia in 1617, and settled at Elizabeth City.

In 1623, George Stirke, a Scottish Puritan, removed to Bermuda, where he served as pastor until his death in 1636 or 1637. In 1626, Patrick Copeland, another Scottish minister, also settled on the island. The presence of these ministers at Bermuda leads us to infer that there must have been a large Scottish element in the population there, and a study of the early lists of emigrants shows such to have been the case.

Two or more shiploads of Scottish prisoners were sent to New England by Oliver Cromwell, after the battle of Dunbar. One of these vessels, the *John and Sarah*, reached Boston in the early part of the year 1652. A list of its passengers may be found in the Suffolk *Deed Records*, Book I., pages 5 and 6, and also in Drake's *Founders of New England*, where the names of some two hundred and fifty are given.

MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA

The Rev. Matthew Hill, a Presbyterian minister (first settled over a Scottish and English congregation at Patuxent, Maryland), writing to Richard Baxter from Charles county, Maryland, April 13, 1669, states that "there are many here of the reformed religion, who have a long while lived as sheep without a shepherd, though last year brought in a young man from Ireland, who hath already had good success in his work." Concerning the early congregations in Maryland, very little is known beyond the fact that about 1670, Colonel Ninian Beall emigrated to that colony, settling between the Potomac and the Patuxent. During the next twenty years he induced a number of his friends in Scotland (most accounts place the number at about two hundred) to join him. They founded the Presbyterian congregation of Upper Marlborough, which was first under the care of Rev. Nathaniel Taylor. Some Scottish Presbyterians were also settled near Norfolk, Virginia, on the eastern branch of the Elizabeth River before 1680. They seem to have been numerous enough to form a congregation, as they had secured a minister from Ireland. His name is not known at this day; but there is some reason for believing it to have been William Traill, who emigrated in 1682–83, and returned to Ireland after the Revolution. The Rev. Josias Mackie, son of Patrick Mackie of St. Johnstone, county Donegal, Ireland, ministered to the congregation on Elizabeth River from 1691 to 1716.

Many Scottish and Irish Presbyterians were also settled on the eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia, in Dorchester, Wicomico, Somerset, Worcester, and Accomac counties, and along the Pocomoke River, which divides Somerset county, Maryland, from Accomac county, Virginia. They were especially numerous in the vicinity of Snow Hill, Dorchester county, Maryland. To these people, Rev. Francis Makemie, of Ramelton, was sent by the Irish Presbytery of Lagan in 1683–84. He lived and labored among them for a number of years. Makemie was the pioneer Presbyterian missionary in the New World, his labors in that connection carrying him from Virginia to Connecticut, and he is properly regarded as the chief founder of the Presbyterian Church in America. Before 1690, there were four or more separate congregations in Somerset (which then included Worcester) county, Maryland, with meeting-houses at Snow Hill (1683), Pitt's Creek, Wicomico, Manokin, and Rehoboth.

NEW JERSEY

In the year 1682, James Drummond, Earl of Perth, John Drummond, Robert Barclay, Robert Gordon, Aaron Sonmans, Gawen Lawrie, Edward Byllinge, James Braine, William Gibson, Thomas Barker, Robert Turner, and Thomas Warne, mostly Scottish gentlemen of enterprise and means, acquired a proprietary interest in the Province of East New Jersey,

in association with William Penn and eleven other Quakers. In February, 1684, Gawen Lawrie, who had been appointed deputy governor of the Province, emigrated to New Jersey, and fixed his residence at Elizabeth. By him came from the proprietors the name of Perth (now Perth Amboy) for their new capital, in honor of James Drummond, Earl of Perth. Thereupon, a constant current of emigration set in from Scotland and Ireland to New Jersey. During the next hundred years such a large number of emigrants came from those countries as to give to the population of the colony a distinctively Scottish character. As a result, New Jersey has ever since remained one of the strongholds of Presbyterianism in America. Gawen Lawrie was succeeded as governor of the Province in 1686 by Lord Neill Campbell, who with upwards of fifty of his compatriots had been exiled from Scotland in consequence of the unfortunate termination of the Earl of Argyle's uprising in 1685. Another Scottish exile of this period, who sought a refuge in New Jersey, was George Scot, Laird of Pitlochie. For attending "conventicles," or open-air meetings of his church, he was repeatedly fined and imprisoned by the Scottish Council. Despairing finally of ever being allowed to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience in Scotland, he proposed in 1684, as a condition of his release, that he should emigrate "to the plantations," taking with him his wife's cousin, Archibald Riddell, one of the obnoxious Presbyterian preachers. Accordingly, in the summer of 1685, Scot was released, with upwards of one hundred of his fellow-prisoners, who had been confined for refusing to take the oath which acknowledged the king's supremacy in spiritual matters. They sailed from Leith September 5th, 1685, on the ship *Henry and Francis*, which Scot had chartered in May. During the voyage, a malignant fever broke out among the prisoners, and nearly half on board perished, Scot being among the number. The names of many of these exiles are given in Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, and reprinted in Whitehead's Histories of *Perth Amboy* and of *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*. Besides those banished persons who were given in charge of Scot, a number were directed under date of August 7, 1685, to be delivered to Robert Barclay (of Urie), governor of the Province, on condition that they should be transported to East New Jersey. A few of these after emigrating, settled in the vicinity of Perth Amboy, but the greater number removed to New England. Rev. David Simpson, a Scottish minister, was banished from Killean in 1685, and emigrated to New Jersey. Walter Ker, of Dalserf, Lanarkshire, was banished at the same time. He settled at Freehold, and was largely instrumental in organizing the Presbyterian church at that place, one of the earliest in New Jersey.

From this time on to the middle of the following century emigrants from Scotland and Ulster continued to come into New Jersey through Perth Amboy, New York, or the Delaware. They occupied much of the choice land along the Millstone, Raritan, and Passaic rivers, and made numerous

settlements in Monmouth, Middlesex, Union, Somerset, Hunterdon, Mercer, Morris, Warren, and Sussex counties, and some in southern and southwestern Jersey. After 1750, Princeton became the centre of their growth and influence, and has so remained until the present day.

CAROLINA

About the year 1683, a number of Scottish colonists emigrated from Ulster under the leadership of one Ferguson, and landed in South Carolina, mingling at once with the mass of inhabitants at Port Royal and Charleston.[1] A second Scottish colony was conducted into Carolina by Henry Erskine, Lord Cardross. He landed in 1683, and founded Stuartstown, probably so named in honor of his wife, who was a daughter of Sir James Stuart. Erskine had been in many ways a sufferer for resistance to oppression. His house had been entered by armed guards, and the chaplain of Lady Cardross seized and put to death. He had been mulcted in heavy fines, had been imprisoned under Lauderdale for nonconformity to Episcopacy and his maintenance of the Kirk of Scotland. For nonpayment of his fines he was outlawed, and his life-rents were escheated and given to his oppressor. His dwelling had been rifled and his estate wasted by the king's army while it lay at Stirling, the house being garrisoned for eight years by English soldiers. He determined, therefore, to seek freedom of conscience in America. A company of noblemen and gentlemen had entered into bonds with each other for making a settlement in Carolina. The subscribers were thirty-six in number, among them appearing the names of Callender, Cardross, Yester, Hume of Polwart, Cockburn, Douglas, Lockhart, Gilmour, and others. Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, and Sir George Campbell, towards the close of the year 1682, had applied to the king for his encouragement and protection in this scheme. The same commissioners had procured from the lords proprietors a county, consisting of thirty-two plats of twelve thousand acres each.[2] The fundamental constitutions of Carolina had been altered to secure to the Scots greater immunity from oppression. The place of settlement was to be the spot to which a former colony had been despatched from Great Britain — Port Royal. Among those who came with Cardross was Rev. William Dunlop, eldest son of Rev. Alexander Dunlop, of Paisley.

It had been expected that hundreds of emigrants would have been sent from Scotland to this colony of Port Royal, for the persecution consequent upon the rising of the West country, the skirmish at Drumclog, and the battle at Bothwell Bridge was raging fearfully. But most writers speak of the number who first came out with Lord Cardross as being small. "About ten families accompanied him," says Rivers, "among whose names were those of Hamilton, Montgomerie, and Dunlop." But Wodrow, a most veracious and exact historian, speaks of many others. Numbers were condemned by the Royal Commission at Glasgow—"a set," says Wodrow, "of the most

violent persecutors of that time." The grounds of condemnation were many: if they would not condemn the rising at Bothwell as rebellion; if any had attended conventicles or baptizings in the fields; if, though they themselves had attended at the prelatical churches, their wives had gone elsewhere. This last ground of condemnation had been referred to the king. "The king," says Bishop Burnet, "determined against the ladies; which was thought very indecent: for in dubious cases the nobleness of a prince's temper should always turn him to the merciful side. This was the less expected from the king, who all his life expressed as great a neglect of women's consciences, as esteem for their persons." The Council banished many to the plantations. The Privy Council May 27, 1684, ordered the Commissions of Glasgow and Dumfries, "to sentence and banish to the plantations in America such rebels as appear penitent, in the ship belonging to Walter Gibson, merchant, in Glasgow." "It is a knack peculiar, I think, to this period," says Wodrow, "to pretend kindness and grace in the greatest severities inflicted by them: namely, thus last year and this, the taking the Test was pretended to be a favor, and yet this country was forced into it, and now banishment to the plantations is another act of grace and favor to penitents, much the same with the *coup de grace* in France." "June 19th, Sir William Paterson, who had been West, upon the conventicles," reported to the Council that "two-and-twenty persons, prisoners in the Tolbooth of Glasgow, are now banished to the plantations in William Gibson's ship." At the same diet at Edinburgh, the lords sentenced four western Presbyterians to be transported to the plantations; and August 15th, about fifteen more were ordered to the same place. John Dick was banished to Carolina in June. "Some of his interrogatories and answers," says Wodrow, "deserve room here, he being a very sensible, knowing person. Being asked if it was lawful to bear arms, he answered he thought it lawful for the defence of religion,—that is, when people are oppressed for adhering to their principles, pressed to deny them, and killed for not denying them,—and for personal defence against robbers and murderers. He was further asked, 'But what if the king should carry on a course contrary to the Word of God, may he be opposed by arms?' He answered, 'He might, when no other means would prevail.' The bishop, or professor of divinity, he does not remember which, said, 'But I 'll make it plain to you from the Word of God, that though the king carry on a course contrary to Scripture, he ought not to be opposed.' John, interrupting him, said, 'The world will never do that, for it is setting Scripture against itself, and the like of that was never heard.' Then it was asked if he would kill one of the king's guards if he found them in the way. He answered, he was of no such murdering principles. They were very close upon him as to his praying for the king; and after many questions this way, they asked, 'Can you now pray for him?' He said, 'I can, as he hath a soul, and hath not sinned the unpardonable sin; but to pray for him as he is king, and for the prosperity of his courses, I cannot do.'"

"The original testimony of about two-and-twenty, who were banished to Carolina," says Wodrow, "is before me. They received their indictment, as they say in their paper, for not owning the king's supremacy (and indeed it was that, most of the country people meant, when they refused to own his authority), their declining to call Bothwell Bridge rebellion, and refusing to renounce the covenants. The names of the persons signing their joint testimony are James McClintock, John Buchanan, William Inglis, Gavin Black, Adam Allan, John Galt, Thomas Marshall, William Smith, Robert Urie, Thomas Bryce, John Syme, Hugh Syme, William Syme, John Alexander, John Marshal, Matthew Machen, John Paton, John Gibson, John Young, Arthur Cunningham, George Smith, and George Dowart." Wodrow supposes that it was in the same ship in which these persecuted men came out that Rev. William Dunlop transported himself. Captain James Gibson commanded the vessel, and is represented to have been very cruel to the poorer prisoners, who were about thirty-two in number. That these persecuted men were with Mr. Dunlop and Lord Cardross at Port Royal in 1686 is shown by the letter of Mrs. Dunlop, preserved in Wodrow, written September 2d of that year to her husband in America, in which she mentions that John Syme's wife had also written to her husband, then at Port Royal with Mr. Dunlop.

The settlement of the Scots at Port Royal was regarded with a narrow jealousy by the English colony at Charleston, and the settlers were treated with rudeness and contempt. The Grand Council of Charleston claimed jurisdiction over the territory granted to the Scots, and did not hesitate to exercise it, even over those to whom Lord Cardross had given land as settlers within his own colony. This and other matters of importance induced Lord Cardross to expostulate with the governor and Council, and bring to their recollection that both communities were under the same king and same lords proprietors; that it would not be to the true interest of either to allow jealousies to arise when they were already threatened by their Spanish and Indian neighbors. He desired that they deliver up the six guns lying at Charleston, and directed by the proprietors to be given them.[3] But his overtures were met with a rude repulse. The Grand Council was largely composed of members of the Established Church of England, to which a majority of the proprietors also belonged. They persisted in their claims, summoned Lord Cardross to appear before them, as if to answer for some high misdemeanor, and regarded his failure to appear as contempt. It was the expectation of the proprietors that the Scotch colony would have proved a barrier to the Spaniards on the south, and it was for this reason that the order had been given by them that the six pieces of cannon lying dismounted and useless at Charleston should be delivered up to Cardross.

The Spaniards, whose headquarters were at St. Augustine, viewed the British colonists as intruders. They claimed Florida both by the right of prior discovery and by a special grant from the Pope, and regarded the

southern Atlantic coast for an indefinite extent northward as included under their right. They encouraged indentured servants to leave their masters, and gave them protection; prejudiced the Indian tribes against their British neighbors, and instigated them to destroy the colonists. In 1686, while England and Spain were at peace, the Spaniards came to Carolina with three galleys. Effecting a landing at Edisto, they pillaged the houses of the governor and secretary, and carried off thirteen slaves. With them was a force of Indians and negroes. They then attacked the Scotch settlers of Stuartstown, who had but twenty-five men in health to oppose them, killed some, burned one alive, took others captive, whom they barbarously treated, and destroyed the entire colony. The fugitives escaped to Charleston.

In 1698, the enthusiasm of the Scottish people was aroused by the project of planting a New Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien. Three quarters of a million sterling had been subscribed for this enterprise. During the summer of that year twelve hundred men sailed from Leith, in five large vessels, arriving at Darien in September. Here they erected a fort, and remained for a few months, but soon fell into great distress from bad food and enervating disease produced by the tropical climate. Scores of them perished. After remaining at the settlement until June, 1699, the survivors went on board four of their ships, and left Darien. Of the four vessels, one was abandoned at sea; the *St. Andrew* got into Jamaica, having lost her captain and one hundred men; the *Caledonia* and *Unicorn* got into New York, having lost three hundred men. The Scots, being as yet ignorant of the misfortunes of their colony, sent an additional company of fifteen hundred men to Darien, in vessels inferior to the first. Two vessels preceded the rest, with recruits of men and provisions, having on board about three hundred persons. They reached Darien some eight weeks after the departure of the original colonists, and found nothing but waste and desolation. The provision ship, while in the harbor, took fire, and was consumed. This party, too, took to their remaining vessel, and abandoned the colony. Following them came the main body of the second colony, four vessels in all, the largest of which was the *Rising Sun.* This fleet brought about twelve hundred men. With them came Revs. Alexander Shields, Francis Borland, Alexander Dalgleish, and Archibald Stobo, sent at the request of the directors of the Company by the Commission of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. One of these ministers, Mr. Dalgleish, died at sea. A fourth party, under the leadership of Captain Campbell of Finab, joined the second colony after it had been settled some three months. These were people from his own estate, whom he had commanded in Flanders, and brought over in his own ship. He had no sooner landed than news came that a party of Spaniards, sixteen hundred strong, had marched against the Scots, and then lay encamped at Tubucantee, awaiting the arrival of their fleet of eleven vessels. The command being given to Captain Campbell, he marched with two hundred men, fell upon the Spanish camp at

night, and put the enemy to flight. Five days after his return, the Spanish fleet appeared off the coast, landed their troops, and laid siege to the settlement. After a siege of six weeks—the ammunition of the Scots being nearly expended, most of their officers dead, and their water-supply cut off—they capitulated with the honors of war, and agreed to depart from the Isthmus. They ultimately embarked for home in seven vessels, making their way first to the nearest British colonies. Of the seven vessels, only Captain Campbell's and one other reached Scotland. Great numbers died on the homeward passage, and of the entire colony not more than thirty, saved from pestilence, war, shipwreck, and famine, ever saw their native land again. Many settled in America. The Rev. Alexander Shields died in Jamaica. On board the *Rising Sun* malignant fevers prevailed, and many died. To complete their chapter of disasters, this vessel encountered a gale off the coast of Florida, which brought them into great distress. They made for the port of Charleston, under a jury-mast. Here the Rev. Archibald Stobo was waited upon by a deputation from the church in Charleston, and invited to preach at that place while the *Rising Sun* should be waiting for supplies. Accordingly, he left the vessel with his wife and a dozen other persons, and went ashore. The next day, while the vessel was lying off Charleston bar, waiting to be lightened that she might be got into port, a hurricane arose in which the ship went to pieces and all on board were drowned. Mr. Stobo settled permanently at Charleston, as minister of the Church of that place. One of the most noted of his living descendants is Theodore Roosevelt.[4]

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1] Chalmers's *Political Annals of Carolina*, p. 315.

[2] Wodrow, iii., 368, 369.

[3] See his letter from "Stuart's Towne, on Port Royall, ye 25th March, 1684," Rivers's *South Carolina*, p. 407.

[4] See *The History of Darien*, by Rev. Francis Borland (Glasgow, 1779); also Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, vol. ii., p. 590 (Charleston, 1809), and *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. iv., p. 711.

CHAPTER III

THE SEABOARD COLONIES

BEFORE the close of the seventeenth century, there were at least twelve Presbyterian churches established in America, the members of which, to a large extent, were of Scottish or Scotch-Irish birth or descent. Five of these churches were in Maryland—Manokin, Rehoboth, Snow Hill, and Wicomico, under the ministry of Francis Makemie, and Patuxent (which probably included Upper and Lower Marlborough and Bladensburg) under the ministry of Nathaniel Taylor; two were in Virginia—Accomac and Elizabeth River, the former ministered to by Makemie, and the latter (which included four separate preaching stations, located respectively on the Northern, Western, and Southern branches of Elizabeth River, and in Tanner's Creek precinct) under the ministry of Josias Mackie; two were in Delaware—Lewes, under the ministry of Samuel Davis, and Newcastle, under the ministry of John Wilson; one was in Pennsylvania—Philadelphia, under the ministry of Jedediah Andrews; one was in New Jersey—Freehold (now Tennent), founded by Walter Ker, and probably at first under the ministry of Samuel Shepard, of the Puritan church of Woodbridge; and one was in South Carolina—Charleston, under the ministry of Archibald Stobo.

During the first two decades of the eighteenth century the following additional Presbyterian churches were organized in the American colonies by emigrants from Scotland and Ulster:

In Delaware — Head of Christiana, Drawyers, Cedar Creek, Dover, Murderkill, White Clay Creek (or Lower Brandywine).

In Pennsylvania—Norriton, Great Valley, Abington, Upper Octorara.

In Maryland (just south of the Pennsylvania line)—Rock (or East Nottingham), and Lower Octorara (or Lower West Nottingham).

In South Carolina — Cainhoy, and probably James's Island, John's Island, Edisto, Bethel, and Wilton.

In New Hampshire—Londonderry.

In New Jersey — Hopewell, Maidenhead, Whippany, and, probably, Baskingridge and Bound Brook.

In New York—New York City.

Aside from these were a number of Puritan churches, organized on the Presbyterian plan by emigrants from New England on Long Island and in New Jersey.

The Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, the first in America, held its initial meeting September 17th, 1717. It was composed of the four presbyteries of Philadelphia (Pa.), Snow Hill (Md.), Newcastle (Del.), and Long Island (N. Y.). At the meeting of this Synod in the fall of 1720, there were

on its roll twenty-six ministers. Their names are given below, with the congregations to which they ministered at that time:

Daniel McGill—Patuxent, or Marlborough, Md. (the congregation chiefly Scotch and English).

Jedediah Andrews—Philadelphia, Pa. (Scotch, Welsh, and English).

George Gillespie—White Clay Creek, Del., including Red Clay Creek and Lower Brandywine, Del., and Elk River, Md. (Scotch-Irish).

David Evans—Great Valley, Pa. (Welsh and Scotch-Irish).

John Bradner—Cape May, N. J. (English, Dutch, and Scotch).

Robert Cross, Newcastle, Del. (Scotch-Irish).

Malachi Jones—Abington, Pa. (Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and Dutch).

Joseph Morgan—Freehold, N. J. (Scotch).

Jonathan Dickinson—Rahway, Westfield, Connecticut Farms, Springfield, and Chatham, N. J. (English, Dutch, and Scotch).

Henry Hook, Cohansey, N. J. (English, Dutch,and Scotch).

Samuel Young—Drawyers, Del., and Elk River, Md. (Scotch-Irish).

William Stewart—Manokin and Wicomico, Md. (Scotch-Irish and English).

John Clement—Pocomoke, Va. (English and Scotch).

James Anderson—New York City (chiefly Scotch and Scotch-Irish).

Joseph Webb—Newark, N. J. (English, Dutch, and Scotch).

John Orme—Upper Marlborough, Md. (Scotch and English).

Hugh Conn—Bladensburg, Md. (Scotch and English).

John Thomson—Lewes, Del. (Scotch-Irish and English).

John Hampton—Snow Hill, Md. (Scotch-Irish and English).

Samuel Pumry—Newtown, L. I. (English).

John Pierson—Woodbridge, N. J. (English and Scotch).

Samuel Gelston—Southampton, L. I. (English).

William Tennent—Bedford, N. Y. (English).

Samuel Davis—Without a charge.

George Phillips—Setauket, L. I. (English).

Joseph Lamb—Mattituck, L. I. (English).

The causes which led to the eighteenth-century emigration from Ulster to America have already been pointed out, and may be summarized as follows:

1. Religious persecution by the Episcopal authorities, of a nature most galling and outrageous; one incident being the loss of the rights of citizenship.

2. A system of unjust and unwise landlordism, which served to discourage thrift and enterprise.

3. Prohibitory discrimination against the trade and manufactures of Ulster in favor of those of England.

4. The enforced payment of tithes to the Episcopal clergy, to sustain a theocracy which the Presbyterians believed to be contrary to the laws of God, and knew to be destructive of their own rights and liberties.

These were substantially the causes assigned by the Derry and Antrim emigrants of 1718[1] as well as by the great body of those who left Ulster between 1720 and 1730.[2]

NEW ENGLAND

In November, 1713, three Irish Presbyterian ministers, the Rev. James Kirkpatrick, of Belfast, the Rev. John Abernethy, of Antrim, and the Rev. Francis Iredell, of Dublin, laid before the lord lieutenant of Ireland a representation of the state of their church, setting forth the grievances under which ministers and people were still suffering. They stated how discouraged they were by the frequent disappointment of their hopes of relief, and assured the vice-regent that "the melancholy apprehensions of these things have put several of them upon the thoughts of transplanting themselves into America, that they may there in a wilderness enjoy, by the blessing of God, that ease and quiet to their consciences, persons, and families which is denied them in their native country." About this time "the oppressed brethren from the North of Ireland," as Cotton Mather calls them, began to emigrate to New England.

Thomas Craighead and Samuel Gelston were among the first ministers thus self-banished. They both came to America in 1715. The former settled at Assonet (Freetown), Bristol County, Massachusetts, where he remained for eight years, removing thence to Pennsylvania. Mr. Gelston soon after his arrival in New England, proceeded to Delaware, and thence to Southampton, Long Island.

Craighead's nephew, the son of Rev. William Holmes, an Irish Presbyterian minister, visited New England about this time, or shortly afterwards, and returned to Ulster with a very favorable account of the country. He lived in the valley of the Bann, not far from Coleraine. In 1802, Mr. Robert Slade, Secretary to the Irish Society of London, visited that part of Ulster, and in the published report of his journey makes the following interesting statement in regard to the former inhabitants of this district. He says: "The road from Down Hill to Coleraine goes through the best part of the Clothworkers' proportion,[3] and was held by the right Hon. Richard Jackson [he was nominated for Parliament by the town of Coleraine in 1712], who was the Society's general agent. It is commonly reported in the country, that, having been obliged to raise the rent of his tenants very considerably, in consequence of the large fine he paid, it produced an almost total emigration of them to America, and that they formed a principal part of that undisciplined body which brought about the surrender of the British army at Saratoga." Holmes's account of America, coming at the time when Mr. Jackson's tenants were thus further burdened by an increase of rents, induced the greater part of them, comprising four or more Presbyterian congregations, to prepare for emigration to America. Accordingly, early in the year 1718, they sent the Rev. William Boyd, of Macasky, with an address

to Governor Samuel Shute, of Massachusetts, expressing a strong desire to remove to New England if he should afford them suitable encouragement.

They also employed Mr. Boyd to make all the necessary arrangements with the civil authority for their reception. This address was signed by three hundred and nineteen persons, and is printed in Parker's *History of Londonderry, New Hampshire*. Nine of the signers were ministers; three of the others were graduates of the University in Scotland; and all subscribed their own names but seven, who signed with their marks. A number had been among the defenders of Londonderry in 1689, and these, with their heirs, were freed by act of Parliament from taxation in British provinces. Later, in America, their descendants occupied what were known until the Revolution as "exempt farms." Their residence was in the valley of the Bann, mostly on the Antrim side of the river, in or near the towns or parishes of Coleraine, Ballymoney, Ballymena, Ballywatick, and Kilrea. William Boyd of Macasky was probably from the parish and town now called Macosquin, two and a half miles south of the city of Coleraine, county Londonderry. The Rev. James MacGregor accompanied a portion of his congregation from the village of Aghadowey, also south of Coleraine, and three or four miles beyond Macosquin. The Rev. William Holmes settled at Martha's Vineyard, Mass.

Mr. Boyd, receiving from Governor Shute the desired encouragement, so advised his friends in Ireland, who converted their property into money and embarked in five ships for New England.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

These emigrants reached Boston August 4, 1718, on which date they are referred to by a contemporary writer as "a parcel of Irish." There were probably from six to eight hundred persons. The emigrants fondly imagined they had come to a land of liberty, and would be permitted to worship God as their consciences dictated; but they were soon undeceived. On arriving in Massachusetts, they learned that newcomers would not be admitted to citizenship in any of the Puritan communities without first connecting themselves with the state church. This church, it is true, differed in many respects from that of episcopacy; but the two were alike in that feature which was most abhorrent to a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, namely, their purpose to make Presbyterians conform, or to "harry them out of the kingdom." Accordingly, few of the Scotch-Irish were permitted to remain in Boston. Governor Shute assured them of his willingness to permit them to settle on the frontier, and establish new communities of their own. The province of Massachusetts at that time had suffered from the incursions of the Indians, and its frontier line was in need of defenders. The governor therefore granted them a township right, covering an area twelve miles square, which they were privileged to occupy at such suitable place in the wilderness as they might select. They were also informed by Governor Shute that there was good land along Casco Bay,

where they might locate. Acting on this suggestion, some two to three hundred of the emigrants left Boston and went to Maine to found a settlement. They arrived there late in the fall, and wintered at Falmouth, now Portland. Several of the families had to remain on the ship all winter, and suffered much from the severity of the season. When spring came some of them determined to seek a settlement in a warmer and less exposed part of the Province. They left a few of their party in Portland, and probably a large number on the Kennebec, at or near Wiscasset. Sailing west, the others entered the Merrimac River, and came to Haverhill. Here they heard of a fine tract of unoccupied land in New Hampshire, about fifteen miles distant, called Nutfield, on account of the abundance of the chestnut, walnut, and butternut trees which grew in its forests. Having examined the place, they determined to settle there.

In the meantime, the main body of the emigrants had retired from Boston and passed the winter on the frontier at Dracut and Andover, waiting until a suitable tract of land for permanent settlement should be found. Those who had visited Nutfield returned to Haverhill for their families. They were soon joined by the greater part of their friends who had remained in Massachusetts; and their settlement was given the name of Londonderry, in honor of the city in Ulster which had been made famous by the bravery of their fathers.

Having thus the opportunity of dwelling unmolested in their own township, of controlling its civil matters, and with liberty of worship established, they soon became a thriving, prosperous, and influential community. In 1723, they built a house for their minister, the Rev. James MacGregor, and, the next year, a meeting-house. In six years they had four schools in the township, and within nine years of its first settlement, Londonderry paid one fifteenth of the State tax.

During the half-century preceding the Revolution, "ten distinct settlements," says Parker, "were made by colonists from Londonderry, all of which became towns of influence and importance in New Hampshire." Gen. John Stark, Horace Greeley, and Salmon P. Chase were among the descendants of the Londonderry colonists. Two strong townships in Vermont, one in Pennsylvania (Allen, Northampton county), and two in Nova Scotia (in Colchester county) were settled from the same source within the same time; besides which, numerous families, sometimes singly and sometimes in groups, went off in all directions, especially northward and westward, up the Connecticut River, and over the ridge of the Green Mountains, "to carry everywhere the sturdy qualities, the fixed opinions, and the lasting grudges characteristic of Scotch-Irishmen."

MASSACHUSETTS

The prejudice against the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians extended to every part of New England. In all towns where Presbyterians mingled with the

Puritans, they had to encounter many injustices, were viewed as intruders, and were compelled to support a form of church government and worship for which they had no affection. Consequently, if they obtained a peaceable settlement, and were not driven off or expelled, they were obliged to conform to the Puritan system of religion, under which the minister of the majority of the voters of a township was supported by a parish tax collected from all residents by civil authority. If, like the Scotch who were brought over in 1652, they had made no effort to organize Presbyterian churches, but assimilated themselves religiously with the majority in the community, the odium to which they were subjected would soon have been lost by intermarriages and the influence of other social relations.

That the prejudice in New England against the Scotch-Irish was not confined to individuals or to a few communities is shown by the action of the civil authorities in their treatment of these early emigrants to their shores. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay, in view of the settlement of a large number of the Presbyterians, resolved in 1720, that,

> Whereas, It appears that certain families recently arrived from Ireland, and others from this Province, have presumed to make a settlement . . . . , ordered, that the said people be warned to move off within the space of seven months and if they fail to do so, that they be prosecuted by the Attorney-General by suits of trespass and ejectment.

In his "Sketch of Concord,"[4] Mr. Jacob B. Moore states that "at a meeting held at Haverhill in 1725, for settling the town of Concord, it was resolved: 'that no alienation of any lot should be made without the consent of the community.'" "The object of this regulation," says Mr. Moore, "undoubtedly was to exclude the Irish settlers, against whom a strong national prejudice existed, heightened, perhaps, by zeal in differing religious opinions."

Another portion of the emigrants who came to Boston in 1718, located at Worcester, Massachusetts, which was then also a post on the New England frontier. The newcomers probably outnumbered the population already there, who are represented as occupying fifty-eight log houses. At the time these Ulster emigrants went to Worcester, the people of that place were making a third attempt at settlement, having been dispersed twice before by the Indians; and the town was not organized until September, 1722. It appears by the town records that some of the officers chosen in the earliest town-meetings were Scotch-Irishmen. While the government of the Province was glad to have this addition to the number of the inhabitants of a frontier town exposed to the depredations of the Indians, the Ulster element of the community was not popular. The newcomers soon came to be disliked and were treated with marked inhospitality. There was an especial prejudice against them because they were from Ireland. They differed from the English settlers in race, in habits, and in the form of their religion. Their settlements were approached by bodies of armed men, and their property in some

instances wantonly destroyed. They were everywhere abused and misrepresented as Irish. To remove this odium, they petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to call them Scots, since many of them were in reality natives of Scotland, who had merely lived for a season in Ireland; and practically all were of Scottish blood. But their religion contributed much more to produce and vivify the odium than did their birth or residence in Ireland. Although staunch Protestants, the Puritans, who made up the earlier settlers, were not ready to tolerate the Presbyterianism of the newcomers.

The Scotch-Irish colony at Worcester was composed of some fifty families, numbering perhaps two hundred persons. They were accompanied from Boston by the Rev. Edward Fitzgerald, evidently an Anglo-Irish Protestant. He preached to them for some time in the old garrison house; but removed from Worcester before the settlement of the Rev. Mr. Burr, in October, 1725, as the Puritan minister. At the coming of the latter, "it was understood," says Lincoln, "that if the Presbyterians would aid voluntarily in his support, they should be permitted to place in the pulpit, occasionally, teachers of their own denomination." The understanding in this regard was not fulfilled to the satisfaction of the Presbyterians, and after some years they withdrew from the union with the Puritans, and chose a minister of their own, the Rev. William Johnston, who was installed over them. His support was provided for by voluntary contributions from the members of his congregation.

About the year 1736, the Presbyterians concluded that the burden of the ecclesiastical tax paid by them for the support of the Puritan minister of their neighbors, in addition to the contributions for the support of their own, was too heavy and too inequitable for them to continue under. Therefore, they appealed to the sense of justice of their fellow-townsmen for relief from a tax inconsistent with their religious privileges as British subjects. But their appeal was without avail. The Puritans claimed that the ordination of Mr. Johnston was disorderly, and their answer to the application, as spread on the town records of Worcester, furnishes a characteristic specimen of mingled subtlety and illiberality. It is given by Blaikie as follows:

In 1736–7, the Scotch Presbyterians, ten persons, residents, prayed to be relieved from supporting Mr. Burr, as they had settled the Rev. Wm. Johnston. Their petition was refused as unreasonable, for

1st. It does not appear from their names who they are, and it would be too much at random to do so.

2dly. It does not appear that they are actuated by just principles of conscience, as should necessitate their forsaking us. We hold to the Westminster Confession of Faith, which, they say, they promised to adhere to. We do not substantially differ from the divines at Westminster as to the worship, discipline, and government of the church. They may enjoy their way, which they call Presbyterianism, with us and their consciences not be imposed upon in anything. A number of those now withdrawing were jointly concerned in settling Mr. Burr and in our fellowship. We know not why they should not continue with us.

3dly. We look on the matter as disorderly, not to mention that the

ordination of their minister they speak of was disorderly even with respect to the principles by which they pretend to act by, as well as with us, to whom they stand related, and they enjoy with us all proper social, Christian, and Civil rights. Their separating from us being contrary to the publick establishment and laws of this province and contrary to their own covenant with us, and also very unreasonably weakening to the town, whose numbers and dimensions, the north part being exempted by the vote of the town from paying to Mr. Burr, will not admit of the honorable support of two ministers of the gospel, and tending to breed division, destructive of our peace, and upon which and other accounts, the town refuse to comply with the request of dismissing said petitioners.

The request of the Presbyterians not being acceded to, many of them, unwilling longer to endure the insults and bitter prejudices which they encountered, prepared to remove elsewhere. Accordingly, in 1738, a company was organized, consisting of thirty-four families, to purchase and settle a new township, on principles in keeping with their own. Thus originated Pelham, about thirty miles west of Worcester. Another colony removed about the same time to what is now the town of Coleraine, fifty miles to the northwest of Worcester. Others settled in Otsego County, New York.

Notwithstanding these repeated drafts on the home colony and church at Worcester, those who remained there were still determined to build a meeting-house of their own. About thirty families continued in Worcester after the dispersion of the others. During the year 1740 these people began the erection of their church building, near the old fort, on the west side of the Boston road, and not far from the centre of their scattered homesteads. Although in extreme poverty, they raised the needful moneys, timber was brought to the site, framed, and raised, and the building was in the earlier stages of construction, when the Puritan inhabitants of Worcester, many of them persons of consideration, respectability, and professed piety, gathered tumultuously in the night-time, levelled the structure with the ground, sawed the timbers, and burned or carried off the pieces and other materials. The defenceless strangers were compelled to submit in silence to this infamous wrong. "The English Puritans," says Dr. Perry, in writing of the episode (*Proceedings Scotch-Irish Society of America*, vol. ii., p. 119), "and their irresponsible hangers-on, chose indeed the night-time for their mob-violence and devilish meanness, but no blackness of darkness can ever cover up a deed like this; no sophistries, no neighborhood misaffinities, no race jealousies, no wretched shibboleth of any name, can ever wipe out that stain. The blood of English Puritans and Scotch Presbyterians mingles in my veins; my great-grandfather Perry, my grandfather of the same name, my uncle, too, in the same line, officiated as deacons for ninety-four successive years in the old South Church on Worcester Common, which originated and perpetrated this outrage on humanity; nevertheless I give my feeble word of utter condemnation for this shameless act of bigotry, the details of which I learned as a little boy at my mother's knee."

Matthew Thornton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, Asa Gray, the world-renowned botanist, and General George B. McClellan were descendants of these early Scotch-Irish settlers at Worcester, the former being brought there from Ireland when five years of age by his father, one of the original emigrants.

Following the destruction of their church, many of the families who had remained in Worcester now removed, and it is significant that the third and fourth purely Scotch-Irish towns in Massachusetts, namely Western (now Warren) in Worcester county, and Blandford in Hampden county, were both incorporated the next year, 1741. The later movement of individual families from Worcester and Pelham and Coleraine and Western and Blandford carried Scotch-Irish blood into every township of western Massachusetts, and ultimately into most of the townships in Vermont and New York.

CONNECTICUT

A number of Scotch-Irish colonists of the earlier emigrations to Massachusetts and New Hampshire, joined, perhaps, by some of their fellow-countrymen who had landed in New Jersey, located in the township of Voluntown (now Stirling), in Windham county, Connecticut, before 1723. They were largely from the vicinity of the Bann, and from Ballymena and neighboring towns in county Antrim. Their minister was the Rev. Samuel Dorrance. Entered as an "Anglo-Hibernian," he had graduated from Glasgow University in 1709, studied divinity at Edinburgh, been licensed by Dumbarton Presbytery, Scotland, in 1718, and received by Coleraine Presbytery in 1719. He is believed to have sailed from Ulster, with several other ministers and a number of laymen, late in 1719, to Johnstown, Connecticut. The church at Voluntown, while organized as a Presbyterian congregation, chose Mr. Dorrance under the Congregational plan, and October 23, 1723, was the date set for his ordination by a Council of Puritan ministers from the surrounding towns. The Council met on the appointed day, but a number of people appeared at the meeting and presented the following "remonstrance" against Mr. Dorrance's ordination:

We, whose names are underwritten, do agree that one of our New England people may be settled in Voluntown to preach the Gospel to us, and will oblige ourselves to pay him yearly, and will be satisfied, honored gentlemen, that you choose one for us, to prevent unwholesome inhabitants, for we are afraid Popery and heresy will be brought into the land;

Therefore, We protest against settling Mr. Dorrance: because he is a stranger; and we are informed he came out of Ireland; and we do observe that since he has been in town that the Irish do flock into town: and we are informed that the Irish are not wholesome inhabitants; and upon this account we are against settling Mr. Dorrance; for we are not such persons as you take us to be, but desire the Gospel to be preached by one of our own; for we cannot receive any benefit from him, neither soul nor body; and we would pray him to withdraw himself from us.

Inasmuch as Mr. Dorrance had had practically an unanimous call from his congregation, and as the great majority of them were of his own faith and race, it is rather strange to find from the record of the meeting that the Council of Puritan ministers should pass the day in hearing the opposers repeat their reasons over and over, and should on the second day adjourn, after passing the following contradictory resolutions:

1. We esteem the objections offered by the defending parties against Mr Dorrance's ordination invalid.
2. We judge the people's call of Mr. Dorrance not sufficient.
3. We testify our firm persuasion that Mr. Dorrance's ministerial abilities are unexceptionable.
4. We advise Mr. Dorrance to continue to preach, and the people to endeavor a more regular and comfortable call.

The clamor at this action of the Council became so great that a second meeting was held December 12, 1723, when, "on reconsideration," the Council found the call and reasons sufficient, and Mr. Dorrance was ordained. He continued as minister at Voluntown until 1770. The Church became Congregational in 1779. Peters, in his *History of Connecticut* (1781), says of this congregation: "In Voluntown there is one Presbyterian parish. This sect has met with as little Christian charity in this hairbrained community as the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Churchmen. The 'sober dissenters' of this town, as they style themselves, will not attend the funeral of a Presbyterian."

Among the early settlers at Voluntown were John and Alexander Gaston, who came from Ballymena, county Antrim, Ireland. The former was the ancestor of Governor William Gaston, of Massachusetts, and of Andrew Dickson White, twice United States Minister to Germany; while among other descendants of Alexander Gaston may be named John A. Kasson, the distinguished American diplomat.

Instances similar to those already related of injustice and oppression on the part of the Puritan authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, may be found in the history of many other New England communities where the Puritans and Presbyterians dwelt together. In Chester, New Hampshire, the latter were obliged by law for many years to contribute to the support of the Rev. Mr. Flagg, in whose calling and ministrations they had no share, while at the same time supporting their own minister, who received no aid from their Puritan neighbors. The same condition existed in Milford, New Haven county, Connecticut, where, in 1741, a considerable minority of the people left the established Congregational Church, and "professed themselves to be Presbyterians according to the Church of Scotland." Thirty-nine of these people qualified themselves under the Toleration Act and established a Presbyterian Church there in January, 1742. The Rev. Benajah Case preached to them on the seventeenth of that month, for which offence he was fined and imprisoned. The people made preparations to build a

meeting-house in May, 1742; but the town refused to allow them to erect it on the Common. The county court granted them liberty to build, and in November they constructed a house on land given them by one of their number. The Rev. John Eells preached the first sermon in it, and the constable was ordered to apprehend him; a like order was issued against the Rev. Elisha Kent; but both escaped his search. In 1743, at the request of the congregation, the New Brunswick Presbytery sent them, as supply, the Rev. Samuel Finley, afterwards President of Princeton College. He preached at Milford on August 25th and at New Haven on September 1st. For this offence he was prosecuted, tried, and condemned. For disturbing the peace of the community, Governor Law ordered him to be transported as a vagrant, by the constable, from town to town, out of the colony. This treatment was considered by some of the foremost civilians of Connecticut and of the city of New York to be so contrary to the spirit and letter of the British Constitution as to work a forfeiture of the colonial charter. After this, the Rev. Mr. Pomeroy preached at Milford occasionally, but he also was arrested, and carried to Hartford, to answer to the General Assembly for his conduct.

MAINE

As has been related, a few of the Scotch-Irish emigrants who came to Boston in the vessels which arrived August 4, 1718, settled in Maine, a large proportion founded the Londonderry settlement, and perhaps two hundred went to Worcester. Besides these, a considerable number remained in Boston, and, uniting with other Scotch and Irish Presbyterians there, established in 1727 a Presbyterian church. This church became Congregational in 1786.

A second Scotch-Irish emigration to New England occurred in 1719–20. Captain Robert Temple, an Irishman, who had been an officer in the English army, came over in 1717, and made an examination of some unoccupied tracts of land in Connecticut and in Maine. The proprietors of the west banks of the Kennebec took him to see their land, but he gave the ultimate preference to land on the east side of that river, which belonged to Colonel Hutchinson and the Plymouth Company. Becoming a partner in that concern, he engaged to bring a colony to its Kennebec lands. Within two years he chartered five ships to bring over families from Ulster. During the years 1719 and 1720, several hundred families were landed on the shores of the Kennebec, from its mouth to Merrymeeting Bay. Many of these settled in what is now Topsham; others, at Bath. The Merrymeeting Bay colony was broken up by the Indians in 1722, many of the inhabitants being killed or captured. Brunswick and Georgetown were destroyed. The larger part of the survivors then removed to Pennsylvania, while others afterwards settled at Topsham, Brunswick, Boothbay, and Pemaquid.

In 1729, Colonel Dunbar, a Scotch-Irishman, obtained a commission

from the Crown as governor of Sagadahoc, a tract of land in Maine lying between the Kennebec and St. Croix rivers. He selected Fort Frederick, at Pemaquid, as the seat of government, and was placed in possession by a detachment of troops from Nova Scotia in 1730. In the course of two or three years, more than one hundred and fifty families, mostly of Scotch descent, were introduced into this colony by Dunbar. They brought with them their minister, the Rev. Robert Rutherford; and their descendants may be found to this day in and near the towns of Bristol, Noblesboro, Boothbay, and Pemaquid, in Lincoln County.

In 1735, Samuel Waldo, a citizen of Massachusetts who owned a large tract lying between the St. George and Penobscot rivers, settled on his land in the present township of Warren, Knox county, twenty-seven families of Scottish descent, from the north of Ireland. He brought a second colony from Scotland in 1753, consisting of sixty adults and many children. These were located in the western part of Warren township, giving to their settlement the name of Stirling.

In nearly every case where a Scotch-Irish colony settled in New England, they were persuaded or compelled to locate along the frontiers of that province. Such settlements were encouraged by the civil authorities and the more sagacious of the Puritans, as an effective and economical method of providing for the protection of the older communities from attacks by the Indians and French. Similar defensive cordons were established along the southern frontiers of Carolina and Georgia, to protect them from the invasions of the Spaniards ; and also along the western frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mention has already been made of the arrival of the Rev. Archibald Stobo at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1700, where he became minister of the Scotch Presbyterian Church. During the first thirty years of his labors in that colony (he died 1740–41) Mr. Stobo was largely instrumental in establishing six other Presbyterian churches in the vicinity of Charleston, namely, Cainhoy, James's Island, John's Island, and Edisto Island, in Berkeley district, and Wilton and Bethel (Pon Pon), in Colleton district. While there are no records extant of the original settlement of the most of these places, such names of early members as have been preserved show many of them to have been of Scottish antecedents; and the fact of the organization of Scottish Presbyterian churches at these points is strong presumptive proof of a considerable emigration to South Carolina from North Britain or North Ireland, or both. Among the first of the distinctively Scotch-Irish colonies transplanted from Ulster to South Carolina direct, was that of Williamsburgh, in Williamsburgh district. On November 9, 1732, James Pringle and other Irish Protestants petitioned the Council of South Carolina that their

passage be paid. The Council agreed that if they would settle in a township according to His Majesty's instructions, as the Swiss had done [1731–34], they should have like encouragement. The colonists accepted this proposition, and one of the townships, twenty miles square, which had been laid out by royal authority in 1731, was granted them. This they named in honor of William of Orange. A village in the township was laid out by the settlers, and called Kingstree.

The following particulars of the emigration of one of the families in this community may be taken as typical of the experiences of the majority of the emigrants to lower South Carolina at that time. They are taken from the *Witherspoon Genealogy*, and were written by Robert Witherspoon, who emigrated with his father's family in 1734, some of the family also having come over in 1732:

We went on shipboard the 14th of September, and lay wind-bound in the Lough at Belfast 14 days. The second day of our sail my grandmother died, and was interred in the raging ocean, which was an afflictive sight to her offspring. We were sorely tossed at sea with storms, which caused our ship to spring a leak: our pumps were kept incessantly at work day and night; for many days our mariners seemed many times at their wits' end. But it pleased God to bring us all safe to land, which was about the first of December.

We landed in Charleston three weeks before Christmas. We found the inhabitants very kind. We staid in town until after Christmas, and were put on board of an open boat, with tools and a year's provisions [the customary bounty to immigrants], and one still-mill. They allowed each hand upwards of sixteen, one axe, one broad hoe, and one narrow hoe. Our provisions were Indian corn, rice, wheaten flour, beef, pork, rum, and salt. We were much distressed in this part of our passage. As it was the dead of winter, we were exposed to the inclemency of the weather day and night; and (which added to the grief of all pious persons on board) the atheistical and blasphemous mouths of our Patroons and the other hands. They brought us up as far as Potatoe Ferry and turned us on shore, where we lay in Samuel Commander's barn for some time, and the boat wrought her way up to "the King's Tree," with the goods and provisions, which is the first boat that I believe ever came up so high before.

While we lay at Mr. Commander's, our men came up in order to get dirt houses to take their families to. They brought some few horses with them. What help they could get from the few inhabitants in order to carry the children and other necessaries up they availed themselves of. As the woods were full of water, and most severe frosts, it was very severe on women and children. We set out in the morning; and some got no further that day than Mr. McDonald's and some as far as Mr. Plowden's; some to James Armstrong's, and some to Uncle William James's. [These were emigrants who had preceded Witherspoon, in the first emigration.] . . . Their little cabins were as full that night as they could hold, and the next day every one made the best they could to their own place, which was the first day of February, 1735. My father had brought on shipboard four children, viz.: David, Robert, John, and Sarah. Sarah died in Charleston, and was the first buried at the Scotch Meeting House graveyard. When we came

to the Bluff, my mother and we children were still in expectation that we were coming to an agreeable place. But when we arrived and saw nothing but a wilderness, and instead of a fine timbered house, nothing but a mean dirt house, our spirits quite sank; and what added to our trouble, our pilot we had with us from Uncle William James's left us when we came in sight of the place.

My father gave us all the comfort he could by telling us we would get all those trees cut down, and in a short time there would be plenty of inhabitants, so that we could see from house to house. While we were at this, our fire we brought from Bog Swamp went out. Father had heard, that up the river-swamp was the "King's Tree," although there was no path, neither did he know the distance. Yet he followed up the swamp until he came to the branch, and by that found Roger Gordon's. We watched him as far as the trees would let us see, and returned to our dolorous hut, expecting never to see him or any human person more. But after some time he returned and brought fire. We were soon comforted, but evening coming on, the wolves began to howl on all sides. We then feared being devoured by wild beasts, having neither gun nor dog nor any door to our house. Howbeit we set to and gathered fuel, and made on a good fire, and so passed the first night. The next day being a clear warm morning, we began to stir about, but about mid-day there rose a cloud southwest attended with a high wind, thunder and lightning. The rain quickly penetrated through between the poles and brought down the sand that covered them over, which seemed to threaten to bury us alive. The lightning and claps were very awful and lasted a good space of time. I do not remember to have seen a much severer gust than that was. I believe we all sincerely wished ourselves again at Belfast. But this fright was soon over and the evening cleared up, comfortable and warm.

The boat that brought up the goods arrived at "the King's Tree." People were much oppressed in bringing their things, as there was no house there. They were obliged to toil hard, and had no other way but to convey their beds, clothing, chests, provisions, tools, pots, etc., on their backs. And at that time there were few or no roads and every family had to travel the best way they could, which was here double distance to some, for they had to follow swamps and branches for their guides for some time.

After a season, some men got such a knowledge of the woods as to "blaze" paths, so the people soon found out to follow "blazes" from place to place. As the winter season was far advanced, the time to prepare for planting was very short. Yet people were very strong and healthy, all that could do anything wrought diligently, and continued clearing and planting as long as the season would admit, so that they made provision for the ensuing year. As they had but few beasts, a little served them, and as the range was good, they had no need of feeding creatures for some years.

I remember that among the first things my father brought from the boat was his gun, which was one of Queen Anne's muskets. He had it loaded with swan-shot. One morning when we were at breakfast, there was a "travelling 'possum" on his way, passing by the door: my mother screamed out saying, "There is a great bear!" Mother and we children hid ourselves behind some barrels and a chest, at the other end of our hut, whilst father got his gun, and steadied it upon the fork that held up that end of the house, and shot the animal about the hinder parts, which caused the poor opossum to grin and open its mouth in a frightful manner. Father was in haste to give it a second bout, but the shot being mislaid in a hurry, could not be

found. We were penned up for some time. Father at length ventured out and killed it with a pale.

Another source of alarm was the Indians. When they came to hunt in the spring, they were in great numbers in all places like the Egyptian locusts, but they were not hurtful. We had a great deal of trouble and hardships in our first settling, but the few inhabitants continued still in health and strength. Yet we were oppressed with fears, on divers accounts, especially of being massacred by the Indians, or bitten by snakes, or torn by wild beasts, or being lost and perishing in the woods. Of this last calamity there were three instances.

About the end of August, 1736, my uncle Robert arrived here. The ship he came in was called *New Built.* She was a ship of great burden, and brought many passengers. They chiefly came up here, and, obliged to travel by land, they had money given them by the public instead of provisions. Our second crop was in the ground when they came. As it was in the warm season, they were much fatigued in coming up, and many were taken with the fever and ague. Some died with that disorder, and many after the ague had ceased grew dropsical and died. About this time people began to form into societies, and sent to Ireland for a minister. One came named Robert Heron. He stayed three years, and then returned to Ireland.

Other settlements made in the lower country of the Province before the Revolutionary period were Black Mingo and Indiantown in Williamsburgh district, Stoney Creek and Salem in Clarendon, Waccamau in Horry, Saltketcher in Colleton, Beaufort in Beaufort, and Aimwell in Marion. In most cases it is to be presumed the settlers at these particular places came into Carolina directly from Scotland and Ireland, through the port of Charleston. The greater part of the Scotch-Irish emigrants to the Carolinas, however, came overland from Pennsylvania and Virginia, usually settling in the upper country.

In Alexander Hewatt's *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, printed at London in 1779, the following account is given of the emigration of the Scotch-Irish to the Carolinas:

Besides foreign Protestants, several persons from England and Scotland resorted to Carolina after the peace. But of all other countries none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. In the northern counties of that kingdom the spirit of emigration seized the people to such a degree, that it threatened almost a total depopulation. Such multitudes of husbandmen, laborers and manufacturers flocked over the Atlantic, that the landlords began to be alarmed, and to concert ways and means for preventing the growing evil. Scarce a ship sailed for any of the plantations that was not crowded with men, women, and children. But the bounty allowed new settlers in Carolina proved a great encouragement, and induced numbers of these people, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, to resort to that province. The merchants, finding this bounty equivalent to the expenses of the passage, from avaricious motives persuaded the people to embark for

Carolina, and often crammed such numbers of them into their ships that they were in danger of being stifled during the passage, and sometimes were landed in such a starved and sickly condition, that numbers of them died before they left Charleston. Many causes may be assigned for this spirit of emigration that prevailed so much in Ireland: some, no doubt, emigrated from a natural restlessness of temper, and a desire of roving abroad, without any fixed object in view. Others were enticed over by flattering promises from their friends and relations, who had gone before them. But of all other causes of emigration oppression at home was the most powerful prevalent. Most men have a natural fondness and partiality for their native country, and leave it with reluctance while they are able to earn a comfortable livelihood in it. That spot where they first drew the breath of life, that society in which they spent the gay season of youth, the religion, the manners and customs of those among whom they were educated, all conspire to affect the heart, and endear their native country to them. But poverty and oppression will break through every natural tie and endearment, and compel men to rove abroad in search of some asylum against domestic hardship. Hence it happened that many poor people forsook their native land, and preferred the burning sky and unwholesome climate of Carolina, to the temperate and mild air of their mother country. The success that attended some friends who had gone before them being also industriously published in Ireland, and with all the exaggerations of travellers, gave vigor to the spirit of adventure, and induced multitudes to follow their countrymen, and run all hazards abroad, rather than starve at home. Government winked at those emigrations, and every year brought fresh strength to Carolina, insomuch that the lands in Ireland were in danger of lying waste for want of laborers, and the manufactures of dwindling into nothing.

Nor were these the only sources from which Carolina, at this time, derived strength and an increase of population. For, notwithstanding the vast extent of territory which the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania contained, yet such was the nature of the country, that a scarcity of improveable lands began to be felt in these colonies, and poor people could not find spots in them unoccupied equal to their expectations. Most of the richest valleys in these more populous provinces lying to the east of the Alleghany Mountains were either under patent or occupied, and, by the royal proclamation at the peace, no settlements were allowed to extend beyond the sources of the rivers which empty themselves into the Atlantic. In Carolina the case was different, for there large tracts of the best lands as yet lay waste, which proved a great temptation to the northern colonists to migrate to the south. Accordingly, about this time above a thousand families, with their effects, in the space of one year resorted to Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs and horses overland before them. Lands were allotted them on the frontiers, and most of them being only entitled to small tracts, such as one, two or three hundred acres, the back settlements by this means soon became the most populous parts of the province. The frontiers were not only strengthened and secured by new settlers, but the old ones on the maritime parts began also to stretch backward and spread their branches, in consequence of which the demand for lands in the interior parts every year increased. The Governor and Council met once a month for the purpose of granting lands and signing patents, and it is incredible what numbers of people attended those meetings in order to obtain them; so that from the time in which America was secured by the peace, Carolina made rapid progress in population, wealth, and trade.

Further contemporary information regarding the Scotch-Irish settlement of South Carolina is given by Dr. David Ramsay in his *History of South Carolina*, published at Charleston in 1809. He writes as follows :

Settlements as early as 1736 had partially progressed westward, from the seacoast, about eighty or ninety miles. Between 1750 and 1760 two or three germs of settlement were planted two hundred miles from Charleston by emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia, who had advanced from north to south and in front of the eastern settlers.

Between the sea-coast settlements, and those to the westward, a considerable tract of country was for several years left in the undisturbed possession of the aborigines. These and several other circumstances sanctioned an early distinction between the upper and lower country of South Carolina. In 1750, Colonel Clark emigrated from Virginia and settled on Pacolet River. In the course of six years he was joined by eight or ten families from Pennsylvania, all of whom settled on or near Fair Forest Creek, or the three forks of Tyger River. These constituted the whole white population of that part of the province in 1755. In that year Braddock was defeated; and the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were exposed to so much danger from the French at Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, and the Indians attached to them, that their inhabitants were strongly inclined to move southwardly. In the same year Governor Glen made a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, by which much of what is now called the Upper Country was ceded to the king of Great Britain. Both events allured settlers to the western parts of South Carolina.

In the year 1756 Patrick Calhoun, with four families of his friends, settled on Long Cane in Abbeville. On his arrival there were only two families of white settlers, one named Gowdy, the other Edwards, in that south-western extremity of the upper country. The progress of settlement which commenced in or about 1750 was so very slow, for five years, that in the beginning of 1756, the whole number of families scarcely exceeded twenty. In that and the three following years, there was a great influx of inhabitants from the middle provinces.

From the first settlement of the upper country till the peace of 1783, a succession of disasters had stunted its growth. The years 1756, 1757, and 1758 were attended with no uncommon calamity. The same may be said of the years between 1770 and 1775, but with these exceptions the Upper Country was for nearly twenty years of the first thirty of its existence, kept in a constant state of disturbance either by the Indians or Tories, or the contentions between Regulators and "Scouilites" [*i. e.*, those who had fled from justice, and settling on the frontier, carried on their lawless depredations]. Under all these disadvantages it grew astonishingly. Prior to the Revolution it had received such an increase of inhabitants, as essentially contributed to the support of that bold measure; but since the year 1783, the improvement of that part of the State has exceeded all calculation.

GEORGIA

One of the earliest distinctive and permanent settlements of Highland Scots in the territory now constituting the United States of America, was made in what was first called New Inverness on the Altamaha river in Georgia, now known as Darien, in McIntosh county.

Upon Oglethorpe's first visit to his recently founded colony of Georgia, in 1733, he perceived that if his enterprise was to have any permanent success, it would be necessary to provide an adequate means of defending the colony from the attacks of the Spaniards and Indians. This he concluded could best be done by inducing the Scotch to settle in the frontier district. In order to secure a sufficient number of Highlanders, a commission was granted to Lieutenants Hugh Mackay and George Dunbar, to proceed to Scotland for the purpose of raising a company of one hundred men. They were also allowed to bring with them fifty women and children and ten servants.[6] On October 20, 1735, one hundred and sixty members of this colony sailed from Inverness, many of whom came from Stralbdean Glen, about nine miles distant from the point of embarkation. They reached their destination in January, 1736, and proceeded at once to the construction of a fort and dwellings. Later in the year a second fort was erected, and named St. Andrews. The Rev. John MacLeod accompanied the colony from Scotland, and served them as minister until 1741. Late in 1739, war broke out between the Georgians and Spaniards. Oglethorpe commanded the British forces in person. During operations in Florida, one third of the Highland battalion was slain at the defence of Fort Moosa, which they had previously captured from the Spaniards. Those who escaped the massacre on that occasion went over in a boat and joined Oglethorpe's main body, accompanying him on his retreat from Florida in the summer of 1740.

In June, 1743, the Spaniards from Cuba invaded Carolina and Georgia in force. They landed five hundred men at Gascoin's Bluff on July 5th, and marched against Oglethorpe, who was posted at Frederica. Two days later word was brought to him that a detachment of the Spanish army was within a mile of his camp. Hastily setting out with the Highland company, having ordered sixty men of his English regiment to follow, Oglethorpe soon confronted the enemy, whom he found to be one hundred and seventy strong. With his Indian rangers and ten Highlanders, who outran the rest of the company, he immediately attacked and defeated the Spaniards, who fell back to their main body. After pursuing the enemy for a mile, Oglethorpe halted his troops and posted them in the woods, leaving two companies of his own regiment with the Highlanders and Indians to guard the way. Returning to Frederica he brought out nearly the whole body of his soldiers, and started with them towards the scene of action. When about halfway there, he was met by two platoons of his English troops, with the greater part of the Indians, in retreat, who declared that they had been attacked by the whole Spanish force, which was still pursuing them. Notwithstanding this disheartening news, Oglethorpe continued his march. On coming to the woods, he found that Lieutenants Southerland and Mackay, with the Highlanders alone, had made a stand against the enemy, contrived to ambush them, and had defeated the entire Spanish army, consisting of six hundred men, killing

more of them than their own force numbered. Among the slain were a captain, lieutenant, two sergeants, two drummers, and one hundred and sixty privates. A captain and nineteen men were taken prisoners. During the night the Spaniards retreated to a fort which had been abandoned by Ogelthorpe, that they might be under the protection of their cannon. A few days later, on the appearance of three English vessels off the bar, the invaders set fire to the fort and precipitately embarked their troops, abandoning in their hurry and confusion several cannon, a quantity of military stores, and many of their unburied dead.[6]

In the end, however, Oglethorpe's colony proved a failure, as the entire white population in 1753 was estimated to have been only twenty-four hundred. From that time to the Revolution, Georgia was repeopled chiefly by emigrants who came overland from the upper country of South Carolina, from western North Carolina, from the Virginia Valley, and from Pennsylvania, a great majority of whom were Scotch-Irish. Its population had risen to 82,000 by 1790, of whom 52,000 were whites. Ninety per cent. of these lived in the up-country, and but ten per cent. in the lower counties,—which had been occupied by Oglethorpe's original colony.

NORTH CAROLINA

The Scotch-Irish were not found in North Carolina or Virginia until after the year 1730, excepting a few scattered families, and some small colonies along the Chesapeake. About the year 1736, Henry McCulloch induced a colony from Ulster to occupy his expected grant in Duplin county, North Carolina. These colonists, soon after their settlement, established the congregations of Goshen and The Grove. Their descendants are now widely scattered over the lower part of that State, and throughout the Southwest.

The loss of the early records of Orange Presbytery has left us without the means of ascertaining the years in which the Presbyterian colonies of Granville, Orange, Rowan, Mecklenburg, and that part of the State extending from the Dan to the Catawba, began to occupy the wild and fertile prairies. But it is known that between 1740 and 1760, scattered settlements of considerable strength were established along the Carolina frontier by the Scotch-Irish, from the Virginia line to Florida. In the case of all the colonies, these settlements were encouraged by the authorities as an effective means of protecting the older communities from attacks by the Indians. Many colonists, on account of the inviting nature of the climate and soil, the comparative mildness of the Catawba Indians, and the severity of the church laws in comparison with those of Carolina, were induced to pass through the vacant lands in Virginia adjoining their countrymen who were already settled in that State, and seek a home beyond, in the Carolinas. As early as 1740, there were scattered families on the Hico, Eno, and Haw Rivers in North Carolina, and cabins began to appear along the Catawba.

The time of setting off the frontier counties is known, but is no guide to the precise dates of the first settlements. Bladen county was set off from New Hanover in 1733, and extended west to the charter limits; Granville was taken from Edgecomb in 1743, its western boundary also being the charter limits; and in 1749 Anson was set off from Bladen, with the same western boundary. The two counties, Anson and Granville, embraced all the western part of the State in 1749. Orange was set off from Bladen, Granville, and Johnston, in 1751; Rowan from Anson in 1753; Mecklenburg from Anson in 1762; Guilford from Orange and Rowan in 1770; Chatham from Orange in 1770; Surry from Rowan in 1770; and Wake from Cumberland, Johnston, and Orange, in 1770. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, Surry, Rowan, and Mecklenburg formed the frontier counties of the province, with Guilford and Anson adjoining them on the east. These dates show the progress of emigration and increase of population, but do not fix the time when the cabins of the whites began to supplant the wigwams of the Indians. Neither do the dates of the land patents mark the time of emigration, as in some cases the lands were occupied a long period before the grants were made; while in others, patents were granted before emigration. The early settlements of the Presbyterians were usually made before the lands were surveyed, particularly in the upper country.

Emigration in its earliest periods turned towards the vast prairies covered with pea-vine grass and cane-brakes, which stretched across the States of Virginia and Carolina. There are huge forests now in those two States, where a hundred and fifty years ago not a tree could be seen. These prairies abounded with game and supplied abundant pasturage, winter and summer, for the cattle and other stock of the emigrants, which for years formed no small part of their wealth.

While the tide of Scotch-Irish emigration through Pennsylvania and Virginia was setting fast and strong into the fertile regions between the Yadkin and Catawba, another current was flowing from the Highlands of Scotland, and landing colonies of Presbyterian people along the Cape Fear River. The dates of the first Scottish settlements along this stream are not known with exactness. There were some in 1729, at the time of the separation of the province into North and South Carolina. In consequence of disabilities at home, and unfavorable economic conditions, the enterprising Scots followed the example of their kinsmen in Ireland, and sought refuge and fortune in America. Some time before the Scotch-Irish emigration to the Yadkin, numerous families occupied the extensive plains along the Cape Fear, in that part of Bladen county which is now Cumberland. It appears from records in the possession of the family of Alexander Clark, a native of Jura (one of the Hebrides Islands), that he settled on this river before the year 1740, and that "a ship load" of emigrants came over with him. He also found a "good many" Scotch already settled in Cumberland county at the time of his arrival, among them being one Hector McNeill

called Bluff Hector, from his residence near the bluffs above Cross Creek or Fayetteville. The first considerable settlement at this point seems to have been made in September, 1739, when some three hundred and fifty persons, under the leadership of Neill McNeill, landed. They were Highlanders, principally from Argyle, and doubtless the same colony with which Hector McNeill emigrated.

As is well known to readers of English history, some of the smaller clans in the Scottish Highlands unanimously raised their standards for Charles Edward Stuart in 1745, and fought against the House of Hanover. Many of the young men belonging to the large clans of the MacDonalds, MacLeods, MacKenzies, and others, whose leaders would not favor the enterprise, gave way to the impulse of national enthusiasm, and joined the ranks of the Pretender. The latter, for a time, was successful, spread terror through the country on his march towards the capital, and alarmed the Cabinet of King George. On the 16th of April, 1746, a few miles north of Inverness, was fought the decisive battle of Culloden, in which Stuart's forces were routed. With his defeat, his hopes of empire vanished. His men were hunted down like wild beasts, and shot on making the slightest resistance, the huts were burned over the heads of the women and children, and the cattle and provisions were carried away or destroyed.

On the return of the victorious army to England, a large number of prisoners were taken along, and, after a hasty trial by a military court, publicly executed. Seventeen suffered death at Kensington Common, near London, thirty-two were executed in Cumberland, and twenty-two in Yorkshire. This was probably done by way of reprisal and menace. But kinder thoughts prevailed with the English king. A large number were pardoned, on condition of their emigrating to the plantations, after having taken a solemn oath of allegiance. This was the origin of many of the Scottish settlements on the Cape Fear River; a considerable number of those who had taken up arms for the Pretender preferring exile to death, or to subjugation in their native land. During the years 1746 and 1747, these people, with their families, and many of their friends removed to North Carolina, occupying a large expanse of country along the Cape Fear, of which Campbelltown (now Fayetteville) was the centre. This wilderness became a refuge to the harassed Highlanders. Shipload after shipload landed at Wilmington in 1746 and 1747. The emigration once fairly begun by royal authority was carried on by those who wished to improve their condition, and to become owners of the soil upon which they lived and labored. In the course of the three succeeding decades, large companies of industrious Scots joined those of their countrymen who had first located in Bladen county. Their descendants settled in the counties of Cumberland, Bladen, Sampson, Moore, Robeson, Richmond, and Anson, all of which were included in Bladen county at the time of the first emigration. Among these people and their children, the preacher and patriot James Campbell, having

removed from Pennsylvania, lived and labored for more than a quarter of a century; and with them that romantic character, Flora McDonald, passed a portion of her days.

The emigration of the Scotch Highlanders to North Carolina continued down to the time of the Revolution. In 1753, it was estimated that in Cumberland county alone there were one thousand Highlanders capable of bearing arms. The McDonalds had become so numerous in that county by 1775 as to be called the "Clan Donald"; and an insurrection which took place there in February, 1776, is still known as the "Insurrection of the Clan McDonald."

The *Scots' Magazine* for September, 1769, records that the ship *Molly* sailed from Islay on August 21st of that year, filled with passengers for North Carolina, which was the third emigration from Argyle "since the close of the late [French] war." A subsequent issue of the same journal states that fifty-four vessels laden with twelve hundred emigrants from the Western Isles and other parts of the Highlands, sailed for North Carolina between the months of April and July, 1770. Again, in 1771, it is stated that there were five hundred emigrants from Islay and the adjacent islands preparing to sail the following summer for America, "under the conduct of a gentleman of wealth and merit, whose predecessors resided in Islay for many centuries past." It is further noted in the *Scots' Magazine*, "There is a colony of the most wealthy and substantial people in Skye making ready to follow the example of the Argathelians." These Skye men to the number of three hundred and seventy in due time sailed for America. The late great rise of rents in the Western Islands of Scotland was said to be the cause of this emigration.

The ship *Adventure* sailed from Loch Erribol, Sunday, August 17, 1772, with upwards of two hundred emigrants from Sutherlandshire for North Carolina. There were several other emigrations from Sutherlandshire the same year. In June, eight families arrived at Greenock, the advance-guard of two other contingents aggregating one hundred and ninety persons, who were making their way to the same place, *en route* to America. The cause of this emigration they stated to be the want of means at home, on account of the wealthy graziers leasing their farms and turning them into pasture. During the year 1773, emigrants from all parts of the Highlands sailed for America. The *Courant* of April 3, 1773, reports that the "unlucky spirit of emigration" had not diminished, and that several of the inhabitants of Skye, Lewis, and other places were preparing to emigrate to America during the coming summer, to "seek for the sustenance abroad which they allege they cannot find at home." Three months later, the same paper states that eight hundred people from Skye were then preparing to go to North Carolina, and had engaged a vessel at Greenock to carry them across the Atlantic. On September 1, 1773, according to the *Courant*, a ship sailed from Fort William for America, with four hundred and twenty-five men,

women, and children on board, all from Knoydart, Lochaber, Appin, Mamore, and Fort William. "They were the finest set of fellows in the Highlands," the paper adds; "it is allowed they carried at least £6000 sterling in ready cash with them; so that by this emigration the country is deprived not only of its men, but likewise of its wealth. The extravagant rents started by the landlords is the sole cause given for this spirit of emigration, which seems to be only in its infancy." In the issue of the same paper for September 15, 1773, appears the gloomy statement that the people of Badenoch and Lochaber were in "a most pitiful situation for want of meal. They were reduced to living on blood, which they drew from their cattle by repeated bleedings. Need we wonder to hear of emigrations from such a country?" Two weeks later, the *Courant*, after stating that from eight to ten vessels had been chartered during that season to convey Highland emigrants across the Atlantic, adds: "Eight hundred and forty people sailed from Lewis in July. Alarmed with this, Lord Fortrose, their master, came down from London about five weeks ago, to treat with the remainder of his tenants. What are the terms they asked of him, think you? 'The land at the old rents; the augmentation paid for three years backward to be refunded; and his factor to be immediately dismissed.'" The *Courant* concludes by saying that unless these terms were conceded the Island of Lewis would soon be an uninhabited waste. Notwithstanding the visit of Lord Fortrose, the emigration continued. The ship *Neptune*, with one hundred and fifty emigrants from Lewis arrived in New York on August 23, 1773; and, according to the *Scots' Magazine*, between seven and eight hundred emigrants had sailed from Stornoway for America on June 23d of the same year.

The *Courant* for September 25, 1773, publishes a communication from Dornoch, in which it is stated that on the sixteenth of that month the ship *Nancy* sailed from Dornoch Firth, with two hundred and fifty emigrants for New York. The passage money paid exceeded six hundred and fifty guineas, which was the same amount paid another vessel a year before by emigrants from Sutherlandshire. In October, 1773, three vessels, with seven hundred and seventy-five emigrants from Moray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, sailed from Stromness for America. The *Courant*, on November 10, 1773, records the fact that fifteen hundred people had gone from the county of Sutherland alone to America during the two preceding years. The passage money cost £3 10*s.* per passenger, and it was computed that every emigrant, on an average, took with him £4. "This amounts to £7500," the paper adds, "which exceeds a year's rent of the whole county."

Holmes's *Annals of America* states that in December, 1773, a brig from Dornoch, in Scotland, arrived at New York, with about two hundred passengers on board, having lost one hundred during the passage.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, under date of June 30, 1775, states that "four vessels, containing about seven hundred emigrants, have sailed for

America from Port Glasgow and Greenock, in the course of the present month, most of them from the north Highlands." The same journal, on September 23, 1775, says: "The ship *Jupiter*, from Dunstaffnage Bay, with two hundred emigrants on board, chiefly from Argyleshire, set sail for North Carolina. They declare the oppressions of their landlords are such that they can no longer submit to them."

No minister of religion accompanied the first emigrants, nor is it known that any came to them direct from Scotland until the year 1770, when the Rev. John MacLeod emigrated to the country, and began his work in a portion of the field which up to that time had been under the ministrations of James Campbell, the one solitary preacher, who, from 1757 to 1770, had pursued his laborious course alone among the outspreading neighborhoods in what are now the counties of Cumberland and Robeson.

The Highlanders of the later emigrations, like their countrymen who had settled near Johnstown, New York, unwisely took the side of the king in his contest with the colonies; and they suffered much in consequence.

The settlement of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish in North Carolina was largely accelerated by the patronage of Gabriel Johnston, the Scottish governor of the Province from 1734 until his death in 1752. He bears the reputation of having done more to promote the settlement and prosperity of North Carolina than all its other colonial governors combined. Being very partial to the people of his native country, he sought to better their condition by inducing them to emigrate to North Carolina. Among the charges brought against him in 1748 was that of his inordinate fondness for Scotchmen, and particularly for Scotch rebels.

The Scottish emigrants from Ulster, the first to leave the land of their birth in companies sufficient to form settlements, entered America by two routes. One was by the Delaware River, the chief ports of which were Newcastle and Philadelphia; the other was by way of Charleston, South Carolina. Those landing at the southern port usually sought the fertile forest lands of the upper country, approaching North Carolina on one side and Georgia on the other. They gradually extended the line of their settlements southward for a considerable distance; while on the north, they met a counter-tide of Scotch-Irish emigration from Pennsylvania and Virginia. Those who landed on the Delaware, after the desirable lands east of the Alleghanies in Pennsylvania were occupied, turned their course westward and southward, overrunning the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys, settling the southern Virginia counties along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, and at an early date occupying the fertile plains of the Yadkin and Catawba. Here, these latter met the southern tide, and the stream again turned westward, to the wilderness long known as "beyond the mountains," where in the Wautauga, Holston, French Broad, and Clinch River settlements were laid the foundations of the present State of Tennessee.

Among the first explorers of western North Carolina were undoubtedly

the Indian traders who were settled at the head of the valley (originally called Kittochtiny, now Cumberland and Shenandoah) which leads from the vicinity of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, down through that State and Virginia to the upper country of North Carolina. John Harris, whose son was the founder of Harrisburg, was one of the earliest and most active of these enterprising adventurers, having settled on the Susquehanna before 1730. Associated with him after that date, among others, was John Finley, or Findlay, who married Harris's daughter in 1744. He made trading trips from the Harris settlement during that decade as far west as the present State of Ohio; and there is reason for believing that he had penetrated to the Yadkin valley before 1750. In 1752 he traversed northern Kentucky as far as the Falls of the Ohio River. He served in the Braddock campaign of 1755 as a companion of Daniel Boone, whose father had removed from Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and settled on the Yadkin at Holman's Ford, in 1748. The subsequent exploration of Kentucky by Finley and Boone in the winter of 1768–69, forms one of the most interesting chapters of American pioneer history.

The Scotch-Irish settlement of the Shenandoah or Virginia valley began about 1735–36, and soon after that time scattered families from Pennsylvania were found following the Indian traders' paths to the wide prairies between the Catawba and the Yadkin. From records preserved by the Clark family, which has lived for more than a century and a half along the Cape Fear River, it appears that one or more families removed from that region about the year 1746, to the "west of the Yadkin," as all the upper country was then called, to join some families already settled there. Previous to 1750, the emigration to this distant frontier was slow. Solitary cabins were then found upon the borders of the prairies and in the vicinity of the canebrakes. The immense ranges abounded with wild game, and afforded sustenance the whole year round for the settlers' cattle.

From about the middle of the eighteenth century, family after family and colony after colony swarmed into western North Carolina from Pennsylvania and Virginia, being induced to remove there by reports from the pioneers of the fertility and beauty of those solitudes.

Supplications for ministers were sent from North Carolina to the annual conventions of the Synod of Philadelphia as early as the year 1744, following a missionary tour made by William Robinson through the settled portions of Carolina in the winter of 1742–43. The Rev. John Thomson, a Presbyterian minister who had removed from Chestnut Level, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, to the Virginia valley about 1744, was ordered by the Synod in May of that year, to correspond with "many people" of North Carolina, who had petitioned the Synod for supplies. Either before or after that date, a daughter of Mr. Thomson had married Mr. Baker, who was one of the earliest settlers on Davidson's creek, locating about five miles from Beattie's ford, within the bounds of what afterwards became Centre Congregation, in

Iredell county. Mr. Thomson visited this settlement in the summer of 1751, probably with the intention of remaining there. He was the first minister of any denomination to preach in that region. It is supposed by his biographer [7] that he went at the solicitation of Moses Winslow, George Davidson, and other settlers in the vicinity of his son-in-law, who had known him in Pennsylvania. In 1751 Mr. Baker lived between the present Centre Church and Statesville. While in North Carolina, Mr. Thomson visited the new settlements within a radius of twenty miles from his home. He had a preaching station at William Morrison's near the present Concord Church, on Third Creek (an affluent of the South Yadkin), six miles northwest from Statesville; another station was within the bounds of what is now Fourth Creek Church; another, in Third Creek Congregation; another at Cathey's Meeting-house, afterwards Thyatira, ten miles from Salisbury; another, at what was then Osborne's Meeting-house; another, just below the present village of Davidson College, in Mecklenburg county. Mr. Thomson may also have had another preaching station farther south, within the bounds of what afterwards became Hopewell and Sugar Creek congregations. He died near Statesville in 1753.

In the same year, two ministers, Messrs. McMordie and Donaldson, were directed to visit Virginia and North Carolina, but no mention is made of the settlements they were to visit, further than that they were "to show special regard to the vacancies of North Carolina, especially betwixt Atkin [Yadkin] and Catoba rivers." The Rev. Hugh McAden, a young minister, licensed by Newcastle Presbytery in 1755, visited North Carolina in the summer of that year, and preached at different points, with a view to settlement, until the following May. His journal of the tour has been preserved, and is printed in Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina* (pp. 161–175). From McAden's account, the following list of settlements at which he preached, some fifty in number, has been made up:

August 3 and 5, 1755, at De Bow's, on Hico River; 6th, South Hico Chapel; 7th, Van Hook's, on Hico; 10th and 12th (and April 25, 1756), to a "congregation" at Anderson's on the Eno; 13th and 19th, Sherman's, on Tar River; 14th, Grassy Creek Meeting-house; 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th (and April 18, 1756), Lawrence's on Fishing Creek; 24th and 26th, the Hawfields; August 31st and September 2d, Michel's and Mebene's at Buffalo settlement; September 7th and 9th (and January 11, 1756), Sloan's on Yadkin Ford (a meeting-house); 14th and 17th, Alison's, Andrew's, Brandon's and Luckey's (a meeting-house); 21st, Justice Carruth's and Denny's (a meeting-house); 24th, Templeton's (a meeting-house); September 28th and October 1st (and December 14th), Captain Osborne's (a new meeting-house, afterwards Centre Congregation, Iredell county); October 5th (and December 7th), Captain Lewis's and Reece's, at Welsh settlement; 12th, Justice Alexander's, on Rocky River; 15th, Major Harris's; 17th, Caldwell's; 19th (and November 30th), James Alexander's, on Sugar Creek;

November 11th, Atterson's (Otterson's, Newbury District), on Tyger River (South Carolina); 13th, Love's, on Broad River (South Carolina); 16th, Patton's,near Waxhaws (South Carolina); 23d, Justice Dickens's and White's (a meeting-house); December 21st, Coddle Creek (Cabarrus county); December 28 and January 4, 1756, Cathey's Meeting-house (afterwards Thyatira); January 5th–10th, Captain Hampton's on Second Creek; 14th, Smith's, at Sand Hills; 24th, Stewart's, at Anson Court House; 25th, Hector McNeill's; 27th, Smith's, near Little River; 28th, McKay's; February 1st, Beard's; 2d, Seme's; 4th, Justice Randle's and Robinson's, at Bladen Court House; 5th, Brown's and Shaw's; 8th, Justice McNeill's (a congregation); 9th, Baldwin's, on Whitemarsh, and Kerr's; 15th, Wilmington; 22d and 29th, Evans's, in the Welsh Tract; March 3d, Black River; 7th, Brown's, on Northwest; 10th, James's, on Black River; 21st, Dickson's, in Duplin county (an Irish congregation); 24th and 28th, Gaven's, near Goshen; 30th, Herrings, on Neuse; April 4th and 7th, Little's, near the Pamlico; 8th, Red Banks, Pamlico; 11th, Mace's on Pamlico; 20th, Linsey's, at Nutbush; May 2d, McFarland's, on Hico. He left North Carolina on the 6th, and his *Journal* closes May 9th.

Most of the settlements visited by Mr. McAden were made by Presbyterians from Pennsylvania and Virginia, with the exception of two Welsh colonies, and two congregations in Duplin County which had come directly from Ireland (probably Henry McCulloch's colony).

Many of the places he mentions have at this day large congregations and flourishing churches; while some have passed from the list of Presbyterian communities.

Under date of September 22, 1755, while within the bounds of what afterwards became Centre Congregation, Iredell county, Mr. McAden writes: "Came up with a large company of men, women, and children, who had fled for their lives from the Cow or Calf Pasture in Virginia; from whom I received the melancholy account that the Indians were still doing a great deal of mischief in those parts, by murdering and destroying several of the inhabitants, and banishing the rest from their houses and livings, whereby they are forced to fly into desert places."

This was a portion of the congregation of the Rev. Alexander Craighead, who then lived on the Cow Pasture River in what is now Bath county, Virginia, near the present church of Windy Cove. Mr. Craighead was the foremost American of his day in advocating those principles of civil liberty under a republican form of government, to confirm which the Revolutionary War was fought. At the same time, he was one of the least liberal of men in the matter of religious tolerance, and a breeder of dissension amongst his clerical brethren. On November 11, 1743, one hundred years after the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in Great Britain and Ireland, Mr. Craighead gathered together all his followers at Middle Octorara, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and led them in a renewal of the Covenants. Here

they declared, with uplifted swords, their separation from the Crown which had so impiously violated Covenant engagements on both sides of the Atlantic. While denying the claims of the Stuart Pretenders, they also denied the right of George II. to rule over them, because of his being established as head of the Church by the laws of England, and his connection with a prelatical system of religion. Some of the articles of the "Declaration" adopted by these people on that day were as follows:

We do also testify against James, duke of York, his having any legal right to rule over this realm, by reason of his Popish principles. . . .

We likewise join our testimony to the taking up of arms for the defence of the Gospel and preservation of their lives at Bothwell and Ayr's-Moss, and all other places for the same cause. . . .

We likewise state our testimony against the instalment of William Henry [of Orange] because he had neither national nor scriptural qualifications, but exactly contrary thereunto. . . .

We do likewise enter our testimony against George the I. his having any legal right to rule over this realm, because he being an outlandish Lutherian; and likewise against George the II., for their being sworn prelatics, the heads of malignants, and protectors of sectarian heretics, and electory princes of Brunswick in choosing of new emperors, which is their giving their power to the Beast; and for their confederacy with Popish princes, directly contrary to the second commandment; and for want of their scriptural and national qualifications, as is above said; and for their being established head of the Church by the laws of England.

We likewise join our testimony against all that shall succeed them under these limitations to the Crown. . . .

We lift up our testimony against that unhappy revolution, and the conduct of the church at that time, which established an Erastian power in the king's hands (as they term him) to appoint time and place, when and where general assemblies should be holden, and obliged Presbyteries to settle such qualified preachers (as they call them) to vacant congregations, as should be presented by the pretended king or laic patrons. . . . We also lift up our testimony against all the corrupt pretended acts of pretended general assemblies, ever since the unhappy revolution, and all their sinful obligations which they came under to their pretended civil authority, and to one another, in obedience to them: . . . and likewise against the Oath of Abjuration, together with the Oath of Allegiance; all which conspire together for the overturning and razing out of the whole of that glorious work of reformation.

In a pamphlet written at the time, Craighead explains the position of himself and followers in these words:

Some remarks are to be made upon the following pamphlets: 1st, Upon that piece entitled, *The Declaration of the Presbyteries of New Brunswick and Newcastle.* Remark I. By this piece, the Westminster Confession of Faith is ridiculed and slighted; which appears: 1. From their asserting in the eighth page, "That no part of the twenty-third chapter of the Confession of Faith is to be understood as opposite to the memorable Revolution, and the settlement of the Crown of the three kingdoms in the illustrious

House of Hanover." And hence it is evident that no part of the twenty-third chapter of the Confession of Faith is to be taken as it is; for every paragraph of this chapter is directly opposite in plain words to the settlement of the Crown in the way and manner that it was then done: In the first paragraph it is said, that magistrates are for the glory of God and the public good, and for the defence and encouragement of them that are good, &c.; and neither of which can be said, according to God's word, that Settlement is; it being prelacy, the known inventions of men. In the second paragraph 'tis said, they ought especially to maintain piety and justice, &c.; and what agreement is betwixt this and the Sacramental Test, that pretended liberty of conscience, and the like, let him that runs read. In the third paragraph it is said of civil rulers, that it is their duty to preserve unity and peace in the church, that the truths of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed; all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline be prevented and reformed: If these things are not opposite to the Settlement in that House, it is hard to tell what is opposite. In the last paragraph it is said, that infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void, &c. By the Settlement of the Crown, no true Presbyterian can be admitted to it; and in short, no other person but Episcopal persons alone; which proves to a demonstration that prelacy is the claim of right to the throne; that is, without professing episcopacy, no person can be admitted there, let their rights or qualifications be what they will. This sentence is frequently advanced as a reason for subjection unto the present pretended magistrates; but according to the claim of rights, it can be no reason, because by it, not only infidels, but also all persons, of whatever persuasion, except Episcopals, have no access to the throne; and thus it overthrows this reason; for if no person have access to the throne but Episcopals, which is undeniable, then no person can be a magistrate without either being of the Episcopal persuasion, or that complies therewith by their subjection to prelatical laws.

These and similar utterances caused complaint to be lodged against Craighead with the civil authorities; but it does not appear that his words seriously disturbed the Quaker government, or led them to interfere with his liberty of speech. Six months before the time of the renewal of the Covenants at Octorara, Thomas Cookson, one of his Majesty's justices for the county of Lancaster, had appeared before the Synod of Philadelphia, and in the name of the governor sought their views regarding a pamphlet of a political nature, which had been particularly offensive to the governor, the authorship of which was attributed to Craighead. The Synod was far behind the latter in its support of civil liberty, and disavowed both the pamphlet and Mr. Craighead, agreeing with the Justice that the writing was "full of treason, sedition, and distraction," and calculated to "foment or encourage sedition or dissatisfaction with the civil government, that we are now under, or rebellion, treason, or anything that is disloyal."

Mr. Craighead removed to the frontiers of Virginia between the years 1749 and 1752; and thence a few years later to North Carolina, where he settled on Rocky River, in Mecklenburg county. In Carolina he found a people remote from the seat of authority, among whom the intolerant laws

of the English colonies were a dead letter. Here, he was so far divided from other congregations that there could be no collision with him on account of his system of faith or practice; and his own congregation was so far united in its general views of religion and citizenship, that he was the teacher of the whole population. Here he poured forth his principles of civil and religious government, undisturbed by the jealousy of those in authority, who were too remote to be aware of his doings, or too careless to be interested in the poor and distant emigrants on the Catawba. Accordingly, Alexander Craighead had the opportunity of forming the civil and religious principles, in no measured degree, of a race of men that feared neither the labor and hardship of the pioneer's life, nor the dangers of a frontier which was the scene of frequent bloody attacks by the savages. It was a race that had sought and found freedom and prosperity in the wilderness. Under the teachings of Craighead, it is not strange that these people should be among the first to conceive the idea of Independence, to announce it to the world in their convention held in May, 1775, and with their fortunes and lives to sustain that idea through the trying scenes of the Revolution.

Mr. Craighead organized the congregations of Rocky River and of Sugar Creek, the oldest Presbyterian churches in the upper country, and in a large measure the parent churches of the seven congregations (Sugar Creek, Hopewell, New Providence, Centre, Rocky River, Poplar Tent, and Steel Creek) whose representatives formed the Mecklenburg Convention, which met at Charlotte in May, 1775. From these and adjoining congregations also was recruited the army which, on May 15th, 1771, four years before the Battle of Lexington, gathered at Alamance, and fought for their liberties against the troops of Tryon, the royal governor. His illegal and oppressive measures had caused them to rise in revolt, and gave to these Scotch-Irish patriots of North Carolina the honor of being the first to die for the cause of American freedom.

In the upper part of the State, between the Virginia and Carolina line, along the track traversed by the army of Cornwallis in the war of the Revolution, there were some thirty organized churches, with large congregations and a great many preaching-places. In Caswell county, Hugh McAden, the second minister who became permanently settled in North Carolina, had his dwelling and his congregation. In Granville, and in Orange, along the Eno, the eloquent Patillo taught the truths of the gospel of Christ. In Guilford was established the school and seminary of Caldwell, the nursery of so many eminent men. In Rowan, the renowned scholar, McCorkle, preached and taught. In Iredell, Hall led his flock both to the sanctuary and the tents of war. In Mecklenburg, Craighead cherished the spirit of independence which broke out in the Declaration at Charlotte of May, 1775. Balch, McCaule, and Alexander fanned the flame of patriotism in their respective charges; and Richardson, the foster-uncle of General Davie, ministered at the Waxhaws. All of these ministers, with the exception of Alexander

Craighead, who was removed by death, took their stand on the side of independence during the Revolution. All were eminent men, whose influence would have been felt in any generation. All saw the Revolutionary War commence; most of them saw its end; and not a man of them left his congregation, not one faltered in his patriotism, and a number actually bore arms in the conflict. Their congregations were famous during the struggle for their patriotism and and bravery.

VIRGINIA

While there were no large colonies of Scots from North Britain in colonial Virginia, multitudes of Scottish families emigrated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and their descendants in time became numerous in almost every one of the tidewater counties of that State. Most of the early comers seem to have landed and made settlements along the Elizabeth River, in the vicinity of Norfolk, where they were sufficiently numerous to form some three or four congregations, to which Josias Mackie ministered before 1683. Others settled along the Potomac as far up as Alexandria, and in Lancaster and Northumberland counties. The great majority of Presbyterian settlements in the Old Dominion, however, were made by people of Scottish descent from the North of Ireland.

The settlements in the Valley of Virginia were originated principally by the labors of four individuals — John and Isaac Vanmeter in Frederick county, William Beverley in Augusta, and Benjamin Borden in Rockbridge. To them Governor William Gooch made extensive grants of land beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains, on condition that they should be colonized within a reasonable time. These grants were all of a later date than the so-called Fairfax grant, which was made by Charles II. in the twenty-first year of his reign, and conveyed to a number of noblemen a tract known as the Northern Neck of land in Virginia, "rounded within the head of the Rivers Rappahannock and Quiriough or Patomack rivers, the courses of said rivers, . . . and Chesapeak Bay." At a later date, title to all this tract became vested in Thomas, Lord Culpeper, one of the original grantees. Culpeper's daughter and heiress married Thomas, Lord Fairfax, "Baron of Cameron, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland," and the estates passed to Lord Fairfax. This grant gave to that nobleman, with the exception of certain reservations, nearly all the land in what are now the counties of Page, Shenandoah, Warren, Clarke, Frederick, Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, Westmoreland, Stafford, King George, Prince William, Fairfax, Alexandria, Loudoun, Fauquier, Culpeper, and Madison, in Virginia, and Berkeley, Jefferson, Morgan, and Hardy, in West Virginia. Lord Fairfax visited his Virginia estates in 1739, and returned again about 1747, ultimately settling at Greenway Court, in Clarke county, within a few miles of Winchester, where he remained until his death in 1782. While living in

Westmoreland county, he had become acquainted with the Washington family, and particularly with the young George, then a youth of fifteen, who had been a boyhood companion of the children of Fairfax's cousin, William Fairfax, of Belvoir, an estate near Mount Vernon. Accordingly, the nobleman proposed that one of the sons of his cousin together with George Washington should visit his lands on the frontier, for the purpose of exploring, surveying, and making maps of them. They accepted the proposition, and started on their journey over the mountains March 11, 1748. A record of their surveys is preserved in Washington's *Journal* of the expedition.

The first permanent settlements in the Virginia or Shenandoah Valley seem to have been made by German emigrants from Pennsylvania who established the town of New Mecklenburg (now Shepherdstown), in Jefferson county, about 1726–28. Many of these settlers afterwards purchased titles to their lands from Richard ap Morgan, a Welshman, who obtained a grant for a large tract in the same vicinity in 1734. About that time, Alexander Ross, a Pennsylvania Quaker, of Scottish descent, obtained a grant of forty thousand acres from Governor Gooch. He located his land north, west, and south of the site of the present town of Winchester.

John and Isaac Vanmeter, of Pennsylvania, obtained a grant of forty thousand acres from Governor Gooch in 1730, to be located in the lower Shenandoah Valley, within the present counties of Frederick, Clarke, and Jefferson. This warrant was sold by the grantees in 1731 to Joist Hite, a Hollander, who removed from Pennsylvania in 1732 with his own and fifteen other families, most of them Scotch-Irish. They settled along Opequon, Cedar, and Crooked creeks, in what is now Frederick county.

In 1730, Col. Robert Carter, of Stafford county, afterwards known as "King Carter," obtained from Governor Gooch a grant of sixty-three thousand acres, running from just below the Forks of the Shenandoah along the west side of that river, nearly down to the mouth of Bullskin creek. For many years this immense tract was farmed by the slaves and overseers of Carter. That gentleman built Carter Hall, in Clarke county, and died possessed of three hundred thousand acres of land and eleven hundred slaves.

In 1734, Robert Harper, a Scotch-Irishman, settled at the junction of the two rivers, Shenandoah and Potomac. Here he established a ferry, which was operated for a number of years, and gave its name to the settlement.

On September 6, 1736, Governor Gooch issued a patent for the "Manor of Beverley," comprising 118,491 acres of land, lying "in the county of Orange [afterwards Augusta], between the great mountains, on the river Sherando [Shenandoah]." The grant was made to William Beverley, John and Richard Randolph, and John Robinson. The Randolphs and Robinson, on the following day, conveyed their interest to Beverley. This tract embraced about one fifth of the present county of Augusta, the town of Staunton lying southwest of the centre of the grant. The first settlement within the limits of Augusta county was made by John Lewis, a refugee

from justice, who had killed his landlord, an Irish nobleman. He came to Pennsylvania in 1731, where he was joined by his family. They removed from Lancaster county to the Joist Hite settlement on the Opequon in 1732, and shortly after ascended the valley (which heads in southern Virginia) and located at a point one mile east of the site of Staunton.

In the early part of the year 1736, Benjamin Borden (sometimes spelled Burden), an agent of Lord Fairfax, visited John Lewis and made locations of land in the Upper Valley. Soon afterwards he received from Governor Gooch the promise of a grant of some five hundred thousand acres, principally along the headwaters of the Shenandoah and James Rivers. This large grant extended from the southern line of Beverley Manor, and embraced the whole upper (southern) part of Augusta, and much of Rockbridge county. One of the conditions under which Borden received the grant was that he should have one hundred families or settlers located on the land before he received title. He succeeded in procuring the erection of ninety-two cabins within two years, and received a patent from the governor bearing date November 8, 1739. Among the first settlers on Borden's grant were the family of Ephraim McDowell, whom the proprietor had met at the time of his visit to John Lewis. Ephraim McDowell's son, John McDowell, was a surveyor, and assisted Borden in making his locations.

James Patton was a very efficient agent of Beverley and Borden in the colonization of their lands. He was a native of Ireland of Scottish descent, and had served in the British navy. Afterwards he became owner of a "passenger ship," and traded between Ireland and Hobbes's Hole, Virginia, on the Rappahannock River. He is said to have crossed the Atlantic twenty-five times, carrying abroad cargoes of peltries and tobacco, and returning with Ulster immigrants. However, by far the greater number of the Scotch-Irish emigrants to Virginia entered that State by way of Pennsylvania and Maryland, the most of the settlements in the Shenandoah Valley being made up of people who, like John Lewis, had lived for a season in Pennsylvania, or who had been born there. They came from Chester, Lancaster, Dauphin, York, Cumberland, Adams, and Franklin counties in that State, from Newcastle county, Delaware, and from Cecil, Harford, Washington, Montgomery, and Frederick counties in Maryland. The families that formed the greater part of the settlements moved in companies, and fixed their residence in neighborhoods, for the double purpose of affording them a better defence against the dangers of the wilderness, and enabling them to enjoy the privileges of social and religious intercourse. The number of emigrants to Augusta county soon became so large that the settlers were enabled to organize a congregation, with two or more preaching stations, as early as 1737. On September 2d of that year, "a supplication from the people of Beverley Manor, in the back parts of Virginia," was laid before the Presbytery of Donegal in Pennsylvania, requesting ministerial supplies. The Presbytery "judged it not expedient, for several reasons,

to supply them that winter." The next year, however, the desire for the ordinances of religion was so strong with the inhabitants of the Virginia frontier that the subject was brought before the Synod of Philadelphia. (The "people of Potomac," mentioned in the minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia from the year 1719, are supposed to have had their residence somewhere east of the Blue Ridge, perhaps in Fauquier or Loudoun county, or possibly in Maryland.)

The following record appears upon the minutes of the Philadelphia Synod under date of Friday, May 26, 1738:

Upon the supplication of John Caldwell, in behalf of himself and many families of our persuasion, who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia, desiring that some members of the Synod may be appointed to wait on that government, to solicit their favor in behalf of our interest in that place, *Overtured*, That according to the purport of the supplication, the Synod appoint two of their number to go and wait upon the Governor and Council of Virginia, with suitable instructions in order to procure the favor and countenance of the government of that province, to the laying a foundation of our interest in the back parts thereof, where considerable numbers of families of our persuasion are settling, and that something be allowed out of our fund to bear the charges of said brethren who shall be appointed; and that also provision be made for supplying the congregations of said brethren during their absence from them, while prosecuting that affair; and that Messrs. Robert Cross, Anderson, Conn, and Orme, prosecute said affair; and that Messrs. Thomson, Dickinson, and Pemberton, prepare instructions for said brethren, and write a letter in the name of the Synod to the said government, to be brought in and approved by the Synod; and that the respective Presbyteries take care of these congregations during the absence of their pastors. And it is further overtured, that these brethren be allowed a discretionary power of using what money they have occasion for, to bear their expenses in a manner suitable to this design, being accountable to the Synod for their conduct in the whole affair. Approved, *nemine contradicente*.

On Tuesday, May 30th, the following letter was presented to Synod and approved:

To the honourable William Gooch, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Virginia, the humble address of the Presbyterian ministers convened in Synod, May 28, 1738, etc. May it please your Honour, we take leave to address you in behalf of a considerable number of our brethren who are meditating a settlement in the remote parts of your government, and are of the same persuasion with the Church of Scotland. We thought it our duty to acquaint your Honour with their design, and to ask your favour in allowing them the liberty of their consciences, and of worshipping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their education. Your Honour is sensible that those of our profession in Europe have been remarkable for their inviolable attachment to the Protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, and have upon all occasions manifested an unspotted fidelity to our gracious sovereign King George, and we doubt not but these our brethren will carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements where their lot may be cast, which will ever influence them to the most dutiful

submission to the government which is placed over them. This, we trust, will recommend them to your Honour's countenance and protection, and merit the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties We pray for the Divine blessing upon your person and government, and beg leave to subscribe ourselves your Honour's most humble and obedient servants.

The next year, on Monday, the 28th of May, Mr. Anderson reported that in compliance with an order of Synod last year he had waited upon the Governor of Virginia with the Synod's address, and received a favorable answer, the substance of which was contained in a letter from the governor to the moderator of the Synod, which read as follows:

SIR: By the hands of Mr. Anderson, I received an address signed by you, in the name of your brethren of the Synod of Philadelphia. And as I have always been inclined to favour the people who have lately removed from other provinces, to settle on the western side of our great mountains; so you may be assured, that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the act of toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the places of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceably towards the government. This you may please to communicate to the Synod as an answer of theirs.

Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM GOOCH.

WILLIAMSBURG, November 4, 1738.

The John Caldwell named in this transaction was grandfather to John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina. The colony he was the means of introducing laid the foundation of Cub Creek Congregation, in Charlotte county, Buffalo and Walker's in Prince Edward, Rockfish in Nelson, and Hat Creek and Concord in Campbell. Caldwell himself settled at Cub Creek. The greater part of the families that formed the latter settlement afterwards removed to western Virginia, now Kentucky. The Rev. Mr. Anderson during his first journey visited the Presbyterian settlements that were then formed in Frederick, Augusta, and Nelson counties.

Michael Woods, a Scottish emigrant from the North of Ireland, passed up the Virginia valley in 1734, crossed the Blue Ridge and settled at Henderson's Quarter, near what has since been called Woods' Gap. Three sons and three sons-in-law came with him, and settled in the same vicinity. One of the sons-in-law, William Wallace, took up his residence on Mechum's River, in Albemarle county. Others joined him from Pennsylvania, and they afterwards organized the congregation of Mountain Plain.

About the year 1735, William Hoge, also of Scotch-Irish birth, removed from Pennsylvania and settled on Opequon Creek, about three miles south of the site of Winchester, Frederick county. Opequon Church was soon afterwards built upon his tract of land.

About 1737–38 the churches of Tinkling Spring, Augusta (Stone Church), and Mossy Creek, then forming the congregation of the Triple Forks of the

Shenandoah, in Augusta County, took their beginning. Soon after, the congregations of Timber Ridge and Forks of James in Rockbridge, and Back Creek in Berkeley county, were formed.

On the South Branch of the Potomac, in Hardy county, settlements commenced about the year 1735; and soon after that date cabins were scattered along Cacapon Creek in Hardy and Hampshire.

Robert McKay, Robert Green, William Duff, Peter Stephens, and other of the Scotch-Irish families who accompanied Joist Hite to the Opequon in 1732, settled at Stephensburg, and on Crooked run, in Frederick county.

Within ten or twelve years from the time of Hoge's settlement on the Opequon, additional Presbyterian communities of Scotch-Irish origin were settled at Falling Waters, in Berkeley county, Elk Branch and Bullskin in Jefferson, Peaked Mountain in Rockingham, North Mountain, Cow Pasture, and Calf Pasture in Augusta, New Providence in Rockbridge, and Roanoke in Botetourt; there being besides a considerable increase in the number of settlements east of the Blue Ridge.

Presbyterian ministers followed the steps of these colonists, first on short visits, then to become resident pastors of the infant congregations. Samuel Gelston was sent by the Presbytery of Donegal (Pa.) in the year 1737 to visit the people on Opequon. It does not appear that he made a second visit. His preaching place was near where Opequon Meeting-house now stands. James Anderson, as already stated, was sent as a special delegate from the Synod of Philadelphia in 1738 with a message to Governor Gooch. He visited the different colonies of Presbyterians in Virginia, and preached his first sermon in Augusta at the house of John Lewis. Samuel Dunlap, a probationer of the Presbytery of New York spent about three months in the neighborhood of Staunton, in the year 1739. Mr. John Thomson, of the Presbytery of Donegal, visited Virginia in the year 1739 and spent some time at the Opequon settlement. He also visited Augusta county, Rockfish in Nelson, Cub Creek, Buffalo, and Campbell county. "He took up voluntary collections for preachers of the gospel," says the manuscript History of Lexington Presbytery, "and in doing justice to his memory it is proper to observe that he was active in promoting the Presbyterian cause in Virginia." Through his instrumentality, Messrs. Black and Craig were sent by Presbytery, the one to the Triple Forks and the other to Rockfish. Thomson labored for a short time at Buffalo, to which place the Rev. Richard Sankey, his son-in-law, afterwards removed with his congregation from Hanover, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, and served there as pastor for many years. Mr. Thomson removed to North Carolina in 1751, and there died within the bounds of Centre Congregation.

John Craig visited Augusta in 1739 as a probationer from Donegal Presbytery, and afterwards became pastor of the Triple Forks, or Tinkling Spring and Augusta congregations. About the same time Mr. Samuel Black took up

his residence at Rockfish in Nelson county. The next Presbyterian minister in Virginia was William Robinson, who in 1743 visited the congregations in the Valley near Winchester and above Staunton, went to Carolina, and on his return visited Hanover. Following Robinson came John Roan, whose visit to Hanover excited a feeling of great bitterness among some members of the Established Church. John Blair visited the Valley and congregations east of the Blue Ridge in 1745, and again in 1746. During his second visit he organized the congregations of North Mountain, New Providence, Timber Ridge, and Forks of James. After this, visits became more frequent and many of the congregations made efforts to obtain settled ministers.

NEW YORK

In the city of New York Scotch and Scotch-Irish emigrants began to settle before 1700. Francis Makemie preached to the Presbyterians there in January, 1707, for which service he was arrested and imprisoned. The Presbyterian congregation in New York was not formally organized, however, until 1717. A number of Scotch-Irish emigrants settled in the vicinity of Goshen, Orange county, New York, before 1720. In that year their church at Goshen was organized. During the decade from 1720 to 1730 some forty families from the North of Ireland settled along the Wallkill River in what are now Orange and Ulster counties. At Bethlehem, in Orange county, and at Wallkill, in Ulster, these people organized two churches about 1729, and in September of that year applied to the Philadelphia Synod for ministers to preach to them. These settlers were joined in 1731 by a second colony from the North of Ireland, with which came Charles Clinton and his sister, Christiana Clinton Beatty, the former the father and grandfather of two Revolutionary generals and two governors of New York; the latter the mother of two noted Presbyterian divines, both named for her brother, Charles Clinton.

The dividing line between the French and English possessions in America was left in dispute by the Peace of Utrecht, and in 1731 the French governor of Canada made a movement to secure a large part of the disputed territory for France by building a fortress at Crown Point. Great alarm was felt along the northern frontier of New York; for it was realized that in case of war much greater facility would be afforded to the murderous expeditions of the French and Indians than ever before. The obvious counter-movement would have been for New York to build a fort at Ticonderoga, but the governor and the Assembly were in constant conflict with each other, and nothing was done. Even Fort Anne was left in ruins, and no defences were erected at the head of Lake Champlain or Lake George. Fort Saratoga, however, was still kept up, though not in a proper manner.

The only move towards counteracting the French advance was an attempt made to settle the territory above the Saratoga patent with a colony of fear-

less men, who might act as protectors of the lands below. In 1735 a proclamation was issued by the governor inviting "loyal Protestant Highlanders" to settle the lands between the Hudson and the northern lakes,—the men of the tartan and claymore being considered the best defenders that the province could have. In 1737, Captain Lauchlin Campbell, of Islay, a Highland soldier of distinguished courage, came to America in response to this proclamation, and went over the territory of Washington county to see if a colony could be located there. He was satisfied with the locality, and according to his statement, which was in all probability true, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke (acting governor) promised him a grant of thirty thousand acres for the use of a colony, free of all expenses except surveying-fees and quitrent.

Campbell returned to Scotland, sold his property there, raised a company of four hundred and twenty-three adults, to come to America, and in 1738 crossed the Atlantic with a part of his charge. On his arrival, the governor insisted on his full fees and a share in the land. This Campbell refused to give,—the fees he was perhaps unable to give. Governor Clarke pretended to be very anxious to aid the emigrants, and recommended the Legislature to grant them assistance. But the Legislature was, as usual, at war with the governor and refused to vote money to the emigrants, which they suspected with good reason, the latter would be required to pay to the colonial officials for fees. The members of the colony were obliged to separate to earn their livings.

A full account of this enterprise was set forth by a son of Lauchlin Campbell in a "Memorial" to the Lords of Trade, printed in the *Documentary and Colonial History of New York*, vol. vii., p. 630, from which the following extract has been made:

To the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Trade, etc., memorial of Lieut. Donald Campbell of the Province of New York Plantation, humbly showeth:

That in the year 1734, Colonel Cosby being then governor of the province of New York, by and with the advice and assent of his Council published a printed advertisement for encouraging the resort of Protestants from Europe to settle upon the northern frontier of the said province (in the route from Fort Edward to Crown Point) promising to each family two hundred acres of unimproved land out of one hundred thousand acres purchased from the Indians, without any fee or expenses whatsoever, except a very moderate charge for surveying, and liable only to the King's quitrent of one shilling and nine pence farthing per hundred acres, which settlement would at that time have been of the outmost utility to the province, and these proposals were looked upon as so advantageous that they could not fail of having a proper effect.

That these proposals, in 1737, falling into the hands of Captain Lauchlin Campbell, of the Island of Islay, he the same year went over to North America, and passing through the province of Pennsylvania, where he rejected many considerable offers that were made to him, he proceeded to New York,

where, though Govenor Cosby was deceased, George Clarke, Esq., then governor, assured him no part of the lands were as yet granted; importuned him and two or three persons that went over with him to go up and visit the lands, which they did, and were very kindly received and greatly caressed by the Indians. On his return to New York he received the most solemn promises that he should have a thousand acres of land for every family that he brought over, and that each family should have, according to their number, from five hundred to one hundred and fifty acres, but declined making any grant till the families arrived, because, according to the constitution of that government, the names of the settlers were to be inserted in that grant. Captain Campbell accordingly returned to Islay, and brought from thence, at a very large expense, his own family and thirty other families, making in all one hundred and fifty-three souls. He went again to visit the lands, received all possible respect and kindness from the government, who proposed an old fort, Anne, to be repaired, to cover the new settlers from the French Indians. At the same time, the people of New York proposed to maintain the people already brought till Captain Campbell could return and bring more, alleging that it would be for the interest of the infant colony to settle upon the lands in a large body; that, covered by the fort, and assisted by the [friendly] Indians, they might be less liable to the incursions of enemies;

That to keep up the spirit of the undertaking, Governor Clarke, by a writing bearing date the 4th day of December, 1738, declared his having promised Captain Campbell thirty thousand acres of land at Wood Creek, free of charges, except the expenses of surveying and the King's quitrent, in consideration of his having already brought over thirty families, who, according to their respective numbers in each family, were to have from one hundred and fifty to five hundred acres. Encouraged by this declaration, he departed in the same month for Islay, and in August, 1740, brought over forty families more; and under the faith of the same promises made a third voyage, from which he returned in November, 1740, bringing with him thirteen families, the whole making eighty-three families, composed of four hundred and twenty-three persons, all sincere and loyal Protestants, and very capable of forming a respectable frontier for the security of the province;

But after all these perilous and expensive voyages, and though there wanted but seventeen families to complete the number for which he had undertaken, he found no longer the same countenance or protection, but on the contrary it was insinuated to him that he could have no land either for himself or the people but upon conditions in direct violation of the faith of government, and detrimental to those who upon his assurances had accompanied him into America [*i. e.*, that he should bribe the officials for their assistance in securing legislative approval of the grant]. The people also were reduced to demand separate grants for themselves, which upon large promises some of them did, yet more of them never had so much as a foot of land, and many listed themselves to join the expedition to Cuba;

That Captain Campbell, having disposed of his whole fortune in the Island of Islay, expended the far greatest part of it from confidence in these fallacious promises, found himself at length constrained to employ the little he had left in the purchase of a small farm, seventy miles north of New York, for the subsistence of himself and his family, consisting of three sons and three daughters. He went over again into Scotland in 1745, and having the command of a company of Argyleshire men, served with reputation under his Royal Highness, the Duke, against the rebels. He went back to America in 1747, and not long after died of a broken heart, leaving behind

him the six children before mentioned, of whom your memorialist is the eldest, in very narrow and distressed circumstances, etc.

In January, 1763, Donald, George, and James Campbell, sons of Lauchlin Campbell, presented a petition asking for a grant of a hundred thousand acres between Batten Kill and Wood Creek. It is difficult to account for the seeming exorbitance of this request, as under the terms of his contract with Governor Clarke, Lauchlin Campbell would have been entitled to only eighty-three thousand acres. It has been suggested that the Campbells intended, or claimed that they intended, to provide for the descendants of the colonists who had expected to settle under their father's direction. A more probable explanation, in view of what had happened before, would be, that it was designed to use a portion of the grant as a bribe to secure the passage of the act.

The petition was rejected on the ground that the orders of the English government positively forbade the granting of over a thousand acres to any one person. Nevertheless, it was felt that Captain Campbell had been very badly treated, and there was a disposition on the part of the colonial authorities to give some relief to his children. Accordingly, in the autumn of that year, a grant of ten thousand acres in the present township of Argyle, Washington county, was made to the three brothers before named, their three sisters, and four other persons, three of whom were also named Campbell.

On the 2d of March, 1764, Alexander McNaughton and one hundred and six others of the original Campbell immigrants and their descendants petitioned for one thousand acres to be granted to each of them "to be laid out in a single tract between the head of South Bay and Kingsbury, and reaching east towards New Hampshire and westwardly to the mountains in Warren county." The committee of the Council to whom this petition was referred reported May 21, 1764, recommending that forty-seven thousand seven hundred acres should be granted to them, between the tract already granted to Schuyler and others (Fort Edward), and the tract proposed to be granted to Turner and others (Salem). The grant was made out in conformity with the recommendation of the Council, and specifies the amount of land that each individual of the petitioners was to receive, two hundred acres being the least and six hundred acres the most that any individual obtained. It also appoints five men as trustees, to divide and distribute the lands as directed. By the same instrument, the tract was incorporated as a township, to be named Argyle, and to have a supervisor, treasurer, collector, two assessors, two overseers of highways, two overseers of the poor, and six constables, to be elected annually by the inhabitants on the first day of May.

This grant included a large portion of what is now the northern half of the township of Greenwich, and a portion of the township of Fort Edward.

The townships in which these Scottish Highlanders settled were directly west of what is now Salem township, Washington county. Settlements were made in the latter township early in the year 1762, by James Turner, Alexander

Conkey, and others, who had come from the Scotch-Irish colony of Pelham, in Massachusetts, to which reference has already been made. Salem township consists largely of the tract of twenty-five thousand acres, granted August 7, 1764, to James Turner and others. One-half of the land covered by the patent, however, in accordance with a not uncommon custom of the time, became the property of Oliver De Lancey and Peter Du Bois, two government officials, whose services presumably aided in securing the grant. De Lancey and Du Bois sold their share of the land in 1765 to the Rev. Thomas Clark and his Scotch-Irish congregation, who had emigrated the year before from Ballybay, county Monaghan, Ireland. Mr. Clark, a native of Scotland, was a follower of Ebenezer Erskine, and in 1748 had been called as their minister by a portion of Mr. Jackson's congregation in Ireland, which had seceded from the main body. At Ballybay he is said to have labored with great success, but amid many trials and persecutions. He refused to take an oath by "kissing the book," believing it to be unscriptural; and although he entered the army while a student, and fought against the Pretender, yet he would not take the Oath of Abjuration, because it recognized the King as the head of the Church. Taking advantage of these things, some of his enemies had him arrested by the civil authorities in 1754, and he was imprisoned in the jail at Monaghan. From his place of confinement he preached every Sabbath to as many of his people as could convene. When the day of his trial came, it appeared that he had been imprisoned on a fraudulent charge, and he was released. In 1763 Mr. Clark received invitations to visit two settlements in America, one in Rhode Island and the other near Albany. Wearied with his contendings he regarded these calls favorably, and his Presbytery gave him leave of absence for one year. But when he came to sail from Newry on the 16th of May, 1764, it was found that the greater part of his congregation, some three hundred persons, were ready to sail with him. They all embarked together, and after arriving in New York settled temporarily at Stillwater. Thence a portion of his parishioners removed to Abbeville district, South Carolina, but a majority of them settled with Mr. Clark at Salem. His pastoral relation had never been disturbed; his church had simply been transplanted; and he continued at Salem as the pastor of the eight ruling elders and one hundred and fifty communicants and their children, who had come with him from Ballybay. He resigned his ministry at Salem in 1782, and three years later removed to Abbeville district, where he was installed as minister of Cedar Spring and Long Cane congregations, dying there in 1792.

From 1764 to 1774 the township of Hebron, lying north of Salem in Washington county, was largely granted in patents of two thousand acres each, issued to commissioned officers, and in lots of two hundred acres each to non-commissioned officers, and lots of fifty acres each to privates who had served in the French and Indian War. These grants were made mostly to the officers and men of the 77th Regiment, Montgomery's High-

landers, who had served in America for seven years, taking part in the capture of Fort Duquesne and the reduction of Ticonderoga. Their term of service having expired, they were discharged in New York City. They took up the lands in Washington county, owing to a proclamation made by the King in October, 1763, offering land in America, without fees, to all officers and soldiers who had served on that continent, and who desired to establish their homes there.

The principal part of Cambridge township, in the southern part of Washington county, was granted to Isaac Sawyer and others in 1761. To induce settlements on this land, the patentees gave one hundred acres to each of the first thirty families who should become actual settlers. The names of these first settlers are nearly all Scottish, and they probably came from the Scotch-Irish settlements of Coleraine and Pelham in Massachusetts and from Connecticut, as well as from the North of Ireland and Scotland direct. Many of the latter were Covenanters, and these were visited in 1764 by Rev. John Cuthbertson, the noted missionary, who spent forty years (1751–1790) in travelling between the scattered congregations of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, from Pennsylvania to New Hampshire. From a manuscript copy of Cuthbertson's diary, it appears that he visited Orange county, New York, in 1759, where he spent the month of September in missionary labor along the Wallkill. Returning in 1764, he continued his journey to Albany, and in August arrived at Cambridge. He made a second visit in 1766, and another in October, 1769, at which time he ordained two ruling elders. The Rev. Thomas Clark, of Salem, also visited and preached to the settlers at Cambridge, and in April, 1769, also ordained a number of elders at that place.

Besides the Scottish outpost planted near the head of Lake Champlain by Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, he also granted, in 1738, a tract of eight thousand acres in Otsego county, on what was then the western frontier of the province, covering the present township of Cherry Valley. This grant was made for the same reasons which had induced the authorities to promise the grant to Lauchlin Campbell, namely, the desire to obtain a population on the frontier which would protect the province from the incursions of the Indians and the encroachments of the French. The patent was issued to John Lindesay and three associates. Mr. Lindesay was a Scottish gentleman, of some fortune and distinction. He purchased the interest of his associates, and by his influence induced a settlement on the lands of several families, comprising about thirty persons, originally from Scotland and Ulster. A few years afterwards small settlements were made at other points in the vicinity, along the valley of the Susquehanna River. Middlefield was settled by the Scotch-Irish in 1755. These settlements increased very slowly, in consequence of the fear of Indian hostilities. By 1765 there were about forty families located at Cherry Valley, and ten years later the number of families was nearly sixty. Mr. Lindesay began his settlement about

1740. While in New York City, preparing for the removal of his family, he formed a friendship with the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, a young Presbyterian minister of Ulster birth, and persuaded him to join in the colonization of the land. Mr. Dunlop accordingly visited Londonderry, New Hampshire, and induced a number of his friends there to accompany him to the settlement. Here, about 1743, he established a classical school at his dwelling—the first school of the kind west of the Hudson. Cherry Valley was still a frontier settlement at the commencement of the Revolution. On October 11, 1778, it was attacked by the Tories and Indians, under the lead of Walter Butler and Joseph Brant. Thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, were massacred in cold blood, and sixteen Continental officers and soldiers were killed. The remainder of the inhabitants were carried off as prisoners, and all the buildings in the settlement burned. For seven years the site remained waste, and it was not until 1784–85 that the survivors and friends of the victims began to return and rebuild.

Glen township, Montgomery county, New York, was settled in 1740 by sixteen familes from Ireland. These afterwards removed, from fear of the Indians.

Monroe township, Orange county, was settled by a number of Scotch-Irish families who came in 1742. Much of Orange county was first occupied by emigrants of Scottish descent from the North of Ireland, who began to make settlements along the Wallkill River as early as 1729.

Harpersfield township, Delaware county, was settled by emigrants from Scotland or Ulster in 1771. Kortright township, in the same county, was also settled by Scottish emigrants before 1785, and Bovina township by settlers from Scotland and Connecticut some ten years later.

Ballston township, in Saratoga county, was settled in 1770 by a Presbyterian minister, Rev. Eliphalet Ball, and several members of his congregation, who removed from Bedford, New York. Soon after their arrival a large number of Presbyterian emigrants came in from Scotland, Ireland, New Jersey, and New England, many of whom a few years later took an active part in the battle of Saratoga. Stillwater township, in the same county, was settled by Scottish and New England emigrants, many from the vicinity of Litchfield, Conn., in 1763.

Broadalbin township, in Fulton county, was settled by James McIntyre and other emigrants from Scotland, soon after the close of the Revolution.

New Scotland township, Albany county, was settled by emigrants from Scotland who began to locate there before 1786.

Albany itself received a substantial emigration from Scotland and the North of Ireland before 1760. In that year, a Presbyterian Church was organized there, composed chiefly of members of Scottish descent.

Sir William Johnson, who had taken a prominent part in the defence of New York against the French at Crown Point and Lake George in 1755, received from the Crown a grant of one hundred thousand acres of land

north of the Mohawk River, in the vicinity of Johnstown, Tryon (now Fulton) county. In order to secure tenants for this land, he appointed agents to visit the Scottish Highlands, where he obtained as many colonists as he desired, all of whom were of the Roman Catholic faith. They embarked for America during the month of August, 1773. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 30, 1773, in speaking of these emigrants, states: "Three gentlemen of the name of MacDonnell, with their families, and four hundred Highlanders from the counties [districts] of Glengarry, Glenmorison, Urquhart, and Strathglass, lately embarked for America, having obtained a grant of land in Albany." The three gentlemen here referred to were the MacDonnells of Aberchalder, Leek, and Collachie; there was also a fourth MacDonnell, of Scotas. They had fought for the Pretender in 1745, and in order to mend their shattered fortunes were willing to remove to America. These men made their homes in what was then Tryon county, about thirty miles from Albany, where now stands the town of Gloversville. Tracts varying from one to five hundred acres were granted to certain families, all subjected to the lord of the manor as under the feudal system. Here the Highlanders settled, and they soon became deeply attached to the interests of Sir William Johnson and his family. On the death of the former in 1774, they transferred their allegiance to his son, Sir John Johnson; and on the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, followed their master into the British army. The majority of them served in the first and second battalions of the King's Royal Regiment of New York.

CANADA

Not being permitted to remain in the United States after the termination of the Revolutionary War, the Scotch retainers of Sir John Johnson were granted lands in Canada by the British government. The officers and men of the first battalion settled in a body at Glengarry, Ontario, occupying the first five townships west of the boundary line of Quebec province, being the present townships of Lancaster, Charlottenburgh, Cornwall, Osnabruck, and Williamsburgh. Those of the second battalion removed farther west to the Bay of Quinte, settling in the counties of Lennox and Prince Edward. They were joined in the month of September, 1786, by five hundred of their kinsfolk from Knoydart who had sailed with the Rev. Alexander MacDonnell from Greenock, in the ship *MacDonald*.

In the first half of the seventeenth century Sir William Alexander, a favorite of James I., tried to found a new Scotland in America. The only existing memorial of that attempt is the name Nova Scotia, and the titles of a number of Scottish noblemen, whose ancestors of that period were created by James barons of Nova Scotia. A more successful attempt was made after the forced evacuation of the French from that province in 1755. About the year 1760, a party of Scotch-Irishmen, many of them from Londonderry, New Hampshire, started a permanent settlement at Truro, in

Colchester county. Other Scotch-Irish settlers followed, their descendants becoming numerous, and peopling several neighboring towns.

Colonel Alexander McNutt, an agent of the British government, arrived in Halifax October 9, 1761, with more than three hundred settlers from the North of Ireland. In the following spring, some of these removed to Londonderry, while many settled at Onslow and Truro.

The *Hector* was the first emigrant ship from Scotland to come to Nova Scotia. It arrived in the harbor of Pictou, September 15, 1773, bringing about two hundred emigrants from Ross-shire. The pioneers who came in that vessel formed the beginning of a stream of emigrants from Scotland, which flowed over the county of Pictou, the eastern portions of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, portions of New Brunswick, and some of the upper provinces. Simcoe county, Ontario, is almost entirely settled by men and women of Ulster or Scottish descent. The county of Restigouche in Nova Scotia, is almost wholly Scottish, and the names of its townships—Glenelg, Glenlivet, Dunlee, and Campbelltown, show conclusively the very districts in Scotland from which its early settlers came. "The town and whole district of Pictou," says MacGregor, in his work on *British America*, "are decidedly Scottish. In the streets, within the houses, in the shops, on board the vessels, and along the roads, we hear little but Gaelic and broad Scotch." The places in the maritime provinces of Canada where the Gaelic language prevails or is still largely spoken are the counties of Pictou and Antigonish; Earltown, the county of Colchester; a part of the county of Guysborough; the island of Cape Breton; Prince Edward Island; and some settlements along the Bay of Chaleur, in New Brunswick. In Glengarry county, Ontario, Gaelic still continues to be the language of the people, and it is there spoken as purely as it is in Dingwall or Lewis. According to a census taken in 1852 there were in Glengarry county 3228 McDonalds, 551 McMillans, 41 McDougalls, 40 McRaes, 473 McLeods, 415 Grants, 399 Camerons, 312 McLennans, 304 Campbells, 133 Chisholms, 50 Cattenachs, 262 McIntoshes, 176 Frasers, 114 McGregors, and representatives of nearly every other name peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland. A story told in Canada is to the effect that a Yankee who visited Ontario for the first time, concluded that he really was in Scotland, for the queen's representative was a Scot; the prime minister was a Scot; the members of the cabinet he met were Scots; he heard the Doric spoken in all the government offices; saw that all the large stores were owned by "Macs"; and that a large number of the towns he passed on the railway bore Scottish names.

In 1772, John MacDonald of Glenaladale, with two hundred persecuted Catholic Highlanders from the island of South Uist emigrated to Prince Edward Island, where he had purchased a tract of forty thousand acres on the north coast, at the head of Tracadie Bay, almost due north of Charlottetown. There, in 1776, he organized a company from his followers and

took up arms against the American colonists. Another colony was led to Prince Edward Island in 1774, by Wellwood Waugh, of Lockerbie, Dumfriesshire. Their first crops were ruined by a visitation of locusts, and they removed to Pictou. After 1783, there were considerable additions to this colony, the largest number coming from the 82d, or Hamilton Regiment, which had been on duty under General McLean, at Halifax and in the United States. This regiment, which was composed almost entirely of Scots, was disbanded at Halifax, and had a large tract of land set apart for it in Pictou, known as the "82d Grant."

Concerning the Scots in the Northwest Territory, Dr. Peter Ross, in his book on *Scotland and the Scots*, quotes from Mr. David Scott as follows:

After the English Government found it necessary for the Hanoverian succession to disarm the Highlanders, and break up, so far as they could, the ancient loyalty of the clans to their chieftains, and the ancient protection which the chief, as in honor bound, extended to every member of his clan, a large number of Scottish gentlemen turned their attention toward Canada, as a country which offered many inducements in the way not only of exciting adventure but also of prosperous commerce. These emigrants of noble descent did not settle as cultivators of the soil, but banded together and formed themselves into a trading concern, which grew, in the course of years, into a vast partnership known as the "Northwest Company." Over the interior of the Canadas the merchants spread a great network of stations, each of them presided over by a clerk, who (if he behaved well) rose in the course of time to a junior partnership. The principal trade was in furs, and in order to obtain the furs it was necessary to barter with the Indians. So it came to pass that these pioneers of Canadian commerce bought from the old country cheap articles in the shape of clothing, knives, muskets, and other commodities suitable for exchange with the Indians, and sent back valuable furs, which found their way to every available market in Europe. . . . Once a year the whole company of shareholders met to transact business, and then the scene was like a gathering of the clans in the forests of the far West. The names of the old chieftains were those familiar among them—Cameron and Chisholm and Mackenzie—the free and rough hospitality was the same. . . . To this very day, though the reign of the first Northwest Company of Canada is long over, you may find relics of these old Celtic families among the citizens of Montreal and Toronto. . . . Instead of the grandees of the Northwest Company Farther Canada has been taken possession of by an humbler class of our countrymen, who are content to till the ground they own for a livelihood. Whole villages of the Far West are Celtic in origin, and we may hear the Gaelic tongue almost as readily among the Canadian pines as in the glens of Inverness-shire or among the boatmen of green Islay itself.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

[1] See vol. i., p. 154, note 11.
[2] See vol. i., pp. 201–204.
[3] See vol. i., p. 541.
[4] *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, vol. i., p. 155.
[5] See Oglethorpe's letter to the Trustees, Feb. 13, 1736, *Georgia Historical Collections*, vol. iii., p. 10.
[6] MacLean, *Highlanders in America*, ch. vi.
[7] Rev. E. F. Rockwell, in Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, vol. xvi., pp. 78–82.

CHAPTER IV

PENNSYLVANIA

WHILE the settlements of the Scotch-Irish in New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas were numerous, and represented a population of many thousand families, the great majority of the Ulster emigrants to America first landed on the Delaware shore. Most of the passenger ships sailing from Ireland during the eighteenth century were bound for ports in the Quaker colony. Pennsylvania thus became the centre of the Presbyterian settlements in the New World, and from that province, after 1735, a continuous stream of emigration flowed to the South and West.

The emigrants to Pennsylvania usually landed at one of the three ports, Lewes, Newcastle (both in Delaware, which was then part of Pennsylvania), or Philadelphia. Presbyterian congregations were gathered in all of these towns before 1698. During the first decade of the eighteenth century the Scotch-Irish made settlements along White Clay, Red Clay, and Brandywine creeks in Newcastle county, Delaware, and at the head of Elk creek on both sides of the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary, at its intersection with the Delaware line. John McKnitt Alexander, who took a prominent part in the Mecklenburg (North Carolina) Convention of 1775, was descended from one of the four families of that name who had settled at New Munster on the east side of Elk creek, in Cecil county, Maryland, "some years before 1715"—possibly as early as 1683, in which year the tract had been surveyed for Edwin O'Dwire, and "fifteen other Irishmen."

The settlers upon the New Munster tract were the founders of the two Presbyterian churches, "Head of Christiana" and "The Rock." The former was located in the triangular part of Pennsylvania which extends south of Mason and Dixon's line, and the latter at what is now Lewisville,—both in Chester county, Pennsylvania. The church at the head of Christiana creek was organized before 1708, by a few persons living in the vicinity who had previously worshipped at Newcastle.

Two years after that date the congregations of Drawyers and Pencader, in Delaware, and Bensalem, in Pennsylvania, were gathered, the first composed chiefly of Scotch-Irish, the second of Welsh, and the third of Hollanders. The year 1714 brought into existence six more Presbyterian churches: Norriton and Abington, in what is now Montgomery county, and Great Valley, in Chester county, all in Pennsylvania; and Cedar Creek, Dover, and Murderkill, in Delaware. The congregations of these churches were composed of Scottish, Dutch, and Welsh settlers.

Before 1720 the Scotch-Irish had extended their settlements westward to the mouth of the Susquehanna, and were sufficiently numerous to form

three new congregations. The first of these was probably that one which was called, from its location on Octorara creek, "Mouth of Octorara," afterwards "Lower Octorara," and, subsequent to 1730, "Nottingham" (now "West Nottingham"). Judging from the fact that in 1720 their meeting-house is referred to on the records as "the old meeting-house," there must have been enough Scotch-Irish people settled there to organize a church and erect a house of worship several years before 1720. The second congregation was at the head of Elk creek, afterwards called "The Rock Church," now "East Nottingham." In the records of the Presbytery of Newcastle, under date May 18, 1720, the following record appears: "A certain number of people, lately come from Ireland, having settled about the branches of Elk river, have by Thomas Reed and Thomas Caldwell, their commissioners, supplicated this Presbytery, that, at what time this Presbytery think convenient, they would appoint one of their number to come and preach among them, and then to take such note of their circumstances and necessities as, by his report made to this Presbytery at their next session, the Presbytery may the more clearly know how to countenance their design of having the Gospel settled among them." The Rev. Samuel Young was sent by Presbytery, and at its meeting a few weeks later made a favorable report as to the ability of the people to support a minister. The Presbytery thereupon voted for the erection of a new congregation at the "head of Elk." The third congregation, organized in southeastern Pennsylvania at about the same time, was that of Upper Octorara, near the present village of Parkesburg, in Chester county. This congregation was originally known as that of Sadsbury, from the name of the township in which its church building is situated. It was first ministered to by the Rev. David Evans, a Welshman, who was settled as pastor of Pencader Church in the Welsh Tract, Newcastle county, Delaware, before 1720. He resigned from this charge in May of that year, and went as supply to the people of Tredyffrin, or the Great Valley, and was also sent by Newcastle Presbytery to the region now called Octorara, to the "Forks of Brandywine," and to Conestoga. The whole territory thus included was missionary ground, and Mr. Evans preached at various places in the different settlements which had been formed.

The district called "Conestoga" embraced much of the present county of Lancaster. On August 1, 1721, application was made to Newcastle Presbytery for supplies by the people living along Chiquesalunga creek, and two ministers were sent. This was the origin of Donegal Church, situated near Mount Joy, Lancaster county. In the same year the congregation of White Clay Creek was detached from that of Head of Christiana; and the following year, Red Clay Creek Church was organized in the same territory; Broad Creek Congregation was gathered in Cecil county, Maryland, in 1723. Pequea, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1724; and Oxford, Chester county, in 1725. The next year saw the organization of the church of Duck Creek, near Smyrna, Delaware, and the united congregations of

Neshaminy and Deep Run, both in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. Middle Octorara, in Bart township, Lancaster county, came into existence in 1727; and in 1728, Cool Spring, near Lewes, Delaware, and New London, in Chester county, Pennsylvania. The three churches of Middletown, in Delaware county, and Derry and Paxtang, in Lancaster (now Dauphin), were organized in 1729; and five more during the succeeding year, being those of Plumstead in Bucks county, Lower Providence in Montgomery, Fagg's Manor in Chester, and Little Britain and Chestnut Level in Lancaster.

The families which made up these congregations mostly came into the Province between the years 1720 and 1730. At first, they generally settled in the southeastern corner of Pennsylvania, near the disputed Maryland boundary line. Long before 1730 they had occupied much of the lower lands in the townships of East and West Nottingham, in Cecil county, Maryland, and East and West Nottingham in Chester county, Pennsylvania; as well as Mill Creek and White Clay Creek hundreds, in Newcastle county, Delaware. In Pennsylvania, besides the Nottinghams in Chester county, they settled in the townships of London Britain, New London, Londonderry, London Grove, Upper and Lower Oxford, East and West Fallowfield, East and West Caln, Sadsbury, and the newer townships between; in Little Britain, Colerain, Bart, Sadsbury, Salisbury, Drumore, Martic, and Donegal, in Lancaster county; and in Derry, Paxtang, and Hanover in that part of Lancaster now included in Dauphin county. They had also entered Bucks county in considerable numbers, settling in Warwick, Warminster, Bedminster, and Tinicum townships.

James Logan, at that time secretary of the Province, and himself a Scottish Quaker, in writing of the Ulster emigrants to the Penns in 1724, states that they had generally taken up the southern lands, towards the Maryland line, and as they rarely approached him with proposals of purchase, he refers to them as "bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse, when challenged for titles, that we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly." These Scotch-Irish, however, were understood to be a tolerated class, exempt from quitrents by an ordinance of 1720, in consideration of their being a frontier people, and forming a cordon of defence around the non-fighting Quakers. The newcomers thus served to protect the followers of George Fox from the murderous incursions of the Indians, and also from the Maryland and Virginia invaders who claimed part of the land as within the boundaries of their own colonies.

In a letter to John Penn, written November 23, 1727, Logan further expresses himself upon the subject of the Ulster emigrants as follows:

> We have many thousands of foreigners, mostly Palatines so-called [the Scotch-Irish, of course, were not "foreigners," Pennsylvania being a colony of Great Britain] already in the country, of whom some fifteen hundred came in this last summer, many of them surly people, divers Papists among them, and the men generally well armed. We have from the North of Ireland

great numbers yearly. Eight or nine ships this last fall discharged at Newcastle. Both these sets frequently sit down on any spot of vacant land they can find, without asking question. The last Palatines say there will be twice the number next year; and the Irish say the same of their people. Last week, one of these latter applied to me in the name of four hundred, as he said, who depended all on me for directions where they should settle. They say the Proprietor invited people to come and settle his country; they came for that end, and must live. Both they and the Palatines pretend that they will buy, but not one in twenty has anything to pay with. The Irish settle generally towards the Maryland line, where no lands can honestly be sold till the dispute with Lord Baltimore is decided.

The number of emigrants that arrived in Pennsylvania from December, 1728, to December, 1729, was 6208, of whom but a small proportion (243 Palatines) were aliens. Of the others, there were 267 English and Welsh, 43 Scotch, and 5605 Scotch-Irish, some 4500 of the latter having come in by way of Newcastle. In 1729, Logan expresses himself as pleased to find that Parliament is about to take measures to prevent the too free emigration from Ulster to America. "It looks," he writes, "as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day, two or three arrive also. The common fear is that if they thus continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the Province. It is strange that they thus crowd where they are not wanted. . . . The Indians themselves are alarmed at the swarms of strangers, and we are afraid of a breach between them—for the Irish are very rough to them." In another letter, written in 1730, Logan says: "I must own, from my experience in the land-office, that the settlement of five families from Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people. Before we were broke in upon, ancient Friends and first settlers lived happily; but now the case is quite altered." Again, in the same year, he complains of the Scotch-Irish as having in an "audacious and disorderly manner" possessed themselves about that time of the whole of Conestoga Manor, a tract of about 15,000 acres, which had been reserved by the Penns for themselves, as it contained some of the best land in the Province. In taking this land by force Logan says that the Scotch-Irish settlers alleged that "it was against the laws of God and nature, that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and to raise their bread."

Logan's successor, Richard Peters, had a somewhat similar experience with the Scotch-Irish settlers of his day. In a letter written by Mr. Peters in 1743, he states that he proceeded to the Manor of Maske, to warn off and dispossess the settlers who had established themselves there. The Manor of Maske was another choice tract of some forty thousand acres, located in the wilderness by the Penns as a reservation. It lay on both sides of Marsh creek, then in Lancaster, now in Adams county, and included the site of Gettysburg and the bottomlands southward to the Maryland line. On the occasion of Peters's visit, the settlers on the Manor, to the number of about

seventy, assembled and forbade Penn's surveyors to proceed. The latter persisted; whereupon the settlers broke the surveyors' chain, and compelled them to withdraw. Peters was present at the time, with a sheriff and magistrate; and many of the settlers were afterwards indicted. But later a compromise was effected, by the terms of which the Scotch-Irish were permitted to lease and purchase the Penn titles for a nominal consideration; and they were left in possession.

In after years, this same eager desire for land led the Scotch-Irish to push on into the wilderness, and settle on lands the Indian title to which had not yet been quieted. They began to enter the Cumberland valley before 1730. From 1745 to 1750 they had made so many improvements in the Tuscarora and Path valleys, and in the Great Cove, that the justices of Cumberland county were ordered to visit their settlements and compel them to retire. In several places, the justices burned the cabins of the pioneers, and engaged with them not to rebuild; but the ever-increasing swarms from the Hibernian hive soon rendered such attempts useless, and led to successive removals of the frontier line to the westward. In 1768, the settlers in the "Redstone Country" (now Fayette and Westmoreland counties) were "warned off under pain of death," by commissioners sent from the Quaker Assembly; but as these settlers outnumbered any force the Quakers were disposed to send against them, no executions took place, and the Indians were again paid to relinquish their claims. The same restless spirit of adventure, and desire to better their condition, led the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish to cross the Ohio River and make the first white settlements in the Northwest Territory. Numbers of these people settled in what is now Jefferson county, Ohio, as early as 1779. Before 1785 they had established two towns, near the mouths of Mingo and Short creeks, set up a court of justice, and, notwithstanding repeated attempts of the general government to drive them off, remained on their lands, improving them, and rebuilding their cabins when destroyed by the troops, until the Territory was at last formally opened up for settlement.

The following letter, written from what is now Delaware county, Pennsylvania, by Robert Parke, an Irish Quaker, to his sister in Ireland, in 1725, gives a minute account of the experiences of the early emigrants from Ulster to America. The original letter is in the possession of Mr. John Hill Martin, of Chester, Pennsylvania:

CHESTER TOWNSHIP the —— of the 10th Mo. 1725.

DEAR SISTER MARY VALENTINE:

This goes with a Salutation of Love to thee, Brother Thomas and the children & in a word to all friends, Relations & well Wishers in Generall as if named, hoping it may find you all in good health, as I with all our family in Generall are in at this present writing & has been since our arival, for we have not had a day's Sickness in the Family Since we came in to the Country, blessed be God for it. My father in Particular has not had his health better

these ten years than Since he Came here, his ancient age considered. Our Irish Acquaintance in general are well Except Thoe: Lightfoot who Departed this Life at Darby in a Good old age About 4 weeks Since. Thee writes in thy Letter that there was a talk went back to Ireland that we were not Satisfyed in coming here, which was Utterly false: now let this Suffice to Convince you. In the first place he that carried back this Story was an Idle fellow, & one of our Ship-Mates, but not thinking this country Suitable to his Idleness, went back with Cowman again. He is Sort of a Lawyer, or Rather a Lyar as I may term him, therefore I wod not have you give credit to Such false reports for the future, for there is not one of the family but what likes the country very well & wod If we were in Ireland again come here Directly it being the best country for working folk & tradesmen of any in the world. But for Drunkards and Idlers, they cannot live well any where. It is likewise an Extradin. healthy country. We were all much troubled when we found you did not come in with Capt. Cowman as we Expected nor none of our acquaintance Except Isaac Jackson & his family, tho at his coming in one thinks it Something odd, but that is soon over. Land is of all Prices Even from ten Pounds, to one hundred Pounds a hundred, according to the goodness or else the situation thereof, & Grows dearer every year by Reason of Vast Quantities of People that come here yearly from Several Parts of the world, therefore thee & thy family or any that I wish well I wod desire to make what Speed you can to come here the Sooner the better. We have traveled over a Pretty deal of this country to seek the Land, & [though] we met with many fine Tracts of Land here & there in the country, yet my father being curious & somewhat hard to Please Did not buy any Land until the Second day of 10th mo: Last and then he bought a Tract of Land consisting of five hundred Acres for which he gave 350 pounds. It is Excellent good land but none cleared, Except about 20 Acres, with a small log house and Orchard Planted, we are going to clear some of it Directly, for our next Sumer's fallow. We might have bought Land much Cheaper but not so much to our Satisfaction. We stayed in Chester 3 months & then we Rented a Place 1 mile from Chester, with a good brick house & 200 Acres of Land for [—] pound a year, where we continue till next May. We have sowed about 200 Acres of wheat & 7 acres of rye this season. We sowed but a bushel on an acre, 3 pecks is Enough on new ground. I am grown an Experienced Plowman & my brother Abell is Learning. Jonathan & thy Son John drives for us. He is grown a Lusty fellow Since thou Saw him. We have the finest plows here that Can be. We plowed up our Sumer's fallows in May & June, with a Yoak of Oxen & 2 horses & they goe with as much Ease as Double the number in Ireland. We sow our wheat with 2 horses. A boy of 12 or 14 years old Can hold Plow here, a man Comonly holds & Drives himself. They plow an Acre, nay some Plows 2 Acres a day. They sow Wheat & Rye in August or September. We have had a crop of oats, barley & very good flax & hemp, Indian Corn & buckwheat all of our own Sowing & Planting this last summer. We also planted a bushel of white Potatoes Which Cost us 5 Shills. & we had 10 or 12 bushels Increase. This country yields Extraordinary Increase of all sorts of Grain Likewise—for nicholas hooper had of 3 Acres of Land & at most 3 bushels of Seed above 80 bushels Increase so that it is as Plentifull a Country as any Can be if people will be Industrious. Wheat is 4 Shills. a bushel, Rye 2s. 9d., oats 2.3 pence, barley 3 Shills., Indian Corn 2 Shills. all Strike measure, Beef is 2½ pence a pound: Sometimes more Sometimes less, mutton 2½, pork 2½ pr. pound. Turnips 12 pence a bushell heap'd measure & so Plenty that an acre Produceth 200 bushells. All Sorts

of Provisions are Extraordinary Plenty in Philadelphia market, where Country people bring in their comodities. Their markets are on 4th day and 7th day [Wednesdays and Saturdays crossed out]. This country abounds in fruit, Scarce an house but has an Apple, Peach & cherry orchard. As for chestnuts, Wallnuts, & hasel nuts, Strawberrys, Billberrys & Mulberrys they grow wild in the woods and fields in Vast Quantities. They also make great Preperations against harvest; both Roast & boyled, Cakes & Tarts & Rum, stand at the Lands End, so that they may Eat and Drink at Pleasure. A Reaper has 2 Shills. & 3 pence a day, a mower has 2 Shills. & 6 pence & a pint of Rum beside meat & drink of the best; for no workman works without their Victuals in the bargain throughout the Country. A Laboring man has 18 or 20 pence a day in Winter. The Winters are not so cold as we Expected nor the Sumers so Extreme hot aſ formerly, for both Sumer and Winter are moderater than they ever were known. In Sumer time they wear nothing but a Shirt & Linnen drawers Trousers, which are breeches and stockings all in one made of Linnen; they are fine Cool wear in Sumer. As to what thee writt about the Governours Opening Letters it is Utterly false & nothing but a Lye & any one Except bound Servants may go out of the Country when they will & Servants when they Serve their time may Come away If they please but it is rare any are such fools to leave the Country Except men's business require it. They pay 9 Pounds for their Passage (of this money) to go to Ireland. There is 2 fairs, yearly & 2 markets weekly in Philadelphia also 2 fairs yearly in Chester & Likewise in new castle, but they Sell no Cattle nor horses, no living Creatures, but altogether Merchant's Goods, as hatts, Linnen & woolen Cloth, handkerchiefs, knives, Scizars, tapes & treds buckels, Ribonds & all Sorts of necessarys fit for our wooden Country & here all young men and women that wants wives or husbands may be Supplyed. Lett this Suffice for our fairs. As to meetings they are so plenty one may ride to their choice. I desire thee to bring or Send me a bottle of good Oyle fit for guns, thee may buy it in Dublin. Martha Weanhouse Lives very well about 4 miles from James Lindseys. We live all together since we Came into the Country Except hugh Hoaker [or Stoaker] & his family who lives 6 or 7 miles from us, & follows his trade. Sister Rebecka was Delivered of a Daughter ye — day the 11 month Last past; its name is mary. Abel's wife had a young Son 12 months Since; his name is Thomas. Dear Sister I wod not have thee Doupt the truth of what I write, for I know it to be true Tho I have not been long here. I wod have you Cloath yourselves well with Woolen & Linnen, Shoes & Stockings & hats for Such things are dear hear, & yet a man will Sooner Earn a suit of Cloths here than in Ireland, by Reason workman's Labour is so Dear. A wool hat costs 7 Shills., a pair of men's Shoes 7 Shills., wemen's Shoes Cost 5 Shills. and 6 pence, a pair of men's stockings yarn Costs 4 Shills., feather beds are very dear here and not to be had for money. Gunpowder is 2 Shillſ. & 6 pence a pound. Shott & Lead 5 pence a pound. I wod have you bring for your own Use 2 or 3 good falling Axes, a pair of beetle rings & 3 Iron wedges, for they are of good Service here. Your Plow Irons will not answer here, therefore you had better bring 1 or 2 hundred Iron. You may bring your Plow Chains as they are also a good —— Iron. Letters going to you with these gives you Accompt what to bring into the Country & also for your Sea Store or else I should not omitt it. But be sure you come with Capt Cowman & you will be well Used for he is an honest man & has as Civell Saylors as any that Cross the Seas, which I know by Experience. The Ship has been weather bound Since before Christmas by reason of post & Ice that floats

about the River & the Saylers being at a Loose End Came down to Chester to See us & we have given them—— Dear Sister I desire thee may tell my old friend Samuel Thornton that he could give so much credit to my words & find no Iffs nor ands in my Letter, that in Plain terms he could not do better than to Come here, for both his & his wife's trade are Very good here. The best way for him to do is to pay what money he Can Conveniently Spare at that side & Engage himself to Pay the rest at this Side & when he Comes here if he Can get no friend to lay down the money for him, when it Comes to the worst, he may hire out 2 or 3 children. & I wod have him Cloath his family as well as his Small Ability will allow. Thee may tell him what things are proper to bring with him both for his Sea Store & for his Use in this Country. I wod have him Procure 3 or 4 Lusty Servants & Agree to pay their passage at this Side he might sell 2 & pay the others' passage with the money. I fear my good will to him will be of Little Effect by reason he is So hard of beleif, but thou mayest Assure him from me that if I had not a particular Respect for him & his family I Should not have writ so much for his Encouragement. His brother Joseph & Moses Coats Came to See us Since we came here. They live about 6 or 7 miles apart & above 20 miles from where we live. Unkle James Lindly & Family is well & Thrives Exceedingly, he has 11 children & Reaped last harvest about 800 bushels of wheat, he is a thriving man as any where he lives, he has a thousand acres of Land, A fine Estate. Unkle Nicholas hooper lives very well. He rents a Plantation & teaches School & his man does his Plantation work, Murtha Hobson. Dear Sister I think I have writ the most needfol to thee, but considering that when I was in Ireland I never thought a Letter to Long that Came from this Country, I wod willingly give thee as full an Account as Possible, tho I could have given thee a fuller Account of what things are fit to bring here, but only I knew other Letters might Suffice in that point. I desire thee may Send or bring me 2 hundred Choice Quills for my own Use for they are very Scarce here, & Sister Raichell Desires thee wod bring hir Some bits of Silk for trashbags. Thee may bring them in Johns Zane [or Lane] also — yards of white Mode or Silk for 2 hoods & She will pay thee when thee comes here. I wod have brother Thomas to bring a good new Saddle (& bridle) with Croopper & Housen to it by reason the horses sweat in hot weather, for they are very dear here. A Saddle that will cost 18 or 20 Shills. In Ireland will cost here 50 Shills. or 3 pounds & not so good neither, he had better get Charles Howell to make it, Lett the tree be well Plated & Indifferent Narrow for the horses here are [not] So Large as in Ireland, but the best racers & finest Pacers in the World. I have known Several that could Pace 14 or 15 miles in an hour, I write within Compass. As for women Saddles they will not Suit so well here. I wod not have thee think much at my Irregular way of writing by reason I write as it offer'd to me, for they that write to you should have more wits than I can Pretend to.

There are no means of knowing with exactness the number of emigrants coming into Pennsylvania from the North of Ireland during the period between 1730 and 1775. The emigration seems to have increased rapidly after the second decade of the eighteenth century, and in some years the number of emigrants exceeded ten thousand. Robert Proud, in his *History of Pennsylvania*, written before 1776, states that "in the summer of 1749 twenty-five large ships arrived with German passengers, which brought about

12,000 souls, some of the ships about six hundred each, and in several other years near the same number of these people arrive annually, and in some years near as many annually from Ireland. . . . Cumberland county is mostly settled by the Irish, who abound through the whole province." About 1735–36, a bill was introduced into the Irish Parliament to restrict the emigration of Ulstermen to America. The fear of such legislation caused great numbers to embark who had previously deferred going in the hope that conditions at home might improve. In 1736, it is said, there were one thousand families waiting in Belfast at one time for passage to America. The following letter, written at that time by a shipmaster to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, will give the reader considerable information about the conditions existing in Ireland at the time these emigrants sailed.

The original of this letter is with the Penn Manuscripts of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is addressed: "To Sr. Penn, Knight Proprietor of Pensilvania, now in London"; and is endorsed, "Letter from an Irish Captn. about Ships being stop'd going to Pensilva."

DUBLIN, May 3, 1736.

HOND. SR.

As you are the proprietor of pensilvania & being informed of your being in London I would beg Liberty to inform your Worship of some of the Deficulty wh. poor people that are flying from the oppression of Landlords & Tyeths (as they term it) to severall parts of America, Viz: When Last our Irish parlement was sitting there was a Bill brought in respecting the Transportation to America which made it next to a prohibition, said Bill greatly alarmed the people perticularly in the north of Ireland, and least a second should suckceed greater numrs. than usuall made ready but when said Landlords found it so they fell on with other means by destresing the Owners & Masters of the Ships, there being now ten in the harbour of Belfast the methoud they fell in with first was that when anny of said Ships Advertised that they were Bound for such a Port & when they would be in readiness to seal & thire willingness to agree with the passengers for which & no other Reasons they Esued out thire Warrants and had severall of said Owners & masters apprehended & likewise the printers of said Advertisements & Bound in bonds of a thousand pounds to appear att Carrickfergus assizes or be thrown into a Lowthsome Geaol and for no other reson than Encuraging his Majesty's subjects as they were pleased to cale their Indectment from on plantation to another But even affter all this when the assizes came on they were affread of thire Enlargement and beged verry earnessly of ye Judges to heave them continued upon thire Recognizes—the consequence of which may easey be seen, most of said Ships being strangers would heave effectually Ruined them. But the Judge was pleased to Discharge them, nay one of the Justices gott up in Court & swore by G—d if anny came to Lisburn the town in wh. he lived to publise an advertisement he would Whipe him throw the Town. To wh. the Judge verry mildly replied To concider if they Deserved it & if he whiped anny person to do it according to Law. Money has beeing offered by some of them to Swere against some of Said Ships & Rewards actualy given But yett a more Hellish contrivances has been thought of & is put in practice by the Collr. Geo. Macartney of Belfast he will not now, when said ships and passingers was

just redy to seal, so much as allow the poor people to carry their old Bed Clothes with them, allthow ever so old under pretence of An Act of the British parlement made in the tenth & Eleventh Years of the Rean of King William & Repealed in ye year 1732, and said Ships being obliged to lay this affair before the Comrs. of Dublin has appointed one Mr. John Mean who has likewise stated the whole affair before one Francis Wilks, Esq. in London, whom I refair said Mr. Mean & I & likewise most of the merts. in this town are affraid of sucess even with the Comrs. will be obliged to lay it before the Lord Leut. of this Kingdom & if that should feal than nothing less than his Majesty's Gratious Interpo'tion cane effect (it affords us some dawening hopes of our Greveances being removed) His Majesty's encureget & liberaty but a loss what does that in the meantime when no less than ten ships has been these 18 or 20 days and no apearance of getting away, and advanst charge, the seson passing, and which is yett more moveing, 17 or 18 hund. souls, maney of which are in most deplorable circumstances not being so much as able to pay thire passage and all of them destitute of howses to put thire heads into or of means wherewith to suport themselves, maney of which has depended on their Friends in America, from home they yearly have Accts. and one [torn] . . . . . they only depend for thire information But our Landlords here affrims that those Accts. are all of them Forgery & Lyes the Contrivances of the proprietors Trustees & Masters of the American Ships.

If you think fitt to make anny furder use of these Accts I do promise to make all of them appear matter of fact. I am affraid I heave been tow Tedius, thefore beg leave subscrie myself your Honrs. Most Humbl. & Most obt. Ser.

JOHN STEWART.

post—if your Honr will please to Ansr. derect to the care of Mr. Hugh White, mert. in Dublin.

N. B. I did not think proper in the body of the Letter to acquaint your Honr yt of those ten Ships there is eight bound for Dalour [Delaware ?] & verry counciderable with them for to my knowledge there will be in a vessall that I bought last year in Margos Hucke [Marcus Hook] near Chister in or about seven hund. pounds Sterl. mostly in Speece, if this does not prevent them from getting over alltogether. But with respect to ye warrs I heave mentioned its matter of Fact.

I am, &c.,

JOHN STEWART.

During the third decade of the eighteenth century some eighteen Presbyterian congregations were organized in Pennsylvania. At the beginning of this period, settlements were commenced in the Cumberland valley, to the westward of the Susquehanna river, and for some thirty years afterwards the Scotch-Irish of more recent emigrations, or the sons of those who had first emigrated, filled that part of Pennsylvania lying between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies; or, pressing on through the settlements of their kinsmen to the south, entered and occupied the Virginia valley, the vine-clad plains of central and western North Carolina, and the upper country of South Carolina and Georgia.

The church of Newtown, in Bucks county, dates its existence from the

year 1734. Silvers's Spring Congregation, in Cumberland county, was organized in the same year, and very soon after the church of Meeting-House Spring (now Carlisle). In 1735, Forks of Brandywine Congregation was formally set off from that of Upper Octorara, in Chester county; while the church of Big Spring came into existence in Cumberland county. Hanover Church was organized in 1736, being then a congregation on the northern frontier of Lancaster (now Dauphin) county; and the following year marked the beginning of the congregations of Falling Spring (now Chambersburg) and Mossy Spring (now Greencastle), both in what is now Franklin county. Five more churches were organized in 1738, five in 1739, and four in 1740. These were, in their order: Allen Township, (whose members some years before had settled with Thomas Craig in what is now Northampton county, many of them coming from the Scotch-Irish settlements in Maine, and from Londonderry in New Hampshire); Mount Bethel, or Hunter's Settlement, also in Northampton county (whose members came chiefly from the Presbyterian settlements in Somerset, Hunterdon, and Monmouth counties, New Jersey); Christiana, in Newcastle county, Delaware; Little Conewago, in what is now Dauphin county, Pennsylvania; Upper West Conococheague (now Mercersburg), in Franklin county; Tinicum and Durham, in Bucks county; Leacock, in Lancaster; Middle Spring, in Cumberland, and Rocky Spring, in Franklin (both lying between the previously organized congregations of Big Spring and Falling Spring); Wilmington, Delaware; Doe Run, in Chester county, Pennsylvania; and Upper Marsh Creek and Great Conewago, both in York (now Adams) county. The organization of Lower West Conococheague (now Welsh Run) Congregation, in Franklin county, took place in 1741; and in the following year the church of Muddy Run, in Lancaster county, and of St. George's and The Forest, in Newcastle county, Delaware, had their beginning. The Second Philadelphia Church was formed in 1743; Monaghan, in York county, 1745; the churches of Lower Marsh Creek and Round Hill, in what is now Adams county, in 1748; and Slate Ridge, in York county, 1750. A year or two later, the congregation of Chanceford, in York county, was organized, and also the three Reformed and Associate Presbyterian congregations of Octorara, in Lancaster, Guinston, in York, and Rock Creek, in what was then York, but now Adams, county. These were followed in 1756 by Indian River Congregation, in Delaware; and in 1759 by Yorktown and Hopewell, both in York county, Pennsylvania.

John Cuthbertson, the first missionary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to reach America, labored in Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies for nearly forty years, visiting families and communities of his faith, ordaining elders, establishing churches, and organizing Presbyteries. During the period of his missionary travels (1751–1790), he rode on horseback more than 60,000 miles, preached on more than 2400 days, baptized 1600 to 1800 children, and married nearly 250 couples. The congregations to which Cuth-

bertson preached before the time of the Revolution (the most of them having been organized by him) were as follows: Octorara, Lancaster county; Muddy Run, Lancaster county (organized before Cuthbertson's arrival in America); Pequea, Lancaster county; Lower Chanceford, York county; Rock Creek, Adams county; Paxtang, Dauphin county; Junkin's Tent, Cumberland county; Carlisle, Cumberland county; Big Spring, Cumberland county; Rocky Spring, Franklin county; Greencastle, Franklin county; Licking Creek and Cove, Fulton county; Forks of Youghiogheny, Allegheny county, and Miller's Run, Washington county—all in Pennsylvania; Wallkill, Orange county, and Cambridge, Washington county, New York. In this connection, it will be interesting to present a few extracts from the earlier pages of Mr. Cuthbertson's *Journal*, which begins as follows:

After being forty-six days at sea from Derry Loch, landed safely at New Castle, Delaware, August 5th, 1751, about eight o'clock in the forenoon. Lodged in T. Griffith's. In good health, laus Deus. Then 5th, at four, afternoon, took horse and rode twenty miles to Moses Andrews.

August 7th, 1751. Rode fifteen miles to Joseph Rosses, Manor of New Londonderry. Weary.

8th. Met and conversed with many. Found difficulty among Presbytery [of Newcastle].

9th. At twelve preached, paraphrased, and preached [texts omitted]. Good attendance. Then rode eight miles to Joseph Walker's, in Middle Octorara.

11th, Sabbath. Rode three miles to the Tent. Paraphrased, lectured, and preached. . . .

15th. Rode forty miles to Paxton township [now in Dauphin county], William Brown's. . . .

19th. . . . Kept session three hours. Tried three elders.

20th. . . . Rode eighteen miles to Walter Buchanan's, upon the side of Cannoduginet Creek [afterwards Junkin's Tent]. . . .

22d. . . . Rode twenty-two miles to James Mitchell's, near Hackettstown [in the vicinity of Rocky Spring, in what was then Lurgan, now Letterkenny township, Franklin county]. . . .

26th. Rode twenty miles to Joseph Cochran's, upper settlement [Joseph Cochran lived in what became Ayr township in 1754, now partly in Franklin and partly in Fulton counties]. . . .

28th. Preached [at James Wilson's]. Then rode four miles, to James McClelland, in the Big Cove, Blue Mountain.

29th. Rode forty miles over the South Mountain . . . to Robert Pready's, near Hartstown.

30th. Rode eight miles over Marsh Creek to David Dinwiddie's [he lived on Rock creek, near the present town of Gettysburg, Adams county].

September 1st, Sabbath. Rode two miles to and from the Tent. Preached, lectured, and preached [to Rock Creek Covenanter Congregation]. . . .

2d. Rode thirty-six miles. . . . Came to York, to Dutch tavern.

3d. Rode eighteen miles; sailed the river Susquehanna . . . then came ten miles to Lancaster.

4th. Rode twenty miles to Colerain [township, Lancaster county]. . . .

10th. Rode thirteen miles to Humphrey Fullerton's, Pequea.

11th. . . . Rode fifty-two miles to Philadelphia. . . .

13th. Rode thirty-six miles to Jo. Fleming's, East Fallowfield, Brandywine. . . .

16th. Rode one mile to Forks of Brandywine, Dean's Meeting-house. . . . Then rode sixteen miles to Humphrey Fullerton's. . . .

18th. Rode thirty-three miles to Donegal, widow Carson's. . . .

19th. Rode thirty-two miles to Derry, David McNair's. . . .

20th. Rode fourteen miles to Swutara Creek, James McKnaught's widow, and William Brown's. . . .

23d. Rode fifteen miles to Connowagon, David McNair's. . . . Then rode twenty-five miles to Lancaster.

24th. Rode eighteen miles to Dan. McClellan's. Then disputed publicly with [Alexander] Craighead three hours. . . .

26th. Rode five miles to Joseph Robinson's, Chestnut Level. . . .

October 2d. Rode four miles to and from Muddy Run meeting-house. . . .

3d. Rode nine miles to Robert Laukhead's.

6th. Rode six miles to and from Octorara . . . Rode ten miles to Joseph Galbreath's. . . .

14th. Rode eleven miles to Octorara . . .

15th. Rode eleven miles to Humphrey Fullerton's.

16th. Rode sixteen miles to Nantmeal. . . .

17th. Rode thirty-five miles — seven to James Gilmore's, seven to Schuylkill, twenty-one to McPherson's.

18th. Rode twenty-two miles to George Gray's, Forks of Delaware. . . .

23d. Rode seven miles to and from Michael Clyde's [in Allen township, Northampton county. Thence he rode west to William Brown's, in Paxtang township, Dauphin county]. . . .

November 6th. Rode six miles to Alexander Stuart's. . . .

7th. Rode twenty-four miles to Andrew Ralston's, Big Spring, Pennsborough township [Cumberland county].

8th. Rode twelve miles to Walter Buchanan's, and then to Joseph Patterson's, Carlisle. . . .

11th. Rode eleven miles to . . . Letort Spring. . . .

12th. Rode three miles to Pennsborough meeting-house. . . .

[Thence he visited the families living on Licking creek, in Fulton county, crossed Maryland, and came to Opequon, Winchester, and Clear Creek settlements in Virginia; returning through Fulton, Adams, and York counties to the Susquehanna River.]

14th. Rode four miles to Joseph Rosses, in Maryland. . . .

15th, Sabbath. Travelled two miles to Whittlesey's meeting-house [in Lower Chanceford township, York county]. Preached, lectured, and preached.

A number of Presbyterian churches were organized in eastern Pennsylvania after 1760, but as they were in most cases merely offshoots of older congregations, their names need not be given. Beyond the Susquehanna, prior to 1760, settlements had been made by the Scotch-Irish in all the existing townships of the present counties of Cumberland, Franklin, and Adams, and in Fawn, Chanceford, Hopewell, Monaghan and Newberry townships, York county; as well as along Shearman's creek in what is now Perry county, and in the Tuscarora and Juniata valleys, in the present counties of

Juniata and Mifflin. The Rev. Charles C. Beatty, a graduate of Tennent's Log College at Neshaminy, paid a visit to the Presbyterian settlements in the three counties last named during the summer and fall of the year 1766. He had been sent as a missionary to the frontiers by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and the *Journal* of his tour was published at London in 1768.

That part of Beatty's narrative relating to the white settlements through which he passed is as follows:

Carlisle, August 18th, 1766. Monday. In the forenoon were much engaged, preparing for our journey. Sat out with Mr. [George] Duffield. After riding about six miles, we came to the North Mountain, which is high and steep. . . . After travelling four miles into Sherman's Valley, we came, in the night, to Thomas Rosses, where we lodged.

19th, Tuesday. Rode four or five miles to a place in the wood, designed for building a house for worship, and preached to but a small auditory, notice of our preaching not having been sufficiently spread. . . . After sermon, we proceeded on our way about five miles, and lodged at Mr. Fergus's.

20th, Wednesday. This morning, after travelling about seven miles we crossed the Tuscarora mountain. . . . In riding three miles on the other side of this mountain, we came to a house where a number of people were convened, whom I preached to. . . . After sermon, we rode to Mr. William Graham's, about three miles from hence, and lodged at his house.

21st, Thursday. After riding about two miles and a half, we came to a place where the people had begun to build a house for worship, before the late war [of 1763], but by accident had been burned. Here Mr. Duffield preached to a number of people convened, who after sermon informed us that this valley of Tuscarora is about thirty-two miles in length; between six and seven miles broad in the middle, and about ten miles wide at the lower end, next to Juniata river.

There are about eighty-four families living in this valley, who propose to build two houses for worship: one about fourteen miles from the upper end of the valley [Middle Tuscarora], and the other, ten miles below it [Lower Tuscarora], towards the Juniata river. As their circumstances, at present, are such that they cannot support the gospel, they propose to join with the people settled upon the other side of Juniata; but hope in a few years to be able to support a minister in the valley. . . . After sermon, we rode eight miles to Capt. [William] Patterson's, where we were kindly received.

22d, Friday. Preached in the woods, as we have done mostly hitherto, two miles on the north side of Juniata [Cedar Spring Congregation]. Here the people some years ago began to build a house for worship, but did not finish it, but expect soon to do it. This congregation extends about twenty miles along the river, and its breadth from Juniata to the head of the river called Kochalamis, is about ten miles; and in this extent there are but fifty families, who meet together for worship. They purpose joining Tuscarora settlement, at present, till such time as they shall be able to support a minister themselves; which they expect to do in some years, if peace continues; and, as soon as they can, to procure a plantation for a parsonage. In short, these poor people, as well as those of Tuscarora, before mentioned, are very desirous of having the gospel settled amongst them, and for that purpose

appeared forward, and willing to do everything in their power; but at present the people here, and in other places that have suffered so much by the war, have a number of difficulties to struggle with; as they have to begin the world anew.

After sermon, we returned to Capt. Patterson's, where Mr. Duffield and I agreed to part for some days. . . . Accordingly, Mr. Duffield proposed to go to the Path valley, that and Little Coves, and to set out this evening in his way to the first of these places, where he intended to preach next Sabbath; and I purposed to visit the new settlements up the Juniata. . . .

24th, Sabbath. Preached near the mouth of Tuscarora river (where it empties itself into Juniata), to a large congregation collected from different quarters, and some from afar. . . . Returned to Capt. Patterson's in the evening.

25th, Monday. Sat out from Capt. Patterson's this morning, as early as we could. . . . We travelled up Juniata river eight miles through a bad road to a place called the Narrows. . . . After riding about twenty-one miles, we came to Mr. Thomas Holts's, much fatigued, where we rested an hour or two. . . .

We proceeded on our journey, the road being now pretty good, the land we passed over for the most part level, some of it very rich, yet uninhabited. . . . Night coming on . . . we began to conclude we must take up our lodging in the woods, but a kind Providence at last brought us to a little house. . . .

26th, Tuesday. Finding that notice of my preaching to-day had not been sufficiently spread through this settlement, the man of the house where I lodged sent this morning betimes, in order to notify my preaching to the people, that lived at some considerable distance up the river; while I at the same time crossed the river at a fording-place, to a house, and from thence sent notice to those living on that side of the river. By twelve o'clock a considerable number of people were collected at a place in the woods, where a mill was building, near to which a house for worship is intended to be built, as being most essential to the inhabitants in those parts. . . . The auditors were attentive to the . . . discourse, which was the first sermon ever preached in those parts. Here I baptized several children; and after sermon rode about four miles and a half with one of the audience, and lodged at his house.

This settlement, on both sides of the river Juniata, consisting at present of about eighty families, extends from the place called the Narrows, mentioned before, to where the river Aughweek empties itself into the Juniata. The settlement is about twenty-five miles in length; and in the centre, seven miles broad.

There is another settlement just begun, consisting at present of six or seven families, four miles from the centre of the former, over a mountain called Kithaquaquilla, or Great Valley, extending about thirty miles, and five or six wide. As the land here is very good, a greater number of people is expected to settle there in the spring. Both these places propose joining, in order to make one congregation. They are desirous of having a minister settled among them as soon as may be. . . .

28th, Thursday. . . . Sat out for Fort Littleton, crossing Juniata at the mouth of Aughweek River, and being conducted by the man in whose house we lodged about twelve or fourteen miles along a small path which led up the river Aughweek. . . . We passed by an old Indian town, now deserted, where Fort Shirley was built in the late war. Hitherto we saw but

two or three houses. . . . After travelling about thirty miles to-day, we arrived a little before night at Fort Littleton, and put up at Mr. Birds's, a public-house.

29th, Friday. Preached to a small congregation who live about this place. In the evening Mr. Duffield arrived, and gave the following account of his tour:

"23d August, Saturday. Rode to John Blair's, in the Path valley, thirty miles.

"24th, Sabbath. Preached to a considerable large congregation.

"25th, Monday. Preached at the place designed for building a house of worship; and received the following information from the people, of their situation and circumstances:

"This Path valley is twenty-three miles in length, and in general about three miles in breadth. In one township, called Fanet, there are about seventy families, who are desirous of the gospel, and willing to support it according to their abilities, being very unanimous. They have fixed upon a place about eight or nine miles from the head of the valley, where they propose soon to build a house of worship; and as this valley will admit of a number of people more to settle in it, they expect to be able to support a minister, after some years; but at present they labor under the same difficulties as their neighbors in the other villages and places on the frontiers, just beginning the world, in a manner, after their late distresses by the war. They have no prospect of a glebe for a minister, as the land is all taken up; but are desirous to procure one as soon as it shall be in their power. Lodged at Mr. Francis Elliott's.

"26th and 27th days. Tarried at Cannogocheague settlement [now Mercersburg].

"28th, Thursday. At Mr. Smith's.

"29th, Friday. Preached in the settlement of the Great Cove, to a considerable congregation. This place suffered severely in the late war. This place is about twenty miles in length, and three wide. The land is considerable broken, so that it will not accommodate a number of settlers in proportion to the extent of it; at present there are about fifteen families, who are desirous of and willing, according to their circumstances, to support the gospel. They expect as many more people to settle near them. They propose joining Cannogocheague, and to build a house of worship as soon as they are able, being at present in the same difficult circumstances with other places exposed on the frontiers to the barbarous enemy. . . . After sermon, I rode to Fort Littleton, where I met with Mr. Beatty."

30th, Saturday. Sat out early this morning, in company with Mr. Duffield. Breakfasted at Mr. McConnel's, at the Sideling hill (after riding ten miles), and having travelled ten miles more, we crossed the south branch of the Juniata. We proceeded to Mr. Thomas Urie's, where we refreshed ourselves and fed our horses. Here we met with Mr. [Bernard ?] Dougherty, from Bedford, who came in order to accompany and conduct us into that town. We arrived at Bedford in the evening, having travelled to-day about thirty-three miles, and lodged at Mr. Dougherty's at his invitation.

31st, Sabbath. Preached in the forenoon to a large and attentive audience, assembled in a new house in the town. . . .

2d September, Tuesday. Sat out for Fort Pitt, being brought on our way by our friends, Messrs. Ormsby and Dougherty. After riding about fifteen miles, we came to the foot of the Alleghany mountain, and having fed our horses, we began to ascend the steep, which is two miles from the

foot to the top of the mountain. We travelled about eight miles farther. along a bad road, to Edmund's Swamp, and lodged at Mr. John Miller's.

3d, Wednesday. Sat out this morning, having had but poor lodging, Went about five miles to Stony Creek, and breakfasted. From thence we went to the foot of Laurel Hill, eight miles; crossing which, we arrived at Fort Ligonier, thirteen miles. In the evening put up at some sort of a public-house, and waited upon the commanding officer, who invited us to spend the evening with him, which we accepted of.

4th, Thursday. Sat out and rode twenty-five miles to Bushy Run, where we put up. This place is famous for a battle fought the last war with the Indians. . . .

5th, Friday. Sat out early this morning, and rode to Turtle creek, eight miles, before breakfast; and riding eighteen miles more, we arrived at Fort Pitt, a little before night.

As a result of Mr. Beatty's ministrations in Shearman's, Tuscarora, and the Juniata valleys, Upper, Centre, and Dick's Gap, churches were organized in what is now Perry county; Upper and Lower Path Valley, in Franklin county, Lower Tuscarora and Cedar Spring, in Juniata county; and Derry, in Mifflin county.

These congregations were supplied with preaching by Donegal Presbytery for a number of years after 1766; and eventually obtained settled ministers. They were visited in 1775 by the Rev. Philip Vicars Fithian, whose *Journal* has been printed in Egle's *Historical Register*. Other communities visited by Mr. Fithian on that occasion, where churches were either already organized, or took their beginning from the time of his visit, were Buffalo Cross Roads, in what is now Union county; Northumberland, Chillisquaque, and Warrior Run, in Northumberland county; East and West Kishacoquillas, in Mifflin county; Great Island, in Clinton county; Penn's Valley in Centre county; and Huntingdon and Shirley, in Huntingdon county.

The following extracts from Fithian's *Journal* relate to those congregations and communities in the Upper Susquehanna valley, which had not been visited by Mr. Beatty, in 1766, or which had been established after that date.

Mr. Fithian was licensed to preach by the First Presbytery of Philadelphia, November 6, 1774. On May 9, 1775, he left his home at Greenwich, New Jersey, on horseback, for a missionary tour through Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, taking notes of the people and places visited, in journal form, addressed to Miss Elizabeth Beatty (whom he afterwards married), daughter of the Rev. Charles C. Beatty. The original journal is in the possession of the family of Edward W. Hitchcock, of Philadelphia.[1] Mr. Fithian visited York, Pennsylvania; Hagerstown, Maryland; Martinsburg, West Virginia; Winchester, Opequon, Stephensburg, and other points in Virginia, during May and June, returning northwards to Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, where he attended a meeting of Donegal Presbytery on June 20th. Two days later, he was appointed by Presbytery to visit the congregations of Cedar Spring, Northumberland, Buffalo Valley,

Warrior Run, Bald Eagle, Chillisquaque, Penn's Valley, East and West Kishacoquillas, and Shirley. The *Journal* proceeds as follows:

Thursday, June 22, 1775. . . . At eleven I left the Presbytery and rode to Mr. King's, within a mile of Fort Loudoun; dined; Mr. Keith along. We rode on north into Path valley. Mr. Keith left me at twelve miles, on his way to Bedford [and thence over the Alleghanies]. . . . I rode on to one, Elliott's. . . .

Friday, June 23d. . . . We passed from this valley by the Narrows into Tuscarora valley. . . .

Sunday, June 25th. Cedar Springs, Cumberland County. A large and genteel society, but in great and furious turmoil about one Mr. Kennedy, who was once their preacher. . . .

Tuesday, June 27th. Rode from the clever Dutchman's to Sunbury, over the Susquehanna, fifteen miles. . . . Then I rode onward to Northumberland about a mile.

Sunday, July 2d. A rainy, damp morning; but little prospects of service. At eleven, some few came in; we have worship in Mr. McCartney's house. After we began, many came in from the town, and they gave me good attention. . . .

Thursday, July 6th. . . . By ten I left town. . . . After riding eight miles on the bank of the river, I crossed over. . . . Stopped at Captain William Gray's. . . .

Sunday, July 9th. The people are building a big meeting-house, up the valley, four miles from the river [Buffalo Crossroads]. There is here a very numerous society, and it is a growing, promising place. We had a good number to-day. . . . There is no house. I must preach among the trees. . . .

Wednesday, July 12th. . . . Soon after breakfast, I left Mr. Gray's. . . . Came at last to Captain Piper's, at Warrior Run, twelve miles. . . .

Sunday, July 16th. Warrior Run. This meeting-house is on the bank of the [Susquehanna] river, eighteen miles from Northumberland. It is not yet covered; a large assembly gathered. I preached from a wagon, the only one present. The people sat upon a rising ground before me. All were attentive, and there were many present. . . .

Monday, July 17th. After breakfast and prayer I took my leave, crossed over the river, and rode down to town.

Northumberland.—In town by eleven, much fatigued. . . .

Wednesday, July 19th. . . . I went after dinner over the river to Captain [Samuel] Hunter's. . . . We drank with him one bowl of toddy, and passed on to Sunbury.

The town lies near a half mile below the fort, on the north side of the main branch. It may contain an hundred houses. All the buildings are of logs but Mr. Maclay's, which is of stone, and large and elegant. . . .

Saturday, July 22d. . . . I took a long, narrow bridle road to Mr. James Morrow's [Murray's] at Chillisquaque. . . .

Sunday, July 23d. The people met at Mr. Morrow's. His little house was filled. Many came from a funeral, in all probably sixty. . . .

Monday, July 24th. One of the elders gave me for yesterday's supply 15s. 3d. . . . Half after nine I left Mr. Morrow's, and rode to Mr. [George] McCandlish's on the river [at the site of the present town of Milton]. . . . Thence to Freeland's Mill, thence over Muncy's hills and Muncy's beautiful creek to Mr. Crownover's, on the bank of the river. . . .

Tuesday, July 25th. I rode up the river, course west . . . over several fine creeks and rich lands to Lacomin [Lycoming] creek, all the way a good wagon-beaten road. Here the Pennsylvania "New Purchase" ends and the "Indian Land" begins. . . . I rode on to Pine creek. . . . Rode over a part of the river on to the Great Island, and thence over the other branch to Esquire [John] Fleming's [the site of the city of Lock Haven]. . . .

Sunday, July 30th. . . . At eleven I began service. We crossed over to the Indian Land, and held worship on the bank of the river opposite the Great Island, about a mile and a half below Squire Fleming's. There were present about one hundred and forty [Bald Eagle Congregation]. I stood at the root of a great tree, the people sitting in the bushes and green grass around me. . . .

Monday, July 31st. . . . We rode through a wild wilderness up Bald Eagle creek twenty miles, without the sight of a single house. . . . Rode through the brush to Bald Eagle's Nest [the site of Milesburg, Centre county]. Mr. Andrew Boggs lives here, twenty-five miles from Esq. Fleming's. . . .

Tuesday, August 1st. . . . Mr. Boggs tells me he knows of no families westward of these, and but one higher up on the creek. . . . After ten I took my leave, crossed a gap of Muncy Ridge, and rode eighteen miles through wild barren woods without any trace of an habitation or road other than the blind, unfrequented path which I tracked at times with much difficulty. . . . A little before sunset, I arrived at Captain James Potter's, at the head of Penn's valley. . . .

Sunday, August 6th. . . . At one I began service in Captain Potter's house. Only eight men and not one woman beside our family present. . . . Captain Potter tells me there are now only twenty-eight families in the valley. Of these, twenty-two are subscribers, and they have raised £40 on subscription as a fund to pay supplies. I am the second preacher who has been in the valley. Mr. [William] Linn was here two Sundays past, first of all, and I, by regular appointment, next. . . .

Tuesday, August 8th. Captain Potter paid me for my supply twenty-five shillings. Mr. [Thomas] Thompson came, we breakfasted, and set out. But the first mountain we had to climb by far exceeded all that I had yet gone over. [They crossed the Seven Mountains between Penn's and Kishacoquillas valleys, now the dividing line of Centre and Mifflin counties.]

. . . On we rode over the other mountains, and the other, and the other, eighteen miles. . . . At last we came in view, from a lofty, airy ridge, of our desired Kishacoquillas valley. We stumbled down into it ten miles from the east end, and rode quite across it to the south side under the mountain, to one [John] Fleming's. . . .

Sunday, August 13th. . . . At Esquire [William] Brown's [on the site of the present town of Reedsville] we held worship. There is a large society [now East Kishacoquillas], and it makes a good appearance. We were in the forenoon in a large barn; it was too small and we went out into a fine meadow under a high, western hill. . . . I think by appearance there were more people than I had ever seen at any place on the Susquehanna. . . . I am told the people of this valley are all united in religious matters; all Presbyterians, and all orthodox, new light, primitive Presbyterians, too; all except about eight sour, unbrotherly Seceders, and one sociable and agreeable Churchman. . . .

Wednesday, August 16th. I rode this afternoon up the valley to Mr. John Campbell's. . . .

Thursday, August 17th. I rode again up the valley to Mr. John Campbell's. This valley lies between Jack's Mountain on the south, and Stone Mountain on the north. It is thirty miles long, from east to west, varies in breadth from two to five miles, and widest in the easternmost part. The land is all arable, and will well support two large societies. . . .

Saturday, August 19th. Many went past this morning, moving back, and are daily flitting to the Standing Stone settlement [now Huntingdon], and more westerly. . . . Afternoon I rode up the valley to Mr. John McDowell's, from the Squire's [Brown's] eleven miles.

Sunday, August 20th. We held sermon in a barn of Mr. Brotherton [now West Kishacoquillas congregation]; but few were present compared with last Sunday's assembly. Some, however, from that end are here. . . .

Monday, August 21st. . . . Mr. McDowell, for my supply, gave me twenty shillings. . . . Some little before three I took my last leave of this kind family and the whole valley. I rode alone up between the mountains till the valley became very narrow; it is vastly stony, and through it I passed to the bank of the roaring Juniata. Then up the river I steered, quite alone, and more than five miles from my post when the sun went down. . . . I soon after entered Huntingdon. . . .

Tuesday, August 22d. . . . I left town in company with Mr. Cluggage, and drove down the river, a most stony path, through Jack's Narrow's. . . . We crossed Ofwick [Aughwick] creek, and arrived, about eight in the evening, at Mr. [James] Fowley's, who lives within the walls of old Fort Shirley. Distance from town, twenty miles. . . .

Sunday, August 27th, Shirley. We held service in Mr. Fowley's barn, a rainy, stormy, day. Many, however, were present—fifty or more. . . . This settlement is broken with religious divisions. There is a Baptist society, now under the direction of one Mr. [Samuel] Lane. There is also a Methodist society, but no stated minister. . . .

Monday, August 28th. . . . I set out over the rocky path for Loudoun. . . . I came about twelve miles into the great road that leads from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, most hilly, most stony.

The first Presbyterian missionary to cross the Alleghany mountains was probably the Rev. Charles C. Beatty, who accompanied Forbes's army to Fort Duquesne in 1758. Beatty and Duffield visited western Pennsylvania again in their journey of 1766, the latter, while on the way, preaching to the congregation of The Cove, in what is now Fulton county. On this visit they went as far west as the present State of Ohio, journeyed to the Tuscarawas river, and labored for a short time among the Delaware Indians, returning in September of the same year.

The Indian title to the lands in south-western Pennsylvania, comprising the present counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Alleghany, and Washington, was purchased by the Penns in 1769, and these lands thrown open for entry. Some three or four years prior to that date, many white families had settled along the Monongahela and its branches in Fayette and Washington counties, particularly Redstone and Dunlap's creeks. The Rev. James Finley visited the latter settlements in 1767, and on that visit probably

preached the first sermon to what afterwards became the congregation of Dunlap's Creek. On a subsequent visit, in 1771, he organized the churches of Round Hill, in Alleghany county, and Rehoboth, in Westmoreland county, both located between the "Forks of the Youghiogheny" (*i. e.*, near its junction with the Monongahela). No memorials of Mr. Finley's earlier visits have been preserved, beyond the record in the Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, where, under date of May 21, 1771, application having been made on behalf of Ligonier and the vacancies beyond the Alleghany mountains: "Mr. James Finley is appointed to supply over the Alleghany Mountains for two months at least, as soon as it may be convenient for him." One year later, Mr. Finley reported to the Synod that he had fulfilled this appointment. He did not settle permanently in western Pennsylvania until 1782, when he became minister of Round Hill and Rehoboth congregations. The recently published *Diary of Rev. David McClure* gives the first account we have had of the beginnings of many of the Presbyterian congregations of western Pennsylvania. Mr. McClure, in company with the Rev. Levi Frisbie, was sent as a missionary to the Delaware Indians on the Muskingum, by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. They were ordained at Dartmouth College on May 20, 1772; and proceeded by way of New Jersey to Philadelphia. Leaving that town in July, they visited in succession Lancaster, Donegal, Carlisle, Big Spring, Middle Spring, Path Valley, and Bedford, reaching Ligonier on August 15th. Here, on the following day, Mr. McClure preached at the house of Mrs. Jane Campbell to the people of that settlement, "who lived in twenty or thirty log houses." Captain (afterwards General) Arthur St. Clair, who then resided at Ligonier, treated the visitors with polite attention, and informed them that "the settlement in the valley of Ligonier consisted of about one hundred families, principally Scotch and Irish; that they had purchased a parsonage for a minister, and subscribed £100 currency, salary, and wished to obtain a settled clergyman." On Tuesday, August 18th, the missionaries proceeded on their journey to Fort Pitt, stopping on the way at the houses of Col. John Proctor and John Irwin. They arrived at Fort Pitt on the 19th. The village built near the fort then consisted of about forty dwelling-houses, made of hewed logs. It stood on the bank of the Monongahela, about a quarter of a mile above the fort. On Sunday, August 30th, Mr. McClure rode to Joseph Hunter's, near the Youghiogheny river, some twenty-one miles above Fort Pitt, where he "preached two sermons to a serious and attentive audience." "Some of the settlers here had not heard a sermon for fourteen years. There was no settled minister or church organized westward of the Appalachian Mountains." Mr. McClure further states of these settlers: "The people are generally Presbyterians. A few illiterate preachers of the Baptist persuasion [Rev. David Jones, whose *Journal* has been printed, was one who preached there in 1772] have preached about, zealous

to make converts." Mr. McClure returned to Fort Pitt, and set out for his journey to the Muskingum on Saturday, September 5th. After spending a month in missionary work among the Indians, he returned to Pittsburgh in the early part of October, and rejoined Mr. Frisbie, whose poor health had prevented his accompanying McClure to the Indian country. From this date forward, it will be found interesting to follow the narrative of Mr. McClure's travels in his own words:

October 9. Set out [from the Muskingum] in company with a Mr. Freeman, an Indian trader, and his servant, and friend Nickells, to return to Pittsburgh. . . . On my arrival, found Mr. Frisbie in comfortable health. In my absence he had frequently preached to the people there, and in the neighboring settlements. . . .

I engaged to preach in rotation to five settlements, between Ligonier and the Youghiogheny river [the congregations were Ligonier, now Donegal and Fairfield; Jacob's Swamp, now Mount Pleasant; Proctor's Tent, now Unity; Squirrel Hill, now Fairfield and Armagh; and Stewart's Crossing, now Laurel Hill and Tyrone]. . . .

25th. Yesterday, rode to the Long Run, eighteen miles from Pittsburgh, and preached to-day in a small house, which the people have erected for public worship. . . .

27th. Sent word by Mr. [James or John] Carnahan, of Jacob's Swamp, that I would preach there the next Sabbath. Received a letter from Mr. Cooper, Scribe of the Presbytery of Donegal, informing, that they could send no supplies to the settlements west of the mountains, and that they had authorized us to preach there. Sent a message by Mr. Proctor to the people at Proctor's Tent, that I would preach there, the Sabbath after the next; and by Mr. Laughlin, that I would, with the permission of Providence, preach at Ligonier the Sabbath after that. . . .

November 4th, Wednesday. Preached in a Tent, near Mr. Carnahan's, Jacob's Swamp.

11th. Last Sabbath preached at Proctor's Tent, and to-day, Wednesday, at the house of Esq. [Robert] Hanna, about thirty miles from Pittsburgh. . . . Some rigid Presbyterians in this settlement objected to me, because I did not belong to a Presbytery, but was a New England Congregational minister. . . .

12th. Esq. Hanna accompanied me to Ligonier. . . .

16th. Preached in the house of Mrs. Campbell. . . . The settlements to which I have preached have invited me to tarry with them, which I have engaged to do, until May or June next. To encourage the business, they have drawn up subscriptions, forming themselves into something like ecclesiastical order. I engaged to preach in five of the new settlements. It is about six years since the people began them [1766]. They are from almost all parts, and generally Presbyterians. . . .

21st. Lodged at Mr. Mire's on the road to Mr. Carnahan's. Sabbath, preached to a numerous audience. . . . Wednesday, preached at the house of John McClellan [in Mount Pleasant township, Westmoreland county]. . . .

29th. Preached at Mr. Proctor's. . . .

December 3d. At Mr. [Thomas] Jameson's [of Fairfield township], Ligonier, read and studied the Bible in course.

10th. Thursday, preached at Mr. [James] McQuestin's, near the head of Sewickley Creek [Mount Pleasant township].

11th. Rode with David White seven miles to his house.

12th. Rode to the place of worship, three miles. Preached. . . .

15th. Rode to a settlement of Virginians, near Youghiogheny. Preached. . . . Lodged at Mr. Stevenson's. [At Stewart's Crossing, near the present village of New Haven, Dunbar Township, Fayette county. Col. William Crawford, who lived here, on the south side of the river, had several half-brothers named Stephenson. The names of John and Richard Stephenson appear on the tax-list of Tyrone township, Westmoreland (now Fayette) county, in 1772]. In the evening arrived Capt. St. Clair, Sheriff Proctor, Esq. Laughree [William Lochry, one of the first justices of Westmoreland county], and Mr. McLane [Alexander McClean], surveyor. They are out to run the line of the Province.

17th. Attended a marriage, where the guests were all Virginians. It was a scene of wild and confused merriment. The log house, which was large, was filled. They were dancing to the music of a fiddle. . . . The manners of the people of Virginia, who have removed into these parts, are different from those of the Presbyterians and Germans. They are much addicted to drinking parties, gambling, horse racing, and fighting. They are hospitable and prodigal. Several of them have run through their property in the old settlements, and have sought an asylum in the wilderness. [Some were Scotch-Irish. They came chiefly from the lower Shenandoah Valley, in the vicinity of Winchester and Shepherdstown. Many of them were the people with whom George Washington had spent some years of his youth, during the time he was engaged in surveying the lands of Lord Fairfax. Colonel William Crawford acted as Washington's agent in the acquisition and management of his lands along the Youghiogheny and elsewhere.]

18th. Saturday rode twelve miles to Joseph Erwine's on the Pennsylvania road [He kept the tavern at Hannastown, at that time the county seat of Westmoreland county].

19th. Preached in the open air, by the side of a fallen tree, to a considerable numerous congregation. . . . Rode a few miles to the house of a Mr. Thompson, an honest and pious Scotchman, who had been prejudiced against me on account of my not being, as he supposed, a true Presbyterian. Of the denomination of Congregationalists, the people here seem to have no knowledge. In their esteem all sects of Christians are erroneous who do not bear the name of Presbyterian.

Monday, set out with Mr. Erwine for Pittsburgh. . . . Found Mr. Frisbie well, and spent two days with him at Pittsburgh. Rode to Ligonier, and preached on the Sabbath.

29th. Rode in company with Mr. William McCune [a taxpayer in Armstrong township, Westmoreland county, in 1772, and probably a resident of what is now Indiana county] thirteen miles, to Squirrel Hill. [It stands on the south bank of the Conemaugh, back of the village of New Florence.]

30th. Wednesday preached to the small new settlement there. It lies on the river Connemoh, which is formed by the junction of Stoney creek and Quamahone, and empties into the Alleghany river. There are about twelve families here. . . . Preached the first sermon ever heard in this place.

January 1st, 1773. Rode to Mr. David White's [in Mount Pleasant township]. Found the people convened, expecting a sermon. Preached.

3d, Sunday. Preached at Mr. Nickels's, in Jacob's Swamp, to an attentive audience. [The names of John and Robert Nicols appear on the tax-list of Mount Pleasant township in 1772.]

Tuesday. Rode to Mr. White's. Appointed to preach to-morrow at Stewart's Crossings [so called from William Stewart, who settled on the south bank of the Youghiogheny, near the site of the present village of New Haven, perhaps as early as 1753].

Wednesday. Rode seven miles to Mr. Stevenson's and preached. The hearers mostly Virginians. Preached in the open air. Several present appeared almost intoxicated. Christmas and New Year holidays are seasons of wild mirth and disorder here. Rode to Mr. Vance's — to Hugh Bay's— to Samuel Newel's—to Joseph Erwine's. [The name of John Vance appears on the tax-list of Tyrone township, Westmoreland (now Fayette) county, in 1772, and the names of Hugh Bay and Samuel Newell on the list of Mount Pleasant township for the same year. John Vance's sister, Hannah, was the wife of Colonel William Crawford.]

17th. Preached at Ligonier. Visited the settlement.

24th. Preached at Stewart's Crossings. After meeting rode home with Captain Crawford. . . .

31st. Preached at Laury Irwine's [in Mount Pleasant township]. The week past Mr. Frisbie came to see me. . . . Visited the settlement [at Stewart's Crossings] until [Saturday].

February 4th. Reached Mr. Jameson's, on Ligonier, unwell.

5th, Sabbath. People convened, but I was not well enough to preach. . . . After a few days' confinement, was better; and Mr. Frisbie and I agreed to exchange. I accordingly went to Pittsburgh, and put up at my friend, Esq. McKay's. My service here is not so laborious, as it is confined to two places, this and the Long Run; whereas my rides comprehended five different settlements, in three of which I preached on Sabbaths, and the other two on week days. Drinking, debauchery, and all kinds of vice reign in this frontier of depravity. In Pittsburgh, however, are to be found a few fearers of God and friends of religion. . . .

16th. Saw a Mr. Douglas, a trader from the Shawanese country, who informs that Mr. Jones, a Baptist preacher before mentioned, had been among them and attempted to preach to them, but the Indians were enraged, and would have killed him, had he not been protected by a Moses Henry, a trader, who secreted him, until he found means to escape. Jones's object was the settlement, it is said, of a township by people from New Jersey, opposite the mouth of the Scioto.

21st. Sabbath. Extremely cold, preached at Mr. [James or John] Cavett's, Long Run. Preached at Pittsburgh. . . .

March 19th. Find my health much better. Mr. Frisbie having arrived, I set out to-day to preach the next Sabbath at Ligonier. Reached Robert Hanna's, Esq.—and the next day, Ligonier.

21st. Sabbath, preached; and Wednesday, at Squirrel Hill.

25th. Having appointed to preach at Jacob's Swamp, thirty-three miles from Squirrel hill, on the next Sabbath, set out with Mr. [James] McCurdy [of Fairfield township]; rode in a storm of wind, rain, and snow to his house, five miles. Lodged comfortably.

26th. Passed through Ligonier, and reached Hugh Bay's.

27th. Preached. . . .

31st. Preached at Stewart's Crossings.

April 1st. Thursday, rode to John McClellan's, and preached.

2d. Rode to Joseph Erwine's, and lodged.

3d, Sabbath. Preached at Laury Erwine's — rode home with Mr. [William] Greer [of Mount Pleasant township].

Mr. Frisbie and I had concluded on a journey over the Appalachian mountains, to attend the Presbytery of Donegal, at the Middle Springs.

Monday, 5th. We reached Ligonier.

Tuesday. The people having been notified, Mr. Frisbie preached here. . . . On leaving Ligonier, we began to ascend the Laurel hill. . . . We reached Stoney creek, and lodged at a Dutch doctor's. . . .

7th. Crossed the Alleghany mountain. . . .

8th. Thursday, preached in Bedford, a settlement of about twenty families. After sermon, rode to Thomas Eurie's [of Coleraine township, Bedford county] six miles. . . .

The inhabitants west of the Alleghany mountains are chiefly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. They are either natives of the North of Ireland or descendants of such, and removed here from the middle colonies. There are some Germans, English, and Scotch. . . .

Friday. Crossed Sideling hill, Juniata river, and Tuscarora mountain, and reached Path valley (Elliott's) late in the evening. We passed a few log huts to-day. . . .

Saturday. Passed through Sissney's Gap in the North or Blue Mountain, halted a while at Rev. Robert Cooper's, Shippensburgh, and reached my Uncle McClintock's at the Big Spring, in the evening. Notice was sent through the place of preaching on the morrow.

Sabbath. Mr. Frisbie and I preached to a large congregation.

Tuesday. Rode to Shippensburgh, to attend the Donegal Presbytery. . . .

Wednesday. The Presbytery, having examined our credentials and recommendations, and commission from the Hon. Board of Correspondents in New Jersey, admitted us members in full. . . .

At the settlement called "At Jacob's Creek" [Mount Pleasant], near the Youghiogheny river, I had formed the model of a church, and a session. An unhappy dispute arose between two persons there. . . . The parties agreed to refer it to the decision of the Presbytery, and I accordingly laid it before them. . . .

Saturday. Rode to Carlisle. . . .

Monday, returned to my Uncle's, at the Big Spring. . . .

The time of our engagement to preach to the people over the mountains not having expired, April 20th, Tuesday, Mr. Frisbie and I set out from the Big Spring. . . . In our return, we took Fort Littleton, Bedford, Anderson, the Dutch doctor's, on Stoney Creek, in our way.

Saturday, 24th. Reached Ligonier.

In this journey we overtook several families removing from the old settlements in the State, and from Maryland and New Jersey, to the western country. Their patience and perseverance in poverty and fatigue were wonderful. They were not only patient, but cheerful, and pleased themselves with the expectation of seeing happy days beyond the mountains.

I noticed particularly one family of about twelve in number. The man carried an ax and gun on his shoulders,—the wife, the rim of a spinning-wheel in one hand, and a loaf of bread in another. Several little boys and girls, each with a bundle, according to their size. Two poor horses, each heavily loaded with some poor necessaries. On the top of the baggage of one was an infant, rocked to sleep in a kind of wicker cage, lashed securely to the horse. A cow formed one of the company, and she was destined to bear her

proportion of service. A bed-cord was wound around her horns, and a bag of meal on her back. The above is a specimen of the greater part of the poor and enterprising people, who leave their old habitations and connections, and go in quest of lands for themselves and children, with the hope of the enjoyment of independence in their worldly circumstances, where land is good and cheap. And in the course of six years, many families west of the mountains now begin to realize their hopes. Before that time, the country was a desolate wilderness; but now there are many well cultivated farms in the pleasant valleys which run among the mountains and to the westward, on to Pittsburgh, about fifty miles.

April 25th. I preached in the forenoon at the house of Mrs. Campbell, to the people at Ligonier, and Mr. Frisbie preached in the afternoon. Dined with Capt. Arthur St. Clair. . . . He owns a good farm and grist mill at Ligonier, and large tracts of wild lands. . . .

May 21st. Rode to James McQuestin's, with Mr. Moorhead, and preached to the people of Sewickley Creek, who had convened in the woods. The number was considerable. . . . After sermon, rode seven miles to Hugh Bay's. . . .

May 31st. Rode to Pittsburgh to settle some accounts, and to join company with Mr. Frisbie, and take leave of friends.

June 1st. Spent my time in preaching to the people in the settlements on the Pennsylvania road [Forbes's route to Fort Duquesne in 1758]—Stewart's Crossings, Proctor's Tent, Ligonier, Jacob's Creek, and Squirrel Hill.

Yesterday arrived at my friend Eneas McKay, Esq., at Pittsburgh. . . .

Being about to return to New England, the two last weeks I visited the settlements in which I had spent about seven months, and preached to them for the last time. I found many more friends than I expected, and the parting scene was solemn and affecting. They invited me to return, and gave me the promise of a decent salary and lands. . . .

June 4th. Took leave of my friendly host, Mr. McKay and family, and set out from Pittsburgh about sunrise, having appointed to preach in the afternoon at the house of Robert Hanna, Esq., thirty miles distant. Arrived about two o'clock. Found the people convened. Preached and took my leave of them. . . .

Saturday 5th. Rode to the Loyalhanning and crossed over to a Mr. Craig's . . . and from thence to Capt. Proctor's, . . . then rode to Mr. Moorhead's, and to Ligonier.

Sabbath, 6th. Preached in an orchard in the forenoon, and afternoon in Capt. St. Clair's house.

Monday. Mr. McCune, of Squirrel Hill sent a horse for me to ride to that settlement, thirteen miles, to preach there in the afternoon. Preached to them my last sermon. This settlement is the most easterly of those to whom I have preached, and is not far distant from the western foot of the Appalachian mountains.

Truly, the people here in this new country are as sheep scattered upon the mountains, without a shepherd. At this time, not a single church has been formed, or minister of the Gospel settled west of the Appalachian mountains, from Pennsylvania to Georgia, through an extent of many hundred miles of new and sparse settlements. A great proportion of the people manifest a desire for the Gospel, and would gladly make provision for the support of ministers, according to their ability. We had the satisfaction, if I may so express it, of planting the seeds of some future churches, by

forming several settlements into something like ecclesiastical order, during seven or eight months of our preaching among them. . . .

9th, Wednesday. Some friends accompanied me to Ligonier, where I found Mr. Frisbie. . . .

Friday morning. Left Ligonier, and reached Stoney creek. . . .

Saturday. Reached Esq. [George] Wood's, in Bedford.

13th, Sabbath. Mr. Frisbie and I preached in a small court-house. . . .

Monday. Reached our worthy friend's, Thomas Eurie's. . . .

From Bedford we took the road to Fort Littleton. . . . Called on the Rev. Mr. King, and also on Rev. Mr. Craighead, at Rocky Spring, and reached Shippensburgh on the

16th, Wednesday. The Rev. Robert Cooper, minister of this place is a plain, sensible, and worthy man. . . . Went to my Uncle McClintock's, thirteen miles, to the Big Spring. Tarried there until June 19th. This day completes a year from our departure from our worthy patron, Dr. Wheelock, and friends at Dartmouth College. . . .

The ministers of this Province are supported by subscription, and appear to live as well as their brethren in New England [who were supported by the State]. Although their salaries are small, they have opportunities to purchase lands, and have comfortable farms.

June 20th, Sabbath. Rode four miles from my Uncle's, and preached to the people of this settlement. The congregation consists of about three hundred families. They have a large log house, in which they meet for worship. When the weather is pleasant, they meet in a grove adjoining the house, where a stage or tent is raised, in which the preacher stands. . . .

10th, Saturday. Having appointed to preach on the morrow in Sherman's Valley, twelve miles, my aged Uncle accompanied me. . . .

Sabbath. Rode to the place of worship, and preached forenoon and afternoon to the people of the Valley. An attentive little congregation. . . . It is rarely that they have opportunity to hear the Gospel. They are Presbyterians, and attentive to the education of their children, in the principles and duties of religion. Happy people, to whom the providence of God has given this pleasant, fertile, and retired abode.

Almost all new settlements are purchased with great toil and sufferings, and many with blood. This little valley, in its first settlement, was doomed to feel its share.

The next Presbyterian minister to visit Western Pennsylvania after David McClure was the Rev. James Power. Mr. Power was licensed by the Presbytery of Newcastle, June 24, 1772, and spent the following year in missionary labors, chiefly in the Virginia valley. In the summer of 1774, he visited the settlements in Pennsylvania west of the Alleghany mountains, and preached at various places in Westmoreland and Fayette counties. Returning to the East, Mr. Power served for nearly two years as minister of West Nottingham congregation in Cecil county, Maryland. He removed thence with his family in the fall of 1776 to the settlement at Dunlap's Creek, now in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, having been induced to locate there by his father-in-law, who had accompanied the Rev. James Finley on his first missionary tour, and had remained in the western country. Here, and at George's Creek, Laurel Hill, Tyrone, Unity, and Mount Pleasant, the Rev.

Mr. Power labored for about two years as a missionary. In 1779, he settled permanently at Mount Pleasant, having Sewickley also as part of his pastoral charge.

Mr. Power was followed by the Rev. John McMillan, who visited western Pennsylvania in 1775, and on June 19, 1776, was ordained pastor of Pigeon Creek and Chartiers congregations, both in Washington county. He settled there permanently in November, 1778.

An autobiographical sketch was written by Dr. McMillan in January, 1832, which is printed in full in Joseph Smith's *History of Washington and Jefferson College* (pp. 413-417). It was evidently prepared with great care by Dr. McMillan, and supplements the *Journal* which he kept of his early missionary tours. With the exception of a few personal details, it reads as follows:

I was born in Fagg's Manor, on the 11th of November, 1752. Before my birth, my parents had some children, I think two sons, who died while they were young. . . . I was sent to a grammar school, kept by the Rev. Mr. John Blair, in Fagg's Manor, where I continued until Mr. Blair was removed to Princeton, to superintend the college there. I was then sent to Pequea, to a grammar school, kept by the Rev. Robert Smith. . . . I went to college in the spring of 1770, and continued until the fall of 1772, when I returned to Pequea, and began the study of theology under the care of the Rev. Robert Smith, D.D. . . . I passed through my trials in the Presbytery of New Castle, and was licensed by them to preach the gospel, October the 26th, 1774, at East Nottingham. The first winter I spent in itinerating in the vacant congregations of New Castle and Donegal Presbyteries. In the summer of 1775, I took a tour through the settlements in Virginia, between the North and South Mountains. In July, I crossed the mountains between Staunton and the head of Tygart's Valley, preached in the various settlements which I passed through, until I came to Chartiers; preached there on the fourth Sabbath of August, and on the Tuesday following at Pigeon Creek. I then turned my course eastward, preached in the different settlements as I passed along, and came to my father's about the last of October. In the winter, I again visited Augusta county in Virginia, crossed the mountains in January, and preached at Pigeon Creek and Chartiers until the latter end of March, 1776, when I returned home; and at a meeting of the Presbytery, on the 23d of April, I accepted a call, and was dismissed to join the Presbytery of Donegal, and on the 19th of June, at Chambersburg, was ordained.

Having now determined to remove to the Western country and take charge of the congregations of Chartiers and Pigeon Creek, I thought it my duty to take with me a female companion. Accordingly, on the 6th of August, 1776, I was married to Catharine Brown, a young woman with whom I had been long acquainted, and who, I believed, was a dear child of God. She was the youngest child of Mr. William Brown, a ruling elder in the congregation of Upper Brandywine, Chester County, Pennsylvania. He was a very pious man, and lived to a great age, being about ninety when he died. It being in the time of the Revolutionary war, and the Indians being very troublesome on the frontiers, I was prevented from removing my family to my congregations until November, 1778. I however visited them as often

as I could, ordained elders, baptized their children, and took as much care of them as circumstances would permit. . . .

My wife and I lived comfortably together more than forty-three years, and on the 24th of November, 1819, she departed triumphantly to take possession of her house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. . . .

When I determined to come to this country, Dr. Smith enjoined it upon me to look out for some pious young men, and educate them for the ministry; for, said he, though some men of piety and talents may go to a new country at first, yet if they are not careful to raise up others the country will not be well supplied. Accordingly, I collected a few who gave evidence of piety, and instructed them in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, some of whom became useful, and others eminent ministers of the gospel, viz.: James Hughs, John Brice, James McGready, William Swan, Samuel Porter, and Thomas Marquis. All these I boarded and taught without any compensation, except about forty dollars which Mr. Swan gave to my wife after he was settled in the ministry. I had still a few with me when the Academy was opened in Canonsburg, and finding that I could not teach and do justice to my congregation, I immediately gave it up and sent them there.

For an account of the revivals of religion which took place in the congregation, I must refer you to the *Western Missionary Magazine*, vol. 2d, page 353. After the close of the revival which began in 1802, though upon every sacramental occasion some joined the church, yet nothing remarkable took place until the fall of 1823, when God visited this dry and parched congregation with a shower of divine influences. . . .

J. McMillan.

January, 1832.

From the foregoing account, it appears that during the summer of 1775 Dr. McMillan made a tour through the settlements of Virginia, in Augusta and Rockbridge counties. In July, he crossed the mountains between Staunton and the head of Tygart's valley, preaching in the various settlements, until he came to Chartiers creek, in what is now Washington county, Pennsylvania. On this journey, Mr. McMillan experienced great privations and difficulties. In the country through which he passed there were no roads other than bridle paths and Indian trails; and the settlers were few and widely scattered, many of them living more than twenty miles away from their nearest neighbor. The following extract from McMillan's *Journal* will give us some knowledge of the trials endured by this faithful missionary in his travels, as well as of the customary hardships experienced on the Pennsylvania frontier by the Scotch-Irish pioneers in general:

This morning crossed the Laurel Hill — came to Mr. Barker's about 12 o'clock. Here my company left me; and Mr. Barker, who had promised to accompany me to the next house, which was about thirty miles distant, not having his horse at home, I was forced to tarry there till five o'clock, when the horse coming home, we set off. Nothing remarkable happened, save that Mr. Barker shot a doe, part of which we carried with us. Night coming on, and being far from any house, we were forced to think of taking up our lodging in the woods; we sought for a place where there was water, unsaddled our horses, hobbled them with hickory bark, and turned them to the hills; we then kindled a fire, roasted part of our venison, and took our

supper: about ten o'clock, we composed ourselves to rest. I wrapped myself in my great coat, and laid me on the ground; my saddle-bags served me for a pillow.

Thursday.—This morning we rose very early, ate our breakfast, got our horses, and set to the road again. About noon, we arrived at Ezekiel York's. Here my company left me, and I had to take the woods alone; crossed two hills which, if they were in some parts of the world, would be called lofty mountains; and after travelling what they call twelve miles, through an almost pathless way, I came to The Glades. My lodging, this night, was not much better than the night before. I had a deerskin and a sheet spread under me, some clothes above me, and a pillow was laid for my head. This, however, I put under my haunch, to keep my bones from the floor, and I placed my coat under my head.

Friday.—I left The Glades, and travelled ten miles to one Coburn's. Here I got some grain for my horse, which was the first he had since Wednesday morning. They told me I was then about ten miles from Col. Wilson's, where I intended to tarry the remainder of the week; but this day being very wet, the road difficult and houses scarce, I lost my way very often. Some places I could get no directions. And what directions I got I could not follow, because of the multitude of paths that are everywhere through the woods. About sunset I came to a plantation, where I intended to tarry all night; but when I came to the cabin, it was waste. I searched all about, but could find no inhabitants. I then took another path, which led me to a cabin; but there was nobody at home, and the door was barred. I then took my horse again, and went further along the path, to see if there was any other cabin nigh; but could find none. The night being dark, and very rainy, I therefore resolved to return to the fore-named cabin. When I came there, I found the cabin still barred, and nobody at home. I, however, unsaddled my horse, and turned him into a field which lay convenient. Finding it impossible to open the door, I climbed the wall, and went into a hole in the roof, which served instead of a chimney. I then opened the door, brought in my saddle, kindled a fire; and after I had ordered my affairs as well as possible, I laid myself down on a sort of bed, and slept very contentedly till morning.

Saturday.—This morning I buckled on my wet clothes, got my horse, barred the doors, and left my lonely lodgings, not knowing which way to steer. But before I had gone many rods, I met the owner of the cabin returning home. I told him the story, got directions of the road, and came to Mr. Wilson's in time for breakfast.

The 1st Sabbath of August. Preached at Mount Moriah; but the day being rainy, there was only a small congregation. However, they seemed pretty attentive, and a few tears were shed by some. In the evening, I returned to Colonel Wilson's, and tarried there till Wednesday morning, part of which time I spent in writing.

Wednesday.—Rode about fourteen miles, and preached at John Armstrong's, on Muddy Creek, to a small congregation. There I remained till Sabbath morning. But the weather being rainy, and the house small, I got but little done.

The second Sabbath of August.—Rode about four miles down the river, and preached at John McKibbon's, on Dunlap's Creek, and lodged with him all night.

Monday.—Finished my first sermon, and began a second, on Luke xiv. 23.

Tuesday.—I spent the forenoon in writing, and then went about four miles to Mr. Adams', where I spent the remainder of the day.

Wednesday.—Preached at James Picketts', to a pretty large congregation, and then rode about five miles, to David Allen's.

Thursday.—Spent the forenoon in conversation with my old acquaintances, and in the afternoon preached to a number of the neighbors.

Friday.—Travelled about twelve miles, to Edward Cook's, where I tarried till Sabbath.

The third Sabbath of August.—Preached at Pentecost's, to a very small congregation. The people had been dilatory, and had not given a proper warning. I tarried here till Wednesday, when I rode about six miles and preached at the Forks meeting-house; in the afternoon I travelled six miles further, and lodged that night with my brother-in-law.

Thursday and Friday.—Spent in visiting friends and acquaintances.

Saturday morning.—I travelled about sixteen miles to John McDowell's on Chartiers, where I stayed till Monday morning.

The fourth Sabbath of August.—Preached at John McDowell's.

Monday.—Rode about six miles, to Patrick McCullough's, on Pidgeon Creek.

Tuesday.—Preached at Arthur Forbise's, and lodged with Patrick Scott.

He preached also at Thomas Cook's on the following day. Then returned to his brother-in-law's—remained over Sabbath (the first Sabbath of September), and preached at a meeting-house on the banks of the Monongahela. The second Sabbath of September he preached at Fort Pitt, lodging with Mr. Ormsby. Thence he set out homeward, and reached his father's house in October, 1775; he then attended Presbytery, and was again appointed to visit Augusta and Westmoreland. Accordingly, in November, he took his second journey to Virginia, passed through Winchester and Staunton, and continued in Augusta until January, 1776.

The second Sabbath of January he spent in Romney. "This morning," he writes while at Romney, "Mr. Manning, the parson of this parish, came, contrary to the expectations of the people, and would preach, though requested by the people not to do it. After he had gone through his service, as he calls it, and preached a short sermon, I also preached in my turn." McMillan's journey over the mountains was attended with much exposure and suffering. His horse one day got away, and he was obliged to walk several miles before it could be recovered. At length, he arrived at Chartiers and Pigeon Creek, preaching at the latter place on the fourth Sabbath in January, 1776, and on the following Sabbath at Chartiers. He continued dividing his time between these two places until the end of March, when he returned to Fagg's Manor.

McMillan's second visit seemed to have awakened great interest in the settlements at Chartiers and Pigeon Creek. There are notices in his *Journal* of his congregations being often "numerous, very attentive, and much affected." Soon after his return a call was prepared, presented, and accepted by him, at the Presbytery of New Castle, April 22d, 1776. He was

then dismissed to join the Presbytery of Donegal, which met at Chambersburg, June 19, 1776. At that meeting he was ordained with a view to taking charge of the congregations of Chartiers and Pigeon Creek. The Presbytery of Donegal at that time included the whole territory west of the mountains. After his ordination, he spent most of the ensuing summer in the neighborhood of Fagg's Manor.

Dr. McMillan states that he did not immediately remove to the West, it being in the time of the Revolutionary War, and the Indians being troublesome. He was therefore prevented from removing with his family until November, 1778. However, he "visited them as often as he could, ordained elders, baptized their children, and took as much care of them as circumstances would permit." At length, he ventured to remove his household, and the following account of the new scenes into which his family was brought is given in his letter to Dr. Carnahan, dated at Chartiers, March 26th, 1832.

When I came to this country, the cabin in which I was to live was raised, but there was no roof to it, nor any chimney, nor floor. The people, however, were very kind: they assisted me in preparing my house, and on the 16th of December, I removed into it. But we had neither bedstead, nor tables, nor stool, nor chair, nor bucket. All these things we had to leave behind us, as there was no wagon road at that time over the mountains. We could bring nothing with us but what was carried on pack-horses. We placed two boxes, one on the other, which served us for a table, and two kegs served us for seats; and having committed ourselves to God, in family worship, we spread a bed on the floor, and slept soundly till morning. The next day a neighbor coming to my assistance, we made a table and stool, and in a little time, had everything comfortable about us. Sometimes, indeed, we had no bread for weeks together; but we had plenty of pumpkins and potatoes, and all the necessaries of life; as for luxuries, we were not much concerned about them. We enjoyed health, the gospel, and its ordinances, and pious friends. We were in the place where we believed God would have us to be; and we did not doubt but that He would provide everything necessary, and glory to his name, we were not disappointed.

Dr. McMillan immediately entered upon his ministerial labors. The circumstances in which he was placed rendered it necessary to work "with his own hands," chopping down timber, felling the sturdy oaks, and wielding the mattock, the hoe, and the plow. He was a man of vigorous bodily powers, and few of his neighbors could excel him in handling the axe and the maul. The minister did not, however, suffer these necessary toils to prevent his careful preparation for the labors of the Sabbath. "Dr. McMillan," says Dr. Matthew Brown in an unpublished sketch of his life, "having been now permanently located, entered upon the duties of his station which were various and arduous, calling forth all his energies of body and mind. For some time it was necessary to engage in providing the necessaries of life, and making such improvements in building and clearing the ground

as were indispensable. These, however, he did not at any time allow to interfere with his more important duties as a minister of the gospel. He labored in two congregations, and carefully prepared written sermons, which he memorized. Shortly after he settled at Chartiers he made an appointment on the Sabbath, at Parkinson's Ferry, where Monongahela City now stands; and on the Saturday evening previous, at Ginger Hill, four miles west of the Ferry. At this latter place, his horse, having been put out to pasture, strayed off and could not be found in the morning. After considerable search, without success, Dr. McMillan proceeded on foot and fulfilled his appointment at Parkinson's Ferry, returned to Ginger Hill, and preached there in the afternoon, agreeably to an appointment made the preceding evening; after which he walked home, nine miles—having preached twice and walked seventeen miles in all.

"He not only attended to the duties of his own extensive charge, but frequently was called to officiate in destitute places, organize churches and dispense the ordinances among them. His labors in the ministry were soon crowned with abundant success, as were those of his compeers, and in a few years the wilderness became a fruitful field."

The fourth Presbyterian minister to settle permanently in western Pennsylvania was the Rev. Thaddeus Dodd, of Mendham, Morris county, New Jersey. He was licensed in 1775, and in his evangelistic labors as a licentiate visited the Ten Mile settlement in Washington county, Pennyslvania, which had been established chiefly by emigrants from the vicinity of his home in New Jersey. He received and accepted a call to settle among them, returned East, and was ordained by the Presbytery of New York in 1777. In 1779 he removed his family West, and located permanently at Ten Mile, supplying also at South Fork of Ten Mile, in what is now Greene county.

The Rev. Joseph Smith, minister of Lower Brandywine congregation, in Newcastle county, Delaware, visited some of the congregations in what is now Washington county, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1779. He removed there the following year, becoming pastor of the united congregations of Upper Buffalo and Cross Creek. Another minister who settled in western Pennsylvania about this time was the Rev. James Dunlap. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Newcastle, August 21, 1781, and a year later received by the Presbytery of Redstone (which had been constituted by the Synod, May 16, 1781, and organized September 11th by the Rev. Messrs. Power, McMillan, Dodd, and Smith), and settled as pastor of Laurel Hill and Dunlap's Creek congregations. On March 11, 1783, the Presbytery of Redstone also received the Rev. John Clark, who had removed from the congregations of Allen Township and Lower Mount Bethel, in Northampton county, and become settled pastor of the churches of Bethel and Lebanon, in what is now Alleghany county, many of the members of which had removed from his former charges in the eastern part of the State. The next Presbyterian minister to settle west of the Alleghanies was the Rev.

Samuel Barr, a native of county Londonderry, Ireland, who, after licensure, came to America and was ordained by the Presbytery of Newcastle, June 15, 1785. In December of the same year, he met with the Presbytery of Redstone, and stated that he had received a call from the churches of Pittsburgh and Pitt Township (now Beulah), declaring his acceptance thereof, subject to the Presbytery's approval. He thus became the first minister of the Presbyterian church of Pittsburgh, and was received by Redstone Presbytery as a member in 1787. During the following year, that Presbytery licensed the Revs. John Brice, James Hughes, and Joseph Patterson. Mr. Brice was ordained as pastor of Three Ridges and Forks of Wheeling congregations in 1790, and Mr. Hughes, the same year, as pastor of Short Creek and Lower Buffalo; all four congregations being in Washington county. Mr. Patterson was settled over the churches of Raccoon and Montour's Run in 1789. These ordinations were followed by those of John McPherrin, who became pastor of Salem and Unity churches, Westmoreland county, in 1790; Samuel Porter, pastor of Poke Run and Congruity in 1790; George Hill, pastor of Fairfield, Donegal, and Wheatfield, in 1792; William Swan, pastor of Long Run and Sewickley in 1793; Jacob Jennings, pastor of Dunlap's Creek and Muddy Creek (New Providence), 1792–93; David Smith, pastor of George's Creek and Union (now Tent), in 1794; and the following, ordained by the Presbytery of Ohio: Thomas Marquis, pastor of Cross Creek, in 1794; Thomas Moore, pastor of Ten Mile in 1794; Boyd Mercer, pastor of Pigeon Creek and Pike Run, in 1795; Samuel Ralston, pastor of Mingo Creek and Horseshoe Bottom (now Monongahela) in 1796; William Woods, pastor of Bethel and Lebanon in 1797; Thomas Hughes, pastor of New Salem and Mount Pleasant in 1799; and the following in 1800: Andrew Gwinn, pastor of Pigeon Creek and Pike Run; John Watson, Miller's Run; Joseph Anderson, Richland (St. Clairsville), Short Creek (Mount Pleasant), and Cross Roads (Crabapple), Western Territory (Ohio); John McClain, Montour's; Elisha Macurdy, Cross Roads and Three Springs; William Wick, Hopewell and Neshannock; Samuel Tate, Upper Salem and Cool Spring; and James Snodgrass, Steubenville and Island Creek, Western Territory.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1] The earlier portion of the *Journal* was printed in book form by the Princeton Historical Society in 1901.

[2] New York, privately printed, 1899.

CHAPTER V

THE SETTLEMENTS ENUMERATED

THE extent to which the Presbyterian settlements of Scottish people had become spread over the American colonies down to the year 1760 may be inferred from the fact that there were one hundred and five ministers on the roll of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which met in that year. It is stated by Dr. Alfred Nevin that there were at that time two hundred Presbyterian congregations in the country. This estimate is very much below the actual number. Three hundred would be nearer right. There were more than sixty congregations in New Jersey; from eighty to one hundred in Pennsylvania and Delaware; upwards of forty in New England; about forty in Maryland and Virginia; more than twenty in New York; from fifteen to twenty in North Carolina; and about twenty in South Carolina. In the following list, the names of the ministers on the roll of the Synod in 1760 are given, with the names of the congregations under their care, and the probable date of organization of each congregation. From this data, we can determine approximately the time of settlement of many of these communities:

PRESBYTERY OF DONEGAL, PENNSYLVANIA.—George Duffield, Carlisle (organized about 1735) and Big Spring (1735); John Elder, Derry (1729) and Paxtang (1729); John Hoge, Opequon (1736), Cedar Creek (1737), Tuscarora (1738–43), and Back Creek, Va., (1738–43); Robert McMordie, Upper Marsh Creek (1740) and Round Hill (1748); John Roan, Derry and Paxtang (New Side); Robert Smith, Pequea (1724); Sampson Smith, Chestnut Level (1730); John Steel, Carlisle (1735) and Silvers's Spring (1734); Joseph Tate, Donegal (1721); Samuel Thomson, Great Conewago (1740).

PRESBYTERY OF HANOVER, VIRGINIA.—Samuel Black, late of Rockfish Gap (1738–40) and Mountain Plain (before 1752); John Brown, Timber Ridge (1746) and New Providence (1746); John Craig, Augusta (1737) and Tinkling Spring (1737); Alexander Craighead, Rocky River, North Carolina (1758); Samuel Davies, President of Princeton College and late of Hanover county (three meeting-houses, 1743), Caroline (1748), Goochland (1748), Henrico (1748), and New Kent (1748); Robert Henry, Cub Creek (1738) and Briery (1748); Hugh McAden, Goshen (1755), and Welsh Tract (1755), both in North Carolina; John Martin, Albemarle (1750–56); Alexander Miller, Cook's Creek (1756) and Peaked Mountain (1756); Henry Patillo, Wyllis's Creek and Mountain (1748–55), Byrd (1755–58), and Buck Island (1758); William Richardson, Waxhaw (1755), Fishing Creek (1755), etc.,

in South Carolina; Richard Sankey, Buffalo (1759–60); John Todd, Providence, Louisa county (1748); John Wright, Cumberland (1748–55).

Presbytery of Lewes, Delaware.—John Harris, Indian River, Del. (1756); Hugh Henry, Rehoboth (1684), Wicomico (1684), and Manokin, Md. (1684); John Miller, Dover (1714) and Duck Creek, Del. (1726); Moses Tuttle, Kent county (Drawyers), Del. (1710),; Matthew Wilson, Lewes (1692) and Cool Spring, Del. (1728).

Presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey.—John Carmichael, licensure reported 1760; John Clark, licensure reported 1760; David Cowell, Trenton, N. J. (1726); John Guild, Hopewell, N. J. (1709); Benjamin Hait, Amwell, N. J. (1715–30); John Hanna, licensure reported 1760, Kingwood (1742), Bethlehem (1730), and Alexandria, N. J. (before 1752); Samuel Harker, Black River, Morris county, N. J. (1752); Samuel Kennedy, Baskingridge, N. J. (1720–25); William Kirkpatrick, Trenton, N. J. (1726); James McCrea, Lamington (1739), Lebanon (1740), Peapack (1740), and Readington (White House), N. J. (1740); Charles McKnight, Allentown (1721), and Bordentown (Crosswicks), N. J., (1740–50); Alexander McWhorter, Newark, N. J.; William Mills, licensure reported 1760; John Prudden, Milford, Conn. (1640); Israel Reid, Bound Brook, N. J. (1720–25); Elihu Spencer, supply at Jamaica, L. I., and Shrewsbury, N. J. (before 1727); William Tennent, Freehold, N. J. (1692); Conradus Worts, Rockaway, N. J. (1758).

Presbytery of Newcastle—Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.—Hector Allison, late of Drawyers, Del. (1710); supply at Albany, N. Y.; (1760) Andrew Bay, Deer Creek (Churchville), Harford county, Md.; John Blair, Fagg's Manor, Pa. (1730); Adam Boyd, Upper Octorara, Pa. (1720); James Campbell, Fayetteville, N. C. (1745); John Ewing, Philadelphia, Pa. (1698); James Finley, Rock (East Nottingham), Md. (1720); Samuel Finley, Lower Octorara (West Nottingham), (1720), Md.; George Gillespie (d. January, 1760), White Clay Creek, Del. (1721); Alexander Hutcheson, Bohemia Manor and Broad Creek, Md. (1723); Alexander McDowell, White Clay Creek, Del. (1721), and Head of Elk, Md. (1721); William McKennan, Red Clay Creek (1722), and Wilmington, Del. (1740); John Rodgers, St. George's (1742) and The Forest, Del. (1742); Andrew Sterling, Upper Octorara, Pa. (1720); John Strain, licensure reported 1760; Charles Tennent, White Clay Creek, Del. (1721); Daniel Thane, Newcastle (1698) and Christiana Bridge, Del. (1738).

Presbytery of New York.—Timothy Allen, Ashford, Mass.; Enos Ayres, Blooming Grove, Orange County, N. Y.; David Bostwick, New York City (1707); John Brainerd, Newark, N. J.; Abner Brush; Alexander Cumming, New York (1707) or Boston (1727); John Darby; Jonathan Elmer, New Providence, N. J.; Chauncey Graham, Rumbout (before 1748) and Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Jacob Green, South Hanover (Madison), N. J. (1747); Simon Horton, Newtown, L. I.; Timothy Johnes, Morristown, N. J.

(1733); Abraham Kettletas, Elizabethtown, N. J. (1667); Hugh Knox, Saba Island, West Indies; Silas Leonard, Goshen, N. Y. (1720); John Maltby, Bermuda Island; John Moffatt, Wallkill, Orange county, N. Y. (1729); John Piersen, Mendham (1735–38), N. J.; Aaron Richards, Rahway, N. J. (1741); Azel Roe, licensure reported 1760; Caleb Smith, Orange, N. J.; John Smith, Rye and White Plains, N. Y.; Nathaniel Whitaker, Chelsea, Conn.; Benjamin Woodruff, ——. Vacancies: Florida (1750); Pittsburgh (1747); Union (1743); Cherry Valley (1741); Albany (1760); Middlefield (1755); Cambridge (1761); Salem (1761–64).

Presbytery of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.—Francis Alison, Philadelphia, Pa. (1698); Charles Beatty, Neshaminy, Pa. (1726); Benjamin Chestnut, Charlestown (1740), and Lower Providence, Pa. (1730); Robert Cross, late of Philadelphia, Pa. (1698); Nehemiah Greenman, Pittsgrove, N. J. (1719); John Griffith; Andrew Hunter, Greenwich (before 1715) and Deerfield, N. J. (1737); John Kinkead, Windham, N. H. (1742); James Latta, Deep Run, Bucks County, Pa. (1726); Daniel Lawrence, Cape May, N. J., (before 1721); Henry Martin, Newtown (1734) and Salisbury, Bucks County, Pa.; Joseph Montgomery, licensure reported 1760; William Ramsey, Fairfield, N. J. (1690–97); Gilbert Tennent, Philadelphia 2d, Pa. (1743); Richard Treat, Abington, Pa. (1714).

Presbytery of Suffolk, Long Island.— Eliphalet Ball, Bedford, Westchester county, N. Y.; Moses Baldwin; James Brown, Bridgehampton, L. I.; Samuel Buel, East Hampton, L. I.; Thomas Lewis, Hopewell (1709) and Maidenhead, N. J. (1709); Ebenezer Prime, Huntington, L. I.; Abner Reeve, Moriches and Ketchabonock, L. I.; Samuel Sackett, Hanover and Crompond, N. Y.; Benjamin Talmage, Brookhaven, L. I.; Sylvanus White, Southampton, L. I.

A list of the accessions to the Synod of New York and Philadelphia from 1760 to 1788, the date of organization of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America, will be found in a note at the end of this chapter.[1]

Neither the Presbytery of South Carolina nor the two New England Presbyteries were connected with the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1760, and of but one of these have detailed records been preserved. In the Stiles Manuscripts, at Yale College, may be found some information in regard to the condition of the so-called dissenting churches in the South[2] during the decade from 1760 to 1770. The first enumeration, under date of 1760, is as follows :

Presbyterian ministers—John Baxter; John McLeod; John Rae, of Williamsburg; Charles Lorimer, St. John's, two churches; Archibald Simpson, Prince William's (Congregational); Philip Morrison, Charleston (mixed); Patrick Kier; John Alison, St. Paul's; William Richardson; Charles Gordon, St. Bartholomew's (mixed); John Martin, Christ's Church (Congregational)—eleven.

Under date of September 12, 1768, the following report on Presbyterian congregations in South Carolina and Georgia was made to Dr. Stiles by Rev. Elam Potter, who was sent out as a missionary by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1767:

South Carolina.— Bethel [organized 1764], sixty families; Catupa [Catawba], thirty families; Fishing Creek [1755], forty families; Bulloch's Creek [1769], one hundred families ; Waxhaw [1755], 120 families ; pastor, William Richardson; near-by, seventy families, but vacant; Lynch's Creek, sixty families, vacant; Great Creek, fifty families, vacant; Black River, forty families, vacant; Williamsburg [1736], ninety families, vacant; Sumter, thirty families, vacant; Pedee, twenty families, vacant; Indian Town [1760], fifty families, William Knox; Pine Tree, fifty families, vacant; Rocky Mount [1755], twenty families; near-by, twenty families, vacant; Indian Creek [1760–68], twenty families, vacant; about Saluda, two hundred families, vacant; Wando Neck [Cainhoy, 1700–1710], sixty families, John Martin; Charleston [1685–95], seventy families, Alexander Hewat; Wilton [1720–30], fifty families; Pon Pon (1720–30), fifty families; Indian Land [Stony Creek, 1743], fifty families, Archibald Simpson; Port Royal, vacant; Salt Ketcher [1766], Archibald Simpson; John's Island [1720 ?], James Latta; James's Island [1720], thirty families, vacant; near-by, John McLeod; near Savannah, thirty families, vacant; Three Runs, thirty families, vacant; Shell Bluff, thirty families, vacant; New Windsor, thirty families, vacant; Long Canes, five hundred families, missionary frontier, vacant; Charleston [1685–95], eighty families, John Thomas; Wales, Josiah Smith.

Georgia.—Savannah, John Zubly; Sunbury, Mr. ——; near-by, John Osgood; Briar Creek, thirty families, vacant; Buck Head, thirty families, vacant; near Savannah, forty families, vacant.

In New England, Londonderry Presbytery was organized by the Scotch-Irish ministers shortly before 1730; and a second Presbytery, that of Boston, in 1745. The records of the first have not come down to us, and who were its members cannot be fully known; but during the first fifteen years of the Presbytery's existence, it is believed that Andrew Le Mercier of Boston, James McGregor of Londonderry, Edward Fitzgerald of Worcester, William Johnston of Worcester, John Moorehead of Boston, William McClenahan of Georgetown and Cape Elizabeth, Matthew Clark of Londonderry, Joseph Harvey of Palmer, John Caldwell, Thomas Thompson of Londonderry, Ward Clark of Kingston, —— Dalrymple, James Morton of Blandford, John Wilson of Auburn, Robert Rutherford of Bristol, Warren, Pemaquid, Brunswick, and Thomaston, William Davidson of Londonderry, and possibly —— Urquhart, were among its members. Other Scottish or Ulster Presbyterian ministers who were settled in New England before 1725 were John McKinstry, at Sutton, Mass., James Hillhouse, at New London, Conn., John Campbell, at Oxford, Mass., John Graham, at Stafford, Conn., Samuel Dorrance, at Voluntown, Conn., and William Homes, at Chilmark, Martha's Vineyard.

Rev. Samuel Dunlop was ordained by the Presbytery of Londonderry

at Brunswick in 1747, and Rev. John Kinkead at Windham in 1760. Londonderry Presbytery ceased to exist about 1765.

Boston Presbytery was organized April 16, 1745, by Rev. Messrs. John Moorehead, of Boston, David McGregor, of Londonderry, West, and Robert Abercrombie, of Pelham. This Presbytery licensed Daniel Mitchell (afterwards settled at Pembroke) in 1746, and Alexander Boyd in 1748; installed the latter at Georgetown in 1753; admitted the Rev. Jonathan Parsons and his congregation at Newburyport in 1748; received the Rev. Robert Burns, a licentiate from the North of Ireland, in 1753; installed Alexander McDowell as minister at Colerain in 1753; admitted the Rev. Solomon Prentice and his congregation at Easton in 1753; installed the Rev. John Houston at Bradford in 1757; the Rev. John Morrison at Peterboro in 1766; and the Rev. Simon Williams at Windham in 1766. The records of Boston Presbytery are not extant for the years from 1750 to 1769. In 1770, the following new names appear on the records: Moses Baldwin, settled at Kingston; Richard Graham, Pelham; Samuel Perley, Seabrook; Thomas Pierce, Scarboro; John Strickland, Oakham; George Gilmore and —— Noble, licentiates; John Eliot, probationer. The Rev. Joseph Patrick was installed at Blandford in 1772, and Alexander McLean at Bristol in 1773; the Rev. Nathaniel Whittaker and his congregation at Salem were admitted in 1774, as were also the Rev. Nathaniel Merrill and his congregation at Boscawen. In the same year the Presbytery received the Rev. Messrs. John Urquhart (afterwards settled at Warren), Aaron Hutchinson, and Benjamin Balch (of Dedham and Barrington). Samuel Taggart was licensed in 1775 (afterwards settled at Colerain).

A third Presbytery was formed in New England at Boothbay in 1771, by the Rev. Messrs. John Murray, of Boothbay, Joseph Prince, of Pownalboro, and John Miller, of Brunswick. This was called the First Presbytery to the Eastward, and continued in existence, without allying itself to any synod, until 1792. This Presbytery licensed Samuel Wheeler in 1772; admitted the Rev. Nathaniel Ewer and his congregation at New Market in 1774; received James Miltimore and Joseph McKeen as candidates in 1782, licensing the latter a year later; admitted the Rev. Thomas Hibberd and his congregation at Amesbury, and the Rev. Solomon Moore and his congregation at New Boston in 1783. Robert Moore was a member in 1788. In 1790, Messrs. Atkinson and Abraham (?) Moore were licensed, and Mr. Jonathan Brown accepted as a candidate. The Rev. Nathan Broadstreet was licensed in 1791; and in the following year the Presbytery became extinct.

The second New England (Boston) Presbytery was, in 1775, divided into three Presbyteries, which were organized into the Synod of New England, and continued for seven years. In 1782 the Synod was converted into a Presbytery, called the Presbytery of Salem, and this became extinct in 1791. The three new Presbyteries organized in 1775 were named, respec-

tively: the Eastern, or Salem Presbytery; Middle, or Londonderry; and Western, or Palmer. The clerical members of the Synod at the time of its organization were: David McGregor, John Houston, Daniel Mitchell, Samuel Perley, John Strickland, Nathaniel Merrill, Alexander McLean, John Urquhart, Nathaniel Whittaker, Benjamin Balch, Simon Williams, Moses Baldwin, and Samuel Taggart.

Some time between the years 1769 and 1776, perhaps in 1770, another Presbytery was formed in New England, of which Dartmouth College was the centre, and the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, founder of that college, the leading member. This was called Grafton Presbytery, and also the Presbytery of Connecticut River. The date of formation, members, and period of its existence cannot now be definitely determined, as the records of the Presbytery are supposed to have been burned in the fire which consumed the Presbyterian church of Hanover Centre, N. H., in 1797. The Presbytery seems to have existed in central New Hampshire and eastern Vermont from before 1776 until after 1796, and some information concerning it may be found in the pamphlet, *Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College*, published in 1815. Concerning Grafton Presbytery, the Rev. John M. Whiton, of Bennington, N. H., wrote in February, 1856:

It is well known that both the founder and the original church of Dartmouth College were Presbyterian, and that the Presbytery of Grafton in that vicinity was large and flourishing for some fourteen years; that Presbyterian churches and ministers were once found in Hanover, East Hanover, Croydon, Lyme, Orford, Piermont, in New Hampshire; and in Norwich, Hartford, Fairlee, Royalton, Tunbridge, Randolph, Thetford, Barnard, Newbury, Topsham, and perhaps other towns in Vermont; that the two Presidents Wheelocks, Professors Smith and Ripley, the Judges Bezaleel and William H. Woodward, and Rev. Messrs. Burroughs of Hanover, Conant of Lyme, Potter of Norwich, Hutchinson of Pomfret, Bowman of Barnard, Powers of Newbury, and Burton of Thetford (who was at one time its clerk) were prominent members of that Presbytery.

The Associate Presbytery of New York, which was organized in New York City, May 20, 1776, included in its territory not only the State of New York, but New England in addition. This Presbytery met at Wallkill, New York, in October, 1778, and ordained Rev. David Annan as minister for Peterboro, New Hampshire. In September, 1782, the Presbytery met at Peterboro, and admitted the Long Lane congregation of Boston. On October 31st of the same year, upon the union of the Associate and Reformed churches of America, this Presbytery became a part of the Synod of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. New York Presbytery met at Londonderry, February 12, 1783, and ordained Rev. William Morrison. The Rev. Robert Annan was installed as pastor of the Long Lane Congregation of Boston on September 25th of the same year. Messrs. James Anderson and —— Whipple were received in 1784. In May, 1786, Middlefield and

Chester, Mass., were taken under the care of the Presbytery. Rev. John Houston was sent as a missionary to Ryegate and Barnet in 1786; and on June 2, 1786, the name of the Presbytery was changed from New York to Londonderry. In 1788 it was called the Associate Reformed Presbytery of New England. In 1790 the Rev. Zaccheus Colby and his congregation at Pembroke were admitted; and in the following year Samuel Toombs was received from the Presbytery of New York, and Andrew Oliver licensed (installed as minister at Pelham, West, in 1793). In 1793 the Associate Reformed Presbytery of New England united with the Presbytery to the Eastward under the name of the Presbytery of Londonderry.

The following, among other congregations, were settled in New England before 1760, their members being for the most part of Scottish descent: Londonderry, 1719, one hundred and ten families; Worcester, 1719, about fifty families; Porpooduc on Casco Bay, 1719, sixteen families; Brunswick, 1719; Scarboro, 1720; Topsham, 1720; Cork, 1720; Voluntown, 1723; Kingston, before 1727; Boston, 1727; Falmouth (Me.), 1727; Bristol, 1729; Boothbay, 1729; Noblesboro, 1729; Londonderry, West, 1730; New Market, South, 1730; Palmer, 1730; Townsend, 1730; Pemaquid, 1730; Chester, 1730; Auburn, 1734; Georgetown, 1734; Wiscasset, 1734; Warren (Maine), 1735; New Glasgow (Blandford), 1735; Cape Elizabeth, before 1736; New Gloucester, 1736; Colerain, 1736; Milford, 1737; Pelham, 1738; Peterboro, 1739; Damariscotta, 1740; Western (Warren, Mass.), 1741; Goffstown, 1741–42; Windham, 1742; Antrim, 1744; Newburyport, 1746; Easton, 1747; Sheepscot, before 1747; Bedford, 1750; Bradford (Souhegan East), 1750; Stirling, 1753, sixty adults; Newcastle, before 1754.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church in America was first organized into congregations by the Rev. John Cuthbertson, who came from Ulster in 1751, and labored as a missionary through the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and New York for nearly forty years. In 1773, he was joined by the Rev. Messrs. Matthew Lind and Alexander Dobbin, both also from the North of Ireland; and on March 10, 1774, these three ministers met at Paxtang, near Harrisburg, Penn., and constituted themselves as the Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery of North America. Mr. Cuthbertson retained the charge of Middle Octorara and Muddy Creek congregations, in Lancaster county, and Lower Chanceford, in York county; Mr. Lind located at Paxtang, in what is now Dauphin county, and had the care of that church, together with Stony Ridge, in Cumberland county. Mr. Dobbin became minister to Rock Creek church in what is now Adams county, and East Conococheague, now Greencastle, in Franklin county. David Telfair, who had supplied the congregation of Shippen Street, Philadelphia, for some ten or twelve years, joined the Presbytery in 1780. In December, 1781, this Presbytery adopted the terms of union as adopted and offered by the Associate Presbytery of New York, and all its ministers and fully organized congregations went into the union consummated on the 1st of November, 1782, which originated the

Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. Most of the isolated societies which were not under direct pastoral influence took no part in this union, but went on as before, and wrote to Scotland for a supply of ministers. In 1789, the Rev. James Reid visited America and surveyed the whole field from New York to South Carolina, returning home in 1790. James McGarragh was sent from Ireland in 1791, and William King from Scotland in 1792. They were followed by James McKinney in 1793; and the three ministers were authorized to manage the affairs of the Reformed, or Covenanter, Church as a Committee of the Presbytery in Scotland, which they continued do until the organization of a new Presbytery at Philadelphia in 1798. All three settled in Chester district, South Carolina.

The Associate Presbyterian Church took its rise in America about the year 1753, when the Rev. Messrs. Alexander Gellatly and Andrew Arnot sailed from Scotland as missionaries to some of the scattered people of that church in Pennsylvania. On November 2, 1753, they organized themselves into the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania. During the next year the Rev. James Proudfit arrived from Scotland and joined the Presbytery, and Mr. Arnot returned to Scotland. Mr. Gellatly was settled over the congregations of Octorara, in Lancaster county, and Oxford, in Chester county, and Mr. Proudfit, after travelling as a missionary for three or four years settled at Pequea, in Lancaster county. In 1758, Matthew Henderson arrived, and became pastor of the congregations of Oxford and Pencader, the latter in Delaware. In 1761, John Mason, minister, and Robert Annan and John Smart, licentiates, reached America. Mr. Mason was immediately settled over a congregation in New York City; Mr. Annan was ordained in 1763 at Marsh Creek, in what is now Adams county, Penn., and Mr. Smart returned to Scotland. In 1763, William Marshall arrived, and two years later was installed at Deep Run, in Bucks county, Penn. In 1764, the Rev. Thomas Clarke, M.D., arrived, accompanied by more than two hundred members of his former congregation of Ballybay, county Monaghan, Ireland. The most of these people settled with their minister at Salem, Washington county, New York; and, in 1765, Mr. Clarke joined the Associate Presbytery. David Telfair and Samuel Kinloch came from Scotland in 1766. The former took charge of the Shippen Street Congregation in Philadelphia, while the latter made his headquarters in Cambridge, Washington county, New York. They were followed by John Rodgers and John Smith in 1771. Mr. Rodgers became minister of the congregations of Big Spring, in Cumberland county, and East and West Conococheague, in Franklin county, Penn. Mr. Smith settled at Octorara. In 1772, James Clarkson arrived, and a year later he was settled at Muddy Creek (now Guinston), in York county, Penn. William Logan and John Murray came in 1773, the former settling at Fermanagh (now Mexico), in Juniata county, Penn., and the latter at Marsh Creek, in what is now Adams county, Penn. Andrew Patton came in 1774, and James Martin in 1775. The Presbytery was

divided in 1776, the eastern portion becoming the (Associate) Presbytery of New York. The Presbyteries of the Associate and Reformed Churches united in 1782, and the Associate Reformed Church of America was organized, its first synod meeting at Philadelphia on November 1st of that year.[3] The Rev. Messrs. Marshall and Clarkson declined to go into the union, and new missionaries were sent out from Scotland to aid them in rebuilding the Associate Church. John Anderson arrived in 1783; after travelling for some years as a missionary under the direction of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, he was settled in 1792 as minister at Mill Creek and Harmon's Creek (now Service and Frankfort), in Beaver county, Penn. Thomas Beveridge came in 1784, travelled for some years, and settled, in 1789, at Cambridge and Argyle, New York. David Goodwillie and Archibald Whyte arrived in 1788, the former settling at Barnet and Ryegate, Vermont, in 1790, and the latter at Argyle, New York, from whence he itinerated as a missionary between Vermont and South Carolina. John Cree and David Somerville came in 1790, the former settling in New York City in 1792, and the latter in Rockbridge county, Virginia. Robert Laing arrived in 1795, and John Banks in 1796. The former was installed at Buffalo, Washington county, Penn., in 1797; and the latter supplied the congregation in New York City for a year, settling at Cambridge (Coila), Washington county, New York, in 1799.

In 1786, the three Presbyteries of the Associate Reformed Church were rearranged by the Synod, and the ministers and churches of New England, as we have seen, were erected into a new Presbytery, to be known as the Presbytery of Londonderry. This Presbytery coalesced with the Presbytery of the Eastward in 1793, and withdrew from the Synod.

From the foregoing lists and reports, and from a variety of other sources, including the principal town, county, and local histories which relate to colonial America, and the collections of the Presbyterian Historical Society at Philadelphia, the following list has been prepared, showing the principal centres of Scotch and Scotch-Irish settlement in America during the eighteenth century. An alphabetical arrangement of the list will be found in the index, under the heading "Scotch-Irish Settlements."

Colonial Presbyterian Churches of Pennsylvania and Delaware.

(Established in Eastern Pennsylvania before 1760).

Lewes, Lewes P. O., Sussex county, Del., established 1692.

Philadelphia, First, 1698.

Newcastle, Newcastle county, Del., 1698.

Head of Christiana, White Clay Creek hundred, Newcastle county, Del., 1708.

Drawyer's, Appoquinimy hundred, Kent county, Del., 1710.

Pencader, or Welsh Tract, Pencader hundred, Kent county, Del., 1710.

Bensalem, Bensalem township, Bucks county, Penn., 1710.

Norriton, Norriton township, Montgomery county, Penn., 1714.
Great Valley, Tredyffrin township, Chester county, Penn., 1714.
Abington, Abington township, Montgomery county, Penn., 1714.
Cedar Creek, Sussex county, Del., 1714.
Dover, Dover hundred, Kent county, Del., 1714.
Murder Kill, Kent county, Del., 1714.
Lower Brandywine, Newcastle county, Del., 1720.
Head of Elk, or Rock, or East Nottingham, originally in Elk township, Chester county, now in Fairhill township, Cecil county, Maryland, 1720.
Upper Octorara, Sadsbury township, Chester county, Penn., 1720.
White Clay Creek, Mill Creek hundred, Newcastle county, Del., 1721.
Donegal, East Donegal township, Lancaster county, Penn., 1721.
Red Clay Creek, Mill Creek hundred, Newcastle county, Del., 1722.
Pequea, Salisbury township, Lancaster county, Penn., 1724.
Oxford, Lower Oxford township, Chester county, Penn., 1725.
Duck Creek, Duck Creek hundred, Kent county, Del., 1726.
Neshaminy, Warwick township, Bucks county, Penn., 1726.
Deep Run, Bedminster township, Bucks county, Penn., 1726.
Middle Octorara, Bart township, Lancaster county, Penn., 1727.
Cool Spring, Lewes and Rehoboth hundred, Sussex county, Del., 1728.
New London, New London township, Chester county, Penn., 1728.
Middletown, Middletown township, Delaware county, Penn., 1729.
Derry, Londonderry township, Dauphin county, Penn., 1729.
Paxtang, Lower Paxtang township, Dauphin county, Penn., 1729.
Plumstead, Plumstead township, Bucks county, Penn., 1730.
Providence, Lower Providence township, Montgomery county, Penn., 1730.
Fagg's Manor, Londonderry township, Chester county, Penn., 1730.
Little Britain, Fulton township, Lancaster county, Penn., 1730.
Chestnut Level, Drumore township, Lancaster county, Penn., 1730.
Newtown, Newtown township, Bucks county, Penn., 1734.
Silvers's Spring, Silvers's Spring township, Cumberland county, Penn., 1734.
Forks of Brandywine, West Brandywine township, Chester county, Penn., 1735.
Meeting House Spring (Carlisle), Middleton township, Cumberland county, Penn., 1735.
Big Spring, Newton township, Cumberland county, Penn., 1735.
Hanover, East Hanover township, Dauphin county, Penn., 1736.
Mossy Spring, or East Conococheague, Antrim township, Franklin county, Penn., 1737.
Falling Spring (Chambersburg), Guilford township, Franklin county, Penn., 1737.

Christiana Bridge, White Clay Creek hundred, Newcastle county, Del., 1738.

Allen Township, East Allen township, Northampton county, Penn., 1738.

Mount Bethel, Lower Mount Bethel township, Northampton county, Penn., 1738.

Little Conewago, Conewago township, Dauphin county, Penn., 1738.

Upper West Conococheague (Mercersburg), Peters township, Franklin county, Penn., 1738.

Tinicum, or Tehicken, Tinicum township, Bucks county, Penn., 1739.

Durham, Durham township, Bucks county, Penn., 1739.

Leacock, Leacock township, Lancaster county, Penn., 1739.

Middle Spring, Southampton township, Cumberland county, Penn., 1739.

Rocky Spring, Letterkenny township, Franklin county, Penn., 1739.

Wilmington, Newcastle county, Del., 1740.

Doe Run, East Fallowfield township, Chester county, Penn., 1740.

Upper Marsh Creek, Cumberland township, Adams county, Penn., 1740.

Great Conewago, Strabane township, Adams county, Penn, 1740.

Lower West Conococheague (Welsh Run), Montgomery township, Franklin county, Penn., 1741.

St. George's, St. George's hundred, Newcastle county, Del., 1742.

Forest, St. George's hundred, Newcastle county, Del., 1742.

Muddy Run, Martic township, Lancaster county, Penn., 1742.

Philadelphia, Second, 1743.

Monaghan, Carroll township, York county, Penn., 1745.

Lower Marsh Creek, Highland township, Adams county, Penn., 1748.

Round Hill, Strabane township, Adams county, Penn., 1748.

Indian River, Indian River hundred, Sussex county, Del., before 1750.

Slate Ridge, Fawn township, York county, Penn., 1750.

Paxtang Reformed, Lower Paxtang township, Dauphin county, Penn., 1752–54.

Octorara Associate, Bart township, Lancaster county, Penn., 1754.

Oxford Associate, Oxford township, Chester county, Penn., 1754.

Chanceford Reformed, Lower Chanceford township, York county, Penn., 1754.

Stony Ridge Reformed, Silvers's Spring township, Cumberland county, Penn., 1752.

Guinston Associate, Chanceford township, York county, Penn., 1754.

Rock Creek Reformed, Cumberland township, Adams county, Penn., 1753.

Hopewell, or Shrewsbury, Hopewell township, York county, Penn., 1759.

York, York county, Penn., 1759.

Pennsylvania Churches Marking the Settlement of the Susquehanna Valley.

Lower Path Valley, Fannett township, Franklin county, 1766.
Upper Path Valley, Metal township, Franklin county, 1766.
Great Cove, Ayr township, Fulton county, 1766.
Tyrone, Centre, Madison township, Perry county, 1766.
Toboyne, Upper, Jackson township, Perry county, 1766.
Dick's Gap, Miller township, Perry county, 1766.
Lower Tuscarora, Beale township, Juniata county, 1766.
Cedar Spring, Fermanagh township, Juniata county, 1766.
Derry, Granville township, Mifflin county, 1766.
Limestone Ridge, Tyrone township, Perry county, 1766–68.
Middle Tuscarora, Tuscarora township, Juniata county, 1766–70.
Frankstown, Frankstown township, Blair county, 1770–72.
Upper Tuscarora, Lack township, Juniata county, 1773.
Buffalo Cross Roads, Buffalo township, Union county, 1773.
Warrior Run, Delaware township, Northumberland county, 1773–74.
Chillisquaque, Chillisquaque township, Northumberland county, 1775.
Northumberland, Point township, Northumberland county, 1775.
East Kishacoquillas, Armagh township, Mifflin county, 1766–75.
West Kishacoquillas, Menno township, Mifflin county, 1766–75.
Penn's Valley, Gregg township, Centre county, 1775.
Sinking Creek, Potter township, Centre county, 1775.
Great Island, Lock Haven, Clinton county, 1775.
Lycoming, Armstrong township, Lycoming county, 1775–78.
Fermanagh Associate, Walker township, Juniata county, 1777.
Tuscarora Associate, Tuscarora township, Juniata county, 1777.
Shearman's Creek, Carroll township, Perry county, 1778.
Cove Associate, Ayr township, Fulton county, 1783.
Hart's Log, Porter township, Huntingdon county, 1784.
Warrior's Mark, Warrior's Mark township, Huntingdon county, 1784.
Lewistown, Derry township, Mifflin county, 1783–85.
Mahoning, Mahoning township, Montour county, 1785.
Dry Hollow, or Spruce Creek, Franklin township, Huntingdon county, 1786.
Sunbury, Upper Augusta township, Northumberland county, 1787.
Huntingdon, Huntingdon county, 1787.
Washington, Brady township, Lycoming county, 1787–90.
Shaver's Creek, Barree township, Huntingdon county, 1787–90.
Sinking Valley, Tyrone township, Blair county, 1790–94.
Pine Creek, Porter township, Lycoming county, 1793.
Lick Run, Marion township, Centre county, 1798.
Shirley, Shirleysburg, Huntingdon county, before 1800.

EARLY TRANS-ALLEGHENY CHURCHES AND SETTLEMENTS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Rehoboth, Rostraver township, Westmoreland county, 1771.
Round Hill, Forward township, Allegheny County, 1771.
Laurel Hill, Dunbar township, Fayette county, 1772.
Donegal, or Ligonier, Cook township, Westmoreland county, 1772.
Fairfield, or Squirrel Hill, West Fairfield township, Westmoreland county, 1772.
Mt. Pleasant, Mt. Pleasant township, Westmoreland county, 1772.
Unity, Unity township, Westmoreland county, 1772.
Long Run, North Huntingdon township, Westmoreland county, 1772.
Bedford, Bedford borough, Bedford county, 1772–74.
George's Creek, Nicholson township, Fayette county, 1774.
Dunlap's Creek, Redstone township, Fayette county, 1774.
Chartiers Associate, Chartiers township, Washington county, 1775.
Pigeon Creek, Somerset township, Washington county, 1776.
Chartiers, North Strabane township, Washington county, 1776.
Sewickley, South Huntingdon township, Westmoreland county, 1776.
Lebanon, Mifflin township, Allegheny county, 1778.
Upper Raccoon, Robinson township, Washington county, 1778.
Upper Buffalo, Hopewell township, Washington county, 1779.
Cross Creek, Cross Creek township, Washington county, 1779.
Bethel, Fayette township, Allegheny county, 1778–80.
Bethesda Associate, Forward township, Allegheny county, 1780.
North Buffalo Associate, Buffalo township, Washington county, 1780.
Muddy Creek, Cumberland township, Greene county, 1778–81.
Upper Ten Mile, Morris township, Washington county, 1781.
Lower Ten Mile, Amwell township, Washington county, 1781.
South Fork of Ten Mile, Jefferson township, Greene county, 1781.
Tyrone, Tyrone township, Fayette county, 1778–83.
Poke Run, Washington township, Westmoreland county, 1784.
Beulah, Wilkin township, Allegheny county, 1784.
Pittsburgh, First, Allegheny county, 1784.
Mill Creek, Greene township, Beaver county, 1785.
Washington, First, Washington county, 1785.
Three Ridges, Donegal township, Washington county, 1780–85.
Horse Shoe Bottom, Carroll township, Washington county, 1785.
Tent, George's township, Fayette county, 1780.
Salem, Derry township, Westmoreland county, 1786.
Mingo Creek, Union township, Washington county, 1786.
Congruity, Salem township, Westmoreland county, 1788.
Montour's, Robinson township, Allegheny county, 1788.
Cross Roads, Hanover township, Washington county, 1788.
Bethel, Centre township, Indiana county, 1790.

Ebenezer on Blacklick, Conemaugh township, Indiana county, 1790.

Three Springs, Hanover township, Washington county, 1790.

King's Creek Associate Reformed, Hanover township, Beaver county, 1790.

Robinson's Run Associate Reformed, South Fayette township, Allegheny county, 1790.

Mill Creek Associate Reformed, Raccoon township, Beaver county, 1790.

Laurel Hill Associate Reformed, Dunbar township, Fayette county, 1791.

Armagh, East Wheatfield township, Indiana county, 1792.

Noblestown Associate Reformed, North Fayette township, Allegheny county, 1792.

West Alexander Associate Reformed, Donegal township, Washington county, 1790–93.

Ligonier Valley Associate Reformed, West Fairfield township, Westmoreland county, 1794.

Lower Robinson's Run or Union Associate Reformed, Robinson township, Allegheny county, 1794.

Mount Hope Associate Reformed, Hopewell township, Washington county, 1790–95.

Miller's Run, Cecil township, Washington county, about 1795.

Mount Pleasant Associate Reformed, Mount Pleasant township, Washington county, 1795.

Peters's Creek Associate Reformed, Peters's Creek township, Washington county, 1795.

Puckety Associate Reformed, Burrell township, Westmoreland county, 1795.

Bull Creek, West Deer township, Allegheny county, 1796.

Pike Run, East Pike Run township, Washington county, 1790–98.

Conemaugh Associate Reformed, Conemaugh township, Indiana county, before 1798.

Early Presbyterian Churches and Settlements of Maryland.

Patuxent, Charles county (established by Puritans from New England), 1649.

Upper Marlborough on Patuxent, Prince George county, before 1669.

Snow Hill, Worcester county, 1683–84.

Rehoboth, Somerset county, 1683–84.

Wicomico, Somerset county, 1683–85.

Manokin, Somerset county, 1683–85.

Pitt's Creek, Worcester county, 1683–85.

Bladensburg, Prince George county, 1715.

Bohemia Manor and Back Creek, Chesapeake township, Cecil county, 1723.

West Nottingham, or Lower Octorara, Rising Sun township, Cecil county, before 1720.

Deer Creek (now Churchville), Harford county, 1738.
Buckingham (now Berlin), Worcester county, before 1740.
Church Hill, Queen Anne county, before 1740.
Antietam (now Hagerstown), Washington county, about 1741.
The Ferry, Worcester county, 1743.
Chestertown, Kent county, before 1750.
Tom's Creek, or Monocacy, Emmittsburg district, Frederick county, 1760.
Piney Creek, or Pipe Creek, Taneytown district, Carroll county, 1761.
Captain John's (now Cabin John's), or Bethesda, Bethesda district, Montgomery county, 1761–63.
Rockville, Montgomery county, 1761–63.
Baltimore, 1763.
Sharpsburg, Sharpsburg district, Washington county, before 1775.
Georgetown, District of Columbia, before 1782.
Frederick, Frederick county, 1782.
Bethel, Harford county, 1777–86.
Centre, Harford county, 1777–86.
Soldier's Delight, Harford or Baltimore county, before 1788.

EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND SETTLEMENTS OF VIRGINIA.

(Including Western North Carolina and Eastern Tennessee.)

Lynnhaven and Elizabeth Creek (four stations), Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, before 1683.
Onancock, Accomac county, 1683–84.
Opequon, Frederick county, 1736.
Augusta (Stone Church), Augusta county, 1737–38.
Cedar Creek, Berkeley county, West Virginia, 1737–38.
Tinkling Spring, Augusta county, 1737–38.
Cub Creek, Charlotte county, 1738.
Rockfish Gap, Nelson county, 1738–40.
Tuscarora, Berkeley county, West Virginia, 1738–40.
Bullskin, Jefferson county, West Virginia, about 1742.
Back Creek, Berkeley county, West Virginia, 1738–43.
Old Fork, Hanover county, 1743.
Pole Green, Hanover county, 1743.
Davies's Lower church in Hanover county (Pamunkey ?) 1743.
Mountain Plain, Nelson county, before 1745.
Forks of James, or Hall's Meeting House, or New Monmouth (now Lexington), Rockbridge county, 1746.
Calf Pasture, or Rocky Spring, Augusta county, 1746.
New Providence, Rockbridge county, 1746.
North Mountain, Augusta county, 1746.
Timber Ridge, Rockbridge county, 1746.

Elk Branch, Jefferson county, West Virginia, before 1747.
Falling Waters, Berkeley county, West Virginia, before 1747.
Briery, Prince Edward county, 1748.
Davies's Church, Henrico county, 1748.
Falling Spring, Rockbridge county, 1748.
Needwood, Caroline county, 1748.
Owens's Creek, Louisa county, 1748.
Providence, Louisa county, 1748.
St. Peter's, New Kent county, 1748.
Woodson's, Goochland county, 1748.
Cow Pasture (Windy Cove ?), Bath county, 1749–52.
Brown's Meeting House, Augusta county, 1753.
Wood's Gap, Albemarle county, 1745–55.
Wyllis's Creek and Mountain, Cumberland county, 1748–55.
Little Falling River, Campbell county, 1755.
Amelia, Amelia county, before 1756.
Cook's Creek, Rockingham county, 1756.
Lunenburgh, Lunenburgh county, 1756.
Peaked Mountain, Rockingham county, 1756.
Petersburg, Dinwiddie county, 1756.
Byrd, Goochland county, 1755–58.
Tuscarora, Berkeley county, 1755–58.
Buck Island, Buckingham (?) county, 1758.
Buffalo, Prince Edward county, 1759.
Walker's, Prince Edward county, 1759.
Mossy Creek, Augusta county, 1757–59.
Downing's, Northumberland county, 1762.
Forest (Waddell's third church), Lancaster or Northumberland county, 1762.
Gordon's, or Upper Meeting House, Lancaster county, 1762.
Deep Creek, Powhatan county, 1763.
Harris's Creek, Amherst (?) county, 1763.
Dee Ess (D. S.), Albemarle county, 1766.
Peaks of Otter, Bedford county, 1766.
Pisgah (possibly Rice's second church in 1766), Bedford county, before 1788.
Dan, Halifax county, 1768.
Mayo, Halifax county, 1768.
Sandy Creek, Halifax county, 1768.
Cove, or Rich Cove, Albemarle county, 1769.
Linvell's Creek, Rockingham county, 1769.
North Garden, Albemarle county, 1769.
Tygart's Valley, Randolph county, West Virginia, 1760–70.
Bull Pasture, Highland or Bath county, before 1771.

Hat Creek, Campbell county, before 1771.
Sinking Spring (Abingdon), Washington county, about 1771.
Alexandria, Alexandria county, about 1772.
Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, West Virginia, before 1775.
High Bridge, Rockbridge county, 1775.
Oxford, Rockbridge county, 1775.
Concord, Appomattox county, before 1777.
Spreading Spring, Washington (?) county, 1778.
Bethel, Augusta county, 1779.
McAden's Church, Pittsylvania, 1770–80.
Hopewell, Jefferson county, West Virginia, 1775–80.
Bethel, Washington county, 1781.
Winchester, Frederick county, 1781.
Little Levels, Greenbrier (?) county, before 1783.
Camp Union, Greenbrier county, 1783.
Good Hope, Greenbrier county, 1783.
Wahab, Bath (?) county, 1783.
Staunton, Augusta county, 1780–83.
Blue Spring, Allegheny (?) county, 1784.
Windy Cove, Bath county, 1784.
Charlestown, Jefferson county, West Virginia, 1785.
Bluestone, Mecklenburg (?) county, before 1788.
Crab Orchard, Highland (?) county, before 1788.
Fauquier, Fauquier county, before 1788.
Fork of Pamunkey, Hanover county, before 1788.
Head of Smith's River, Patrick county, before 1788.
Jackson's River, Bath county, before 1788.
Roanoke, Roanoke (?) county, before 1788.
Big Pigeon, Tennessee, reported as within the bounds of Abingdon Presbytery, 1788.
Boyd's Neck, reported by Abingdon Presbytery, 1788.
Concrete, reported by Lexington Presbytery, 1788.
Knob's or Knop's Creek, North Carolina (?), reported by Abingdon Presbytery, 1788.
Little Pigeon, Tennessee, reported by Abingdon Presbytery, 1788.
Little River, reported by Lexington Presbytery, 1788.
Locust Bottom, reported by Lexington Presbytery, 1788.
North Fork, reported by Abingdon Presbytery, 1788.
Pleasant Run, reported by Lexington Presbytery, 1788.
Romney, Hampshire county, West Virginia, before 1788.
Sinks', reported by Lexington Presbytery, 1788.
Unity, reported by Abingdon Presbytery, 1788.
Valley, reported by Abingdon Presbytery, 1788.
West Liberty, Liberty district, Ohio county, West Virginia, 1788.

Forks of Wheeling, Triadelphia district, Ohio county, West Virginia, 1787–90.

Yuille's, Halifax county, before 1790.

Lexington, Rockbridge county, 1791.

Carmel, Shenandoah county, before 1793.

Martinsburg, Berkeley county, West Virginia, before 1793.

The Flats, Poe district, Hancock county, West Virginia, 1793.

Bethel, Bedford county, before 1798.

Craig's Creek, Botetourt county, before 1798.

Greenbrier, Greenbrier county, West Virginia, before 1798.

Middletown, Frederick county, before 1798.

South River, Hardy county, West Virginia, before 1798.

Salem, Bedford (?) county, before 1798.

Springfield, Hampshire county, West Virginia, before 1798.

Flint Run, reported by Winchester Presbytery, 1799.

Frankfort, reported by Winchester Presbytery, 1799.

Pine Grove, reported by Lexington Presbytery, 1799.

Spring Creek, reported by Lexington Presbytery, 1799.

In addition to the foregoing list, there were a number of settlements in southwestern Virginia, western North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee, the congregations of which were all under the care of the Presbytery of Abingdon, Virginia, from 1786 until the end of the eighteenth century. The following valuable summary of all these congregations was prepared by Abingdon Presbytery about 1796, and reported to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States which met at Philadelphia, May 24, 1797:—

The Presbytery of Abingdon was constituted in the year 1786; extends in length from the New river on the northeast to the frontiers on Tennessee river on the southwest, at present about two hundred miles; and from the Blue or Eastern Ridge of the Appalachian mountains to the Cumberland mountains, about one hundred and forty miles in breadth. The congregations within the bounds of this Presbytery are as follows, beginning at the northeast:

New Dublin, New River, Virginia, thirty families; organized 1782; vacant.

Austinville, New River, Virginia, twenty-five families; organized 1790; vacant.

Graham's Meeting-House, Reed Creek, Virginia, fifty families; organized 1776; vacant.

Adams's Meeting-House, Reed Creek, Virginia, thirty families; organized 1782; vacant.

Davis's Head of Holston, Virginia, thirty families; organized 1776; almost extinct.

Upper Holston, or Ebbing Spring, Holston River, Virginia, forty-five families; organized 1779; vacant.

Glade Spring, Holston River, Virginia, fifty families; organized 1772–1784; were under Mr. Craighead from 1784.

Rock Spring, Holston River, Virginia, fifty families; organized 1772–1784; Edward Crafford settled 1794.

Sinking Spring, Holston River, Virginia, sixty families; organized 1772–1784; Charles Cummings was pastor till 1782.

Green Spring, Virginia, forty-five families; organized 1772–1784; vacant.

Upper Concord, Holston River, Tennessee, forty-five families; organized 1780; Samuel Doake was pastor.

New Providence, Holston River, Tennessee, fifty families; organized 1780; vacant.

Clinch congregation, Clinch River, Virginia, twenty-five families; organized 1785; vacant.

New Bethel, Holston and Watauga Rivers, Tennessee, forty families; organized 1782; vacant.

Hebron, Watauga River, Tennessee, twenty families; organized 1790; vacant.

Jonesborough, Little ——, and Limestone Creeks, Tennessee, thirty families; organized 1796; John Cosson settled 1796; —— —— settled 1782.

Providence, by Limestone Creek, Tennessee, seventy families; organized 1784.

Chestnut Ridge, Kindricks' Creek, Tennessee, twenty-five families; organized 1787; vacant.

Salem, Nolechuckey River, Tennessee, fifty families; organized 1780; Samuel Doake settled 1782.

Mount Bethel, Nolechuckey River, Tennessee, ninety families; organized 1780; Hezekiah Balch settled 1783.

Waggoner's Settlement, Lick Creek, Tennessee, twenty families; organized, 1791; vacant.

Charter's Valley C——, Holston River, Tennessee, sixty families; organized 1780; vacant.

Sinking Spring, Lick Creek, Tennessee, thirty families; organized, 1787; Rev. James Balch settled 1787–92 (formerly stated supply; now hired).

New Providence, Fork of Chuky and French Broad River, Tennessee, forty families; organized 1787; extinct.

Gap Creek Congregation, Lick Creek, Tennessee, twenty families; organized 1792; vacant.

Pent Gap C——, Oil Creek congregation, Nolechuckey River, Tennessee; organized 1787; extinct.

Westminster, Nolechuckey, and French Broad Rivers, Tennessee, fifty families; organized 1787; Robert Henderson settled 1790.

Hopewell, French Broad River, Tennessee, fifty families; organized 1785.

Shunam, Holston River, Tennessee, forty families; organized 1790; vacant.

Lower Concord, Holston River, Tennessee, forty families; organized 1791; vacant.

Fork Congregation, Holston and French Broad Rivers, Tennessee; forty families; organized 1790.

Knoxville, Holston River, Tennessee, forty families; organized 1793; Samuel Carrick settled 1792; —— —— settled 1793.

Rimm's Creek congregation, Swanano River, North Carolina, thirty-five families; organized 1794; vacant.

Mouth of Swanano, Swanano River, North Carolina, thirty-five families; organized 1794.

Head of French Broad, French Broad River, North Carolina, thirty-five families; organized 1794; vacant.

Eusebia, Little River, North Carolina, forty families; organized 1786; Gideon Blackburn settled 1794.

New Providence, Little River, North Carolina, sixty families; organized 1786; —— —— settled 1794.

Tennessee Congregation, Tennessee River, North Carolina, sixty-five families; organized 1796; vacant.

Grassy Valley, Holston River, North Carolina, seventy families; organized 1793; vacant.

EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND SETTLEMENTS OF NORTH CAROLINA.

(See also under Virginia.)

Cross Creek, or Campbelton (Fayetteville), Cumberland county, 1739.
Goshen, Duplin county, 1740.
Cathey's Meeting-house (now Thyatira), Rowan county, 1751.
Concord, Iredell county, 1751.
Fourth Creek (Statesville), Iredell county, 1751.
Poplar Tent, Cabarrus county, 1751.
Rocky River, Cabarrus county, 1751.
Sugar Creek, Mecklenburg county, 1751.
Welsh Tract, New Hanover county, 1745–55.
The Grove, Duplin county, before 1755.
Dan River, Caswell county, before 1755.
Eno River, Orange county, before 1755.
Hawfields, Alamance and Orange counties, before 1755.
Middle Hico, or Red House, Caswell county, before 1755.
Upper Hico, or Grier's, Caswell county, before 1755.
Barbacue, Cumberland county, before 1757.
Bluff, Cumberland county, before 1757.
McKay's (now Longstreet), Cumberland county, before 1757.
Buffalo, Guilford county, 1755–60.
Centre, Iredell and Mecklenburg counties, 1755–60.
Goshen, Gaston county, 1755–60.
Hopewell, Mecklenburg county, 1755–60.
New Providence, Mecklenburg county, 1755–60.
Steel Creek, Mecklenburg county, 1755–60.
Alamance, Guilford county, 1764.
Bethel, Mecklenburg county, 1765 (?).
Six Mile Spring, Union (?) county, 1765.
Jersey Settlement, Rowan county, 1757–67.
Edenton, Chowan county, 1767.
Forks of Catawba, 1767.
Forks of Yadkin, Davie (?) county, 1767.
Newberne, Craven county, 1767.
Salisbury, Rowan county, 1767.

South Fork of Catawba, 1767.
Coddle Creek, Cabarrus county, before 1768.
County Line, Caswell (?) county, 1768.
Lower Hico, or Barnett's, Person (?) county, 1768.
Clear Creek (now Philadelphia), Mecklenburg county, 1765–69.
Black River, Sampson county, 1755–70.
Cartridge Creek, Anson county, 1771.
Hitchcock's, Anson county, 1771.
Charlotte, Mecklenburg county, before 1775.
Fifth Creek, or Bethany, Iredell county, before 1776.
Grassy Creek, Granville county, 1755–80.
Nutbush, Vance county, 1755–80.
Wilmington, New Hanover county, 1785.
Deep River, Guilford (?) county, before 1788.
Golden Grove, Rutherford (?) county, before 1788.
Little Britain, Rutherford county, before 1788.
Long Creek, Gaston county, before 1788.
Lower Haw River, Alamance or Chatham (?) county, before 1788.
Moore's Creek, Pender (?) county, before 1788.
Mountain Creek, Catawba county, before 1788.
Muddy Creek, Forsyth (?) county, before 1788.
Pleasant Garden, Guilford county, before 1788.
Speedwell, Rockingham county, before 1788.
Stony Creek, Alamance county, before 1788.
Caswell, Caswell county, before 1788.
Chestnut Spring, reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
E. and O., reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
Hollows (Holloway, Person county ?), reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
Hunting Creek, reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
Joppa, Orange county, before 1788.
Knob Creek, reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
Little River, Orange county, before 1788.
Quaker Meadows, Burke county, before 1788.
Reed Fork, Guilford county, reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
Sandy Creek, reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
Sandy River and Tomahawk, Orange or Sampson county (?), 1788.
Smyrna, reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
Upper Haw River, reported by Orange Presbytery in 1788.
Cross Roads, Orange and Alamance counties, 1785–90.
Bethesda, Iredell or Caswell county, before 1792.
Salem, Forsyth county, before 1792.
Morganton, Burke county, before 1793.
Third Creek, Rowan county, before 1793.

Olney, Gaston county, 1793.
Bethpage, Cabarrus county, before 1796.
Great Plains of French Broad River, before 1796.
Ramah, Mecklenburg county, before 1796.
Swanano, Buncombe county, before 1796.
Unity, Lincoln county, before 1796.
Mineral Spring, reported by Concord Presbytery in 1796.
Moriah, reported by Concord Presbytery in 1796.
Slate Creek, reported by Concord Presbytery in 1796.
Elizabeth, Bladen (?) county, before 1798.
Hillsboro, Orange county, before 1798.
New Hope, Orange county, before 1798.
Rockfish, Duplin county, before 1798.
South Washington, Pender county, before 1798.
Bozza, reported by Concord Presbytery in 1798.
Cane Creek, reported by Concord Presbytery in 1798.
Mamre, reported by Concord Presbytery in 1798.
Upper Creek, reported by Concord Presbytery in 1798.
Bethany, Caswell county, before 1799.
Brown Marsh, Sampson or Pender county, before 1799.
Fairfield, Orange county, before 1799.
Hopewell, New Hanover county, before 1799.
Keith, New Hanover county, before 1799.
Laurel Hill, Richmond county, before 1799.
Lower Buffalo, Guilford or Alamance county, before 1799.
Rein's Creek, Buncombe county, before 1799.
Union, Gaston county, before 1799.
Raft Swamp, reported by Orange Presbytery in 1799.

EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND SETTLEMENTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Ashley River, before 1684.
Charleston, 1685–95.
Dorchester, Colleton district, 1696.
Cainhoy, Berkeley district, 1700–10.
Edisto Island, Berkeley district, about 1720.
James Island, Charleston district, about 1720.
John's Island, Berkeley district, about 1720.
Wilton, Colleton district, 1720–28.
Bethel, Pon Pon, Colleton district, 1720–30.
Williamsburg, Williamsburg district, 1736.
Black Mingo, Williamsburg district, 1740–43.
Stoney Creek, Beaufort district, 1743.
Beaufort, Beaufort district, 1750–55.
Waccamaw, Horry district, 1755.

Waxhaw, Lancaster district, 1755–58.
Lower Fishing Creek, or Richardson, Lancaster district, 1755–58.
Middle Fishing Creek, Lancaster district, 1755–58.
Upper Fishing Creek, Lancaster district, 1755–58.
Salem on Black River, Sumter district, 1759.
Bethesda, York district, 1760.
Indiantown, Williamsburg district, 1760 (?).
Duncan's Creek, Laurens district, 1763–64.
Beersheba, York district, 1764.
Bethel, York district, 1764.
Hopewell, or Lower Long Cane, Abbeville district, 1764.
Little River, Laurens district, 1764.
Fairforest, Union district, 1755–65.
Brown's Creek, or Union, Union district, 1763–65.
Lower Long Cane Associate, Abbeville district, 1764–65.
Saltketcher, Colleton district, 1766.
Grassy Spring, or Lower Union, Newberry district, 1760–68.
Indian Creek, Newberry district, 1760–68.
Bulloch's Creek, York district, 1769.
Catholic, Chester district, 1759–70.
Hopewell on Peedee, Florence district, 1770.
Rocky Creek, or Rock, Abbeville district, 1771.
Nazareth, Spartanburg district, 1766–72.
Beaver Creek, Kershaw district, 1772.
Purity, Chester district, 1772.
Aimwell on Peedee, Florence district, 1770–75.
Camden, Kershaw district, 1770–75.
Cedar Creek, Richland district, 1770–75.
Ninety-six, Abbeville district, 1770–75.
Lebanon, or Jackson's Creek, Fairfield district, 1770–80.
Bulltown, or Rocky River, Abbeville district, 1783.
Greenville or Saluda, Abbeville district, 1783.
Upper Long Cane, Abbeville district, 1783.
Bethel, Williamsburg district, 1784.
Mount Olivet, or Wateree, Richland district, 1784–85.
Ebenezer, or Indian Land, York district, 1785.
Hitchcock, reported by South Carolina Presbytery in 1785.
North Pacolet, Spartanburg district, 1785.
South Pacolet, Spartanburg and Union districts, 1785.
Rocky Spring, Laurens district, 1785.
Fairview, Greenville district, 1786.
Reedy Branch, Abbeville district, 1786.
Hanging Rock, Kershaw district, before 1787.
Carmel, on Twenty-three Mile Creek, Anderson district, 1787.

Mount Zion, or Winnsboro, Fairfield district, 1787.
Beaver Dam, reported by South Carolina Presbytery in 1788.
Brush River, Newberry district, before 1788.
Golden Grove, Greenville district, before 1788.
Bradaway, Anderson, or Pickens district, 1788.
Cuffeytown, Edgefield district, 1788.
Hopewell, Anderson, or Pickens district, 1788.
Unity, York district, 1788.
Good Hope, Anderson district, 1789.
Roberts, Anderson district, 1789.
Milford, Greenville district, about 1789.
Liberty Spring, Laurens district, 1785–90.
Edgefield, Edgefield district, 1790.
Rocky Neck, reported by South Carolina Presbytery in 1791.
South Tyger River, reported by South Carolina Presbytery in 1791.
Fishdam, or Jahher's, Chester or Union district, 1792.
Horeb, or Rosborough, Fairfield district, 1793.
Thicketty, reported by South Carolina Presbytery in 1793.
Columbia, Richland district, 1794.
Granby, Richland district, 1794.
Shiloh, or Calvary, York district, before 1795.
Aimwell on Cedar Creek, Fairfield district, 1796.
Bethlehem, Anderson, or Pickens district, 1796.
Concord, Fairfield district, 1796.
Newton, at head of Tyger River, 1796.
Orangeburg, Orangeburg district, 1796.
Philadelphia, Anderson, or Pickens district, 1796.
Turkeyhill, reported by South Carolina Presbytery in 1796.
Wadmalaw, reported by South Carolina Presbytery in 1796.
Bethany, Lancaster district, before 1798.
Miller's, Kershaw district, before 1798.
George's Creek, Pickens district, before 1799.
Smyrna, Abbeville district, 1799.

Early Presbyterian Churches and Settlements of Georgia.

Dorchester, Meriwether county, 1752.
Bethsalem, Oglethorpe county, 1786.
Providence (now Mount Zion), Hancock county, 1786.
Bethel, on Cann's Creek, 1787.
Harris's Settlement, or Bethany, on Ogeechee River, 1788.
Bethlehem on Little River, 1788.
Ebenezer, Greene county, 1788.
Falling Creek, 1788.
Goshen, Greene county, 1788.

Little Britain, on Little River, 1788.
New Hope, Madison county, 1788.
Richmond, Richmond county, 1788.
Siloam, Greene county, 1788.
Smyrna, Wilkes county, 1790.
Washington, Wilkes county, 1790.
Great Kioka, Columbia county, before 1791.
Salem (now included in Woodstock ?), Oglethorpe county, 1791.
Goose Pond, Oglethorpe county, before 1794.
Fergus Creek, before 1794.
Carmel, 1794.
Sharon, Taliaferro county, 1794.
Liberty (now Woodstock), Oglethorpe county, before 1795.
Concord, Wilkes county, before 1798.
Greensboro, Greene county, before 1798.
Joppa (now Lexington ?), Oglethorpe county, before 1798.
Kettle Creek, Wilkes (?) county, before 1798.
Falling Creek, near Broad river, before 1798.
Richmond, Richmond (?) county, before 1798.
Sherrill's Creek, near Little River, before 1798.

Colonial Presbyterian Churches and Settlements of New Jersey.

Elizabeth, First (originally Puritan), Union county, 1666–67.
Newark, First (originally Puritan), Essex county, 1667.
Woodbridge (originally Puritan), Middlesex county, 1669.
Old Scots, or Freehold (now Tennent), Monmouth county, 1692.
Fairfield or Cohansey (originally Puritan), Cumberland county, 1690–97.
Middletown, Middlesex county, before 1706.
Hopewell, Ewing township, Mercer county, 1709.
Maidenhead, Lawrence township, Mercer county, 1709.
Whippany, Morris county, 1718.
Gloucester, Camden county, 1719.
Mountain Society (now Orange First), Essex county, 1719.
Pilesgrove, or Pittsgrove, Salem county, 1719.
Cold Spring, Cape May county, 1714–21.
Allentown, Monmouth county, 1721.
Woodbury, Gloucester county, 1721.
Perth Amboy, Middlesex county, 1724.
Baskingridge, Somerset county, 1720–25.
Bound Brook, Somerset county, 1720–25.
New Brunswick, Middlesex county, 1726.
Trenton, First, Mercer county, 1726.
Greenwich-on-Cohansey, Cumberland county, 1715–27.
Westfield, Union county, 1720–27.

Shrewsbury, Monmouth county, before 1727.
Amwell First, Raritan township, Hunterdon county, 1715–30.
Bethlehem, Union township, Hunterdon county, 1730.
Connecticut Farms, Union county, 1730.
Mansfield Woodhouse (now Washington), Warren county, 1730.
Kingston, Somerset county, 1732.
West Hanover (now Morristown), Morris county, 1733.
Deerfield, Cumberland county, 1737.
Turkey (now New Providence), Union county, 1737.
Rocsiticus (Mendham), Morris county, 1735–38.
Greenwich, Warren county, 1738.
Cranbury, Middlesex county, 1739.
Lamington, Somerset county, 1739.
Lower Hardwick (now Hackettstown), Warren county, 1739.
Lebanon, Clinton township, Hunterdon county, 1740.
Peapack, Somerset county, 1740.
Readington (White House), Hunterdon county, 1740.
Quihawken, or Penn's Neck, Salem county, before 1741.
Rahway, Middlesex county, 1741.
Pennington, Hopewell township, Mercer county, 1744.
Kingwood, Hunterdon county, 1742–45.
Alexandria or Mount Pleasant, Holland township, Hunterdon county, 1745.
Fairmount, or Foxhill, Tewksbury township, Hunterdon county, before 1746.
South Hanover (now Madison), Morris county, 1747.
Amwell United First, West Amwell township, Hunterdon county, 1749.
Oxford, Warren county, 1749.
Crosswicks (Hamilton township ?), Mercer county, 1740–50.
Head of Timber Creek, Gloucester county, 1750.
Logtown, on Lower Alloways (or Aloes), Salem county, 1750.
Timber Creek (now Blackwoodtown), Camden county, 1750.
Upper Hardwick, or Yellow Frame, Warren county, 1750.
Black River (now Chester), Morris county, 1750–52.
Princeton, Mercer county, 1753.
Hanover, Morris county, 1755.
Parsippany, Morris county, 1755.
Newton, Sussex county, 1757.
Rockaway, Pequannock township, Morris county, 1758.
Millstone, Somerset county, 1759.
Middletown Point (Matawan township), Monmouth county, 1761.
Goodluck (station), Ocean county, about 1761.
Great Egg Harbor (station), Atlantic county, about 1761.
Little Egg Harbor (station), Burlington county, about 1761.

Tom's River (station), Ocean county, about 1761.
Tuckahoe River (station), Cape May county, about 1761.
Wading River (station), Ocean county, about 1761.
Metuchen, or Woodbridge Second, Middlesex county, 1763.
Blackman's or Cedar Bridge (near Bargaintown), Atlantic county, before 1764
Succasunna, Morris county, 1760–65.
Clark's Mill (near Port Republic), Atlantic county, before 1765.
Upper Hopewell, on Cohansey, Cumberland county, before 1765.
Longacoming (now Berlin), Camden county, before 1766.
Shark River, Monmouth county, before 1767.
Barnegat, Ocean county, before 1767.
Brainerd, or Brotherton (at Indian Mills, Shamong township), Burlington county. 1767.
Manahawken, Ocean county, about 1767.
Bridgeton, Cumberland county, 1774.
Batsto, Burlington county, before 1775.
Clark's Log Meetinghouse (near Pleasant Mills), Atlantic county, 1775.
Knowlton, Warren county, 1775.

Colonial Presbyterian Churches and Settlements of New England

Boston, Massachusetts, before 1652, church organized 1727.
Brunswick, Cumberland county, Maine, 1719.
Londonderry, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, 1719.
Porpooduc (Falmouth township), Cumberland county, Maine, 1719.
Worcester, Worcester county, Massachusetts, 1719.
Cork Settlement, Maine, 1720.
Scarboro, Cumberland county, Maine, 1720.
Topsham, Sagadahoc county, Maine, 1720.
Oxford, Worcester county, Massachusetts, 1721.
Voluntown (now Sterling township), Windham county, Connecticut, 1723
Kingston, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, before 1727.
Falmouth, Cumberland county, Maine, 1727.
Boothbay, Lincoln county, Maine, 1729.
Bristol, Lincoln county, Maine, 1729.
Noblesboro, Lincoln county, Maine, 1729.
Pemaquid, Lincoln county, Maine, 1729.
Chester, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, 1730.
New Market, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, 1730.
Palmer, Hampden county, Massachusetts, 1730.
Pownalboro, Lincoln county, Maine, 1730.
Scotland, York county, Maine, 1730.
Townsend Settlement, Maine, 1730.

Auburn, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, before 1734.
Cape Elizabeth, Cumberland county, Maine, 1734.
Georgetown, Sagadahoc county, Maine, before 1734.
Sheepscott, Lincoln county, Maine, 1734.
Wiscasset, Lincoln county, Maine, 1734.
Warren, Knox county, Maine, 1735.
New Glasgow (now Blandford), Hampden county, Massachusetts, 1735.
Colerain, Franklin county, Massachusetts, 1736.
New Gloucester, Cumberland county, Maine, 1736.
Milford, New Haven county, Connecticut, 1737.
Pelham, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, 1738.
Londonderry, West, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, 1739.
Peterboro, Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, 1739.
Damariscotta, Lincoln county, Maine, 1740.
Western (now Warren), Worcester county, Massachusetts, 1741.
Goffstown, Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, 1741–42.
Windham, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, 1742.
Antrim, Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, 1744.
Newburyport, Essex county, Massachusetts, 1746.
Easton, Bristol county, Massachusetts, before 1747.
Rutland, Worcester county, Massachusetts, 1747.
Greenwich, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, 1749.
Bedford, Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, 1750.
Souhegan East (now Bradford), Merrimac county, New Hampshire, 1750.
New Ipswich, Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, 1752.
Stirling (Warren township), Knox county, Maine, 1753.
Greenfield, Franklin county, Massachusetts, 1754.
Newcastle, Lincoln county, Maine, 1754.
Ashford, Massachusetts, before 1757.
Chelsea, New London county, Connecticut, before 1760.
Pembroke, Merrimack county, New Hampshire, before 1760.
Canterbury, Merrimack county, New Hampshire, 1760.
Francestown, Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, 1761.
Princeton, Worcester county, Massachusetts, 1762.
Machias, Washington county, Maine, 1763.
New Boston, Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, 1763.
Newbury, Orange county, Vermont, 1763.
Norwich, Windsor county, Vermont, 1763.
Hartford, Windsor county, Vermont, 1764.
Lyme, Grafton county, New Hampshire, 1764.
Thetford, Orange county, Vermont, 1764.
Paxton, Worcester county, Massachusetts, 1765.
Boscawen, Merrimack county, New Hampshire, 1768.
Candia, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, 1768.

Barrington, Strafford county, New Hampshire, 1760–68.
Fairlee, Orange county, Vermont, 1768.
Dunbarton, Merrimack county, New Hampshire, 1769.
Oakham, Worcester county, Massachusetts, before 1770.
Seabrook, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, before 1770.
Pembroke, Plymouth county, Massachusetts, before 1770.
Pomfret, Windsor county, Vermont, 1770.
Winthrop, Kennebec county, Maine, before 1770.
Orford, Grafton county, New Hampshire, 1770.
Hanover, Grafton county, New Hampshire, 1771.
Nottingham West (now Hudson), Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, 1771.
Piermont, Grafton county, New Hampshire, 1771.
Royalton, Windsor county, Vermont, 1771.
East Hanover, Grafton county, New Hampshire, 1772.
Salem, Essex county, Massachusetts, 1773.
South Ryegate, Caledonia county, Vermont, 1773.
Barnet, Caledonia county, Vermont, 1773.
Ryegate, Caledonia county, Vermont, 1773.
Gray, Cumberland county, Maine, 1774.
Barnard, Windsor county, Vermont, 1775.
St. George's, Hancock county, Maine, 1775.
Sylvester, Androscoggin county, Maine, 1775.
Turner, Androscoggin county, Maine, 1775.
Belfast, Waldo county, Maine, before 1776.
Acworth, Sullivan county, New Hampshire, 1776.
Tunbridge, Orange county, Vermont, 1776.
Randolph, Orange county, Vermont, 1777.
Bath, Grafton county, New Hampshire, 1778.
Craftsbury, Orleans county, Vermont, 1778.
Croydon, Sullivan county, New Hampshire, 1778.
Canaan, Somerset county, Maine, before 1780.
North Cornwall, Litchfield county, Connecticut, 1782.
Amesbury, Essex county, Massachusetts, 1783.
Groton, Middlesex county, Massachusetts, 1783.
Deer Island, Hancock county, Maine, 1784.
Ellsworth (Union River), Hancock county, Maine, 1785.

EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND SETTLEMENTS OF NEW YORK.

(Many of the New York Presbyterian churches were established by settlers from New England, of English descent.)

Southold (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1640.
Southampton (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1641.
Hempstead (Long Island), Queens county, 1644.

Easthampton (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1648–50.
Huntington (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1658.
Newtown (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1658.
Jamaica (Long Island), Queens county, 1662.
Brookhaven (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1665.
Eastchester, Westchester county, 1665.
Rye, Westchester county, 1674.
Bedford, Westchester county, 1680.
Westchester, Westchester county, 1684.
Setauket (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1697.
New York City, 1707–17.
Bridgehampton (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1712.
Mattituck (Long Island), Suffolk county, 1717.
Goshen, Orange county, 1720.
Staten Island, Richmond county, before 1728.
Wallkill, or Goodwill, Orange county, 1729.
Bethlehem, Orange county, 1730.
Crompond (now Yorktown), Westchester county, 1730.
Smithtown (Long Island), Suffolk county, about 1735.
Cherry Valley, Otsego county, 1741.
Acquebogue (Long Island), Suffolk county, before 1741.
Cortland Manor (now Peekskill), Westchester county, before 1741.
Union (now Southeast), Putnam county, 1743.
Patchogue (Long Island), Suffolk county, before 1747.
Pittsburgh, or Washington Hollow, Dutchess county, 1747.
Amenia, Dutchess county, 1748.
Quogue (now Westhampton, Long Island), Suffolk county, 1748.
Rumbout (near Fishkill), Dutchess county, 1748.
Blooming Grove, Orange county, about 1750.
Poughkeepsie, Dutchess county, 1750.
Florida, Orange county, about 1750.
Warwick, Orange county, about 1750.
Salem, Westchester county, 1752.
Hanover, Westchester county, 1753.
Ketchabonock (Long Island), Suffolk county, before 1755.
Middlefield, Otsego county, 1755.
Moriches (Long Island), Suffolk county, before 1755.
Little Britain (Walden), Orange county, 1759.
Albany, Albany county, 1760.
White Plains, Westchester county, before 1760.
Johnstown, Fulton county, 1763.
Marlboro, Westchester county, 1763.
Cambridge, Washington county, 1762–65.
Salem, Washington county, 1762–65.

New Windsor, Orange county, 1766.
Neelytown, Orange county, before 1768.
White Creek, Washington County, 1770.
Deer Park, Orange county, 1770.
Pleasant Valley, Dutchess county, before 1770.
Lansingburgh, Rensselaer county, 1770.
Schenectady, Schenectady county, 1771.
Galloway (now Galway), Saratoga county, 1774.
Hopewell, Orange county, before 1779.
Hebron, Washington county, 1780.
Haverstraw, Rockland county, 1781.
Chester, Orange county, 1783.
Newburgh, Orange county, 1784.
Plattsburg, Clinton county, 1785.
South Argyle, Washington county, 1785.
West Hebron, Washington county, 1785.
Fredericksburg, Putnam county, before 1788.
Kingsbury, Washington county, before 1788.
New Hempstead, before 1788.
New Scotland, Albany county, before 1788.
Orangedale, Orange (?) county, before 1788.
Phillippi, Putnam county, before 1788.
Poundridge, Westchester county, before 1788.
Roxbury, Delaware (?) county, before 1788.
Springfield, Otsego county, before 1788.
Westfield, Sullivan (?) county, before 1788.
Ballston, Saratoga county, 1788.
Stillwater, Saratoga county, 1788.
Franklin (now Patterson), Putnam county, before 1789.
Harpersfield, Delaware county, 1784–89.
Kortright, Delaware county, 1789.
Currie's Bush (now Princetown), Schenectady county, before 1790.
Remsen's Bush, Schenectady county, before 1790.
Newtown, Tioga county, 1790.
Westtown, Orange county, 1790.
Hudson, Columbia county, about 1790.
Granville, Washington county, before 1791.
Argyle, Washington county, before 1792.
Ridgebury, Orange county, 1792.
Stamford, Delaware county, 1792.
Kortright Associate Reformed, Delaware county, 1792.
Broadalban, Fulton county, before 1793.
Charlton, Saratoga county, before 1793.
Cooperstown, Otsego county, before 1795.

New Scotland, Albany county, before 1795.
Waterford, Saratoga county, before 1795.
Mountain Brook, Delaware county, 1792–95.
Schodack, Rensselaer county, 1796.
Scotchtown, Orange county, 1796.

Early Presbyterian Churches and Settlements of Kentucky.

Boonesboro, Madison county, 1775.
Cane Run, Lincoln county, 1783.
Concord (now Danville), Boyle county, 1783.
Forks of Dick's River, Lincoln county, 1783.
Salt River (now Harrodsburg), Mercer county, 1783.
Mount Zion (now Lexington), Mercer county, 1784.
Paint Lick, Garrard county, 1784.
Pisgah, Woodford county, 1784.
Salem, Clarke county, 1784.
Crab Orchard, Lincoln county, 1785.
Hopewell, Barbour county, 1785.
Jessamine Creek, Jessamine county, 1785.
McAfee's, or New Providence, Mercer county, 1785.
Walnut Hill, Fayette county, 1785.
Shiloh, 1786.
Paris, Bourbon county, 1787.
Bethel, Taylor county, 1788.
Blue Licks, Nicholas county, before 1790.
Blue Spring, or McConnell's Run, 1790.
Cane Ridge, Bourbon county, before 1791.
Concord, Bourbon county, before 1791.
Stonermouth, 1792.
Clear Creek, Shelby (?) county, 1793.
Silver Creek, Madison county, before 1794.
Ashbridge, before 1795.
Cherry Spring, Scott county, before 1795.
Springfield, Washington county, 1785–95.
Flemingsburg, Fleming county, 1795.
Little Mountain (Mount Sterling), Montgomery county, 1795.
Smyrna, Fleming county, 1795.
Stanford, Lincoln county, 1795.
Achor, 1796.
Akron, Shelby county, 1796.
Big Spring, Nelson county, 1796.
Bracken, Bracken county, before 1796.
Bullskin, Shelby county, 1796.
Fox Run, Shelby county, 1796.

Georgetown, Scott county, 1796.
Simpson's Creek, 1796.
Lee's Creek, Mason county, before 1797.
Cabin Creek, Lewis county, before 1798.
Johnston's Fork of Licking River, Nicholas and Fleming counties, before 1798.
Washington, Mercer county, before 1798.
Buckskin, before 1799.
Mouth of Big Sandy, Boyd county, before 1799.
Mouth of Fleming, before 1799.
Sugar Ridge, Clarke county, before 1769.

EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND SETTLEMENTS OF OHIO.

Mingo (near Steubenville), Jefferson county, 1784.
Norristown (now Warrentown), Jefferson county, 1784.
Marietta, Washington county (settled by Revolutionary officers and soldiers from Massachusetts and Connecticut), 1788.
Columbia, Hamilton county, 1788.
Cincinnati, Hamilton county, 1788.
Springfield (now Springdale), Hamilton county, 1792.
Chillicothe, Ross county, 1795.
Mahoning Associate, Mahoning county, 1795.
Dayton, Montgomery county, 1796.
Clear Creek (near Lebanon), Warren county, before 1798.
Denny's Station, Mad river, before 1798.
Orangedale (near Lebanon), Warren county, before 1798.
Union, Ross county, before 1798.
Cross Roads (now Crabapple), Belmont county, 1798.
Richland (now St. Clairsville), Belmont county, 1798.
Short Creek (now Mt. Pleasant), Jefferson county, and Beech Spring, Harrison county, 1798.
Eagle Creek (near West Union), Adams county, before 1799.
High Bank Prairie (Ohio or Kentucky), before 1799.
Hold's Creek Settlement (Ohio or Kentucky), before 1799.
Horne's, at Brush Creek (Ohio or Kentucky), before 1799.
Paint Creek, Ross county, before 1799.
Red Oak, Brown county, before 1799.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

[1] Accessions to the various Presbyteries from 1760 to 1788, with the years in which the names first appeared on the records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, were as follows:

PRESBYTERY OF ABINGDON, Virginia—James Balch, licensure reported, 1787; Adam Rankin, first enrolled, 1786; David Roe, first enrolled, 1786.

Presbytery of Carlisle, Pennsylvania—Joseph Caldwell (received from Ireland), 1788; Charles Nesbit (received from Scotland), 1787.

Presbytery of Donegal, Pennsylvania—Hezekiah James Balch, licensure reported, 1768; Stephen Balch, licensed, 1779; David Bard, licensure reported, 1777; John Black, licensure reported, 1774; William Boyd, licensure reported, 1783; Robert Cooper, licensure reported, 1765; James Dunlap, licensed, 1778; William Edmeston, licensure reported, 1763; Levi Frisbie (received from New England), 1773; Joseph Henderson, licensed, 1779; Robert Hughey (received from Ireland), 1773; James Johnston, licensure reported, 1783; John Linn, licensure reported, 1777; William A. Linn, licensure reported, 1775; David McClure (received from New England), 1773; James McConnell, licensure reported, 1775; Colin McFarquhar (received from Scotland), 1775; John McKnight, licensure reported, 1775; Thomas McPherrin, licensure reported, 1773; James Martin (received from Ireland), 1777; Hugh Morrison (received from Ireland), 1786; Joseph Rhea (received from Ireland), 1771; John Slemmons, licensure reported, 1763; Matthew Stephens (received from Ireland), 1785; William Thom, licensure reported, 1772; Samuel Thomson (received), 1769; Hugh Vance, licensure reported, 1770; Samuel Waugh, licensure reported, 1777; Samuel Wilson, licensure reported, 1785; Matthew Woods, licensure reported, 1781.

Presbytery of Dutchess County, New York—Blackleech Burret, ordination reported, 1775; Wheeler Case, ordination reported, 1766; David Close, licensure reported, 1772; John Close, licensure reported, 1766; Samuel Dunlap (received), 1766; William Hannah (received), 1766; Elisha Kent, first enrolled, 1766; Ichabod Lewis, ordination reported, 1770; Solomon Mead, first enrolled, 1766; Samuel Mills, ordination reported, 1770; James Peck, first enrolled, 1768; Benjamin Strong (received from New England), 1772.

Presbytery of Hanover, Virginia—John D. Blair, ordination reported, 1786; Samuel Carrick, ordination reported, 1786; Edward Crawford, first enrolled, 1780; James Crawford, licensure reported, 1780; James Cresswell, licensure reported, 1765; Charles Cummings, first enrolled, 1769; Samuel Doak, first enrolled, 1780; Samuel Edmeston, licensure reported, 1774; Benjamin Irwin, licensure reported, 1780; William Irwin, licensure reported, 1780; William Graham, first enrolled, 1786; Moses Hoge, ordination reported, 1786; Samuel Houston, ordination reported, 1786; Samuel Leake, ordination reported, 1769; Andrew McClure, ordination reported, 1786; John McCue, ordination reported, 1786; William Mahon, licensure reported, 1786; James Mitchell, licensure reported, 1782; John Montgomery, ordination reported, 1782; David Rice, licensure reported, 1763; Archibald Scott, first enrolled, 1780; Samuel Shannon, licensure reported, 1782; John Blair Smith, first enrolled, 1780; Terah Templin, licensure reported, 1780; James Waddell, licensure reported, 1761; Caleb Wallace, licensure reported, 1774 (see New Brunswick Presbytery); William Wilson, licensure reported, 1780.

Presbytery of Lewes, Delaware—John Bacon, licensure reported, 1768; John Brown, ordination reported, 1769; Samuel Eakin, licensure reported, 1768; Alexander Houston, licensure reported, 1763; Thomas McCrackin, licensure reported, 1765; Samuel McMasters, ordination reported, 1780; John Rankin, ordination reported, 1780; William Mackey Tennent, licensure reported, 1770; James Watt, licensure reported, 1768.

Presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey—Moses Allen, licensure reported, 1774; David Caldwell, licensure reported, 1764; James Caldwell, ordination reported, 1761; Joseph Clark, licensure reported, 1783; Ira Condict, licensure reported, 1786; John Debow, licensure reported, 1774; Asa Dunham, licensure reported, 1786; George Faitoute, licensure reported, 1778; James Gourley (received from Scotland), 1775; Ashbel Green, licensure reported, 1786; Enoch Green, licensure reported, 1762; Jeremiah Halsey, licensure reported, 1768; James Hunt, ordination reported, 1761; Jacob Ker, licensure reported, 1763; Nathan Kerr, licensure reported, 1763; Jonathan Leavitt (received from New England), 1765; James Lyon, licensure reported, 1763; Alexander McLean (received from Scotland), 1772; Alexander Mitchell, licensure reported, 1767; Walter Monteith, ordination reported, 1787;

James Muir (received from Bermuda), 1786; Samuel Parkhurst, licensure reported, 1761; Francis Peppard, licensure reported, 1764; Joseph Reed (Rue ?), licensure reported, 1782; Oliver Reese, licensure reported, 1774; John Rosborough, licensure reported, 1764; Joseph Rue, ordination reported, 1785; William Schenck, licensure reported, 1771; John Simpson, licensure reported, 1771; Thomas Smith, first enrolled, 1764; Philip Stockton, licensure reported, 1775; William Tennent, Jr., licensure reported, 1762; Amos Thompson, licensure reported, 1761; Joseph Teat, licensure reported, 1761; Jacob Van Artsdalen, licensure reported, 1769; Caleb Wallace, licensure reported, 1773; John Warford, licensure reported, 1776; Hugh White, licensure reported, 1776; Simon Williams, licensure reported, 1765; Peter Wilson, licensure reported, 1781: John Witherspoon (received from Scotland), 1769; John Zelyne, licensure reported, 1777.

Presbytery of New Castle, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Maryland—Joseph Alexander, licensure reported, 1767; James F. Armstrong, licensure reported, 1777; Hezekiah Balch, licensure reported, 1769; Samuel Barr (received from Ireland), 1785; Samuel Blair, licensure reported, 1765; James Boyd, licensure reported, 1767; Ebenezer Brooks, licensure reported, 1775; John Craighead, licensure reported, 1767; Robert Davidson, licensure reported, 1773; Samuel Dougal, licensure reported, 1773; John E. Finley, licensure reported, 1779; William Foster, licensure reported, 1767; Nathaniel Irwin, licensure reported, 1773; Daniel Jones, licensure reported, 1770; Josiah Lewis, licensure reported, 1769; George Luckey, licensure reported, 1777; Daniel McClelland (received), 1769; John McCreary, licensure reported, 1767; John McMillan, licensure reported, 1775; James Munro (received from Scotland), 1785; James Power, licensure reported, 1773; Nathaniel W. Semple, licensure reported, 1779; Joseph Smith, licensure reported, 1768; Samuel S. Smith, licensure reported, 1773; William Smith, licensure reported, 1777; Thomas Smith, licensure reported, 1771; Matthew Tate, licensure reported, 1779; James Wilson, licensure reported, 1770; John Woodhull, licensure reported, 1769.

Presbytery of New York—David Austin, ordained, 1788—Ebenezer Bradford, licensure reported, 1775; Mathias Burnet, licensure reported, 1774; John Burton (received from Scotland), 1785; Jedediah Chapman (received), 1766; Oliver Deeming, ordination reported, 1771; Thaddeus Dodd, ordination reported, 1778; Peter Fish, licensure reported, 1781; Lemuel Fordham, licensure reported, 1781; James Glassbrook (received from England), 1786; Joseph Grover (received from New England), 1774; Thomas Jackson (received from Scotland), 1767; John Joline, ordination reported, 1781; Andrew King, first enrolled, 1778; Amzi Lewis (received from New England), 1770; John Lindley, licensure reported, 1786; Samuel McCorkle, licensure reported, 1774; John McDonald (received from Scotland), 1785; Alexander Miller, licensure reported, 1768; Jonathan Murdock, ordination reported, 1771; John Murray (received from Ireland), 1764; Joseph Periam, licensure reported, 1774; revocation reported, 1775; Peter Stryker, ordained, 1788; James Thompson (received from Scotland), 1786; James Tuttle, licensure received, 1767; James Wilson (received from Scotland), 1785; James Wilson, 2d (licentiate from Scotland), 1786; John Young, first enrolled, 1788.

Presbytery of Orange, North Carolina—Robert Archibald, first enrolled, 1780; David Barr, first enrolled, 1780; John Cossan, first enrolled, 1780; Thomas Creaghead, ordination reported, 1780; Francis Cummings, licensure reported, 1782; Thomas Donnell, licensure reported, 1782; James Edmonds (received from South Carolina), 1774; Robert Finley, licensure reported, 1784; James Frazier, first enrolled, 1780; James Hall, first enrolled, 1780; Robert Hall, licensure reported, 1784; John Hill, first enrolled, 1783; William Hill, ordination reported, 1782; Jacob Leake, licensure reported, 1780; Samuel Leake, licensure reported, 1782; Thomas H. McCaule, first enrolled, 1780; ——— McEwen, licensure reported, 1780; James McRee, ordination reported, 1780; Robert Mechlin, licensure reported, 1784; James (John) Newton, licensure reported, 1784; Thomas Reese,

licensure reported, 1774; James Templeton, ordination reported, 1780; Daniel Thatcher, first enrolled, 1780.

Presbytery of Philadelphia Pennsylvania—James Anderson, licensure reported, 1766; John Beard, ordination reported, 1761; Hugh M. Brackenridge, licensure reported, 1778; license resigned, 1778–80; Israel Evans, licensure reported, 1775; Philip V. Fithian, licensure reported, 1775; James Grier, licensure reported, 1766; Nathan Grier, licensure reported, 1786; William Hollingshead, licensure reported, 1773; Andrew Hunter, licensure reported, 1775; Simeon Hyde (received from New England), 1783; John Johnston (received from Ireland), 1786; Isaac Keith, licensure reported, 1779; Robert Keith, licensure reported, 1775; Daniel McCalla, licensure reported, 1773; William McKee (received from Ireland), 1786; Samuel Magaw, licensure reported, 1762; William Pickels (received from England), 1786; John Simonton, first enrolled, 1761; James Snodgrass, licensure reported, 1786; James Sproat (received from New England), 1769.

Presbytery of Philadelphia, Second, Pennsylvania—Patrick Allison, licensure reported, 1763; James Anderson, licensure reported, 1766; John King, licensure reported, 1768; James Lang, licensure reported, 1765; James Latta, licensure reported, 1766; John McClean, licensure reported, 1772; Hugh Magill (received from Ireland), 1773; Thomas Reed, licensure reported, 1768.

Presbytery of South Carolina—William C. Davis, first enrolled, 1788; Robert McCulloch, first enrolled, 1788; John Newton, first enrolled, 1788; John Springer, licensed, 1788.

Presbytery of Suffolk, Long Island—Joseph Avery, licensure reported, 1771; Nehemiah Barker, first enrolled, 1764; John Blydenburgh, licensure reported, 1772; Wait Cornwall, ordination reported, 1788; John Davenport, ordination reported, 1775; Benjamin Goldsmith, licensure reported, 1763; Joshua Hart, ordination reported, 1772; Asa Hillyer, licensure reported, 1788; Samson Occam (an Indian), first enrolled, 1764; Thomas Payne (received), 1764; Elam Potter, ordination reported, 1767; Ezra Reeves, first enrolled 1761; David Rose, ordination reported, 1766; Thomas Russell, ordination reported, 1788; Noah Wetmore, first enrolled, 1788; Joshua Williams, ordination reported, 1786; Nathan Woodhull, ordination reported, 1786; William Woodhull, licensure reported, 1768; Aaron Woolworth (received from New England), 1788.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was constituted at Philadelphia on the third Thursday of May, 1789, succeeding the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which had been divided the year before into the four Synods of New York and New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia, and the Carolinas. In the volume containing the published records of the General Assembly from 1789 to 1820, are given from year to year the reports of the various Presbyteries composing the Assembly, showing the different congregations and minister in each Presbytery. Those reports show nearly all of the American Presbyterian congregations which were in existence at the close of the eighteenth century.

[2] Under date of 1768 may be found also in the Stiles Manuscripts the following estimate of the numbers of "Episcopalians and Dissenters" in the South: Episcopalians, Florida and Georgia, 10,000; South Carolina, 13,000; North Carolina, 25,000; total, 48,000. Dissenters, Florida and Georgia, 10,000; South Carolina, 14,000; North Carolina, 70,000; total, 94,000.

[3] The next Associate Reformed Presbytery which was organized was the Presbytery of the Carolinas and Georgia. This organization was effected at Long Cane, Abbeville county, S. C., February 24, 1790, by the following ministers: Thomas Clark, of Long Cane, Cedar Creek (now Cedar Spring), and Little Run (now Little River), Abbeville district, S. C.;

Peter McMullan, of (in 1794) Duet's (now Due West) Corner, S.C.; John Boyse, of Coddle Creek, Gilead, and Prosperity, N. C., and Rocky Creek (now Hopewell), Chester county, S. C.; David Bothwell, of Buck Head and Big Creek, Ga.; James Rogers, of (in 1791) Little River, Canon Creek, and Indian Creek, S. C. At the time of the organization of this Presbytery there were fourteen Associate Reformed congregations in North Carolina, twenty-two in South Carolina, and eight in Georgia.

The congregations in North Carolina were: The Hawfields, Eno, Goshen, Fourth Creek (now Statesville), Coddle Creek, New Hope, Gilead, Prosperity, Rock Springs, New Stirling, New Perth, Sardis, Providence, and Waxhaws.

In South Carolina: Ebenezer (York district), Steel Creek (now Blackstock), Neely's Creek, Ebenezer (Fairfield district), Rocky Creek (now Hopewell), Rocky Creek Meeting-house (now Union), Ebenezer (now New Hope), Indian Creek (now King's Creek), Canon Creek, Prosperity, Cedar Creek (now Cedar Springs), Long Cane, Little Run (now Little River), Rocky Springs (Abbeville district), Generostee, Duet's Corner (now Due West Corner), Diamond Hill, Crystal Spring, Rocky Spring (Anderson District), Little River (Laurens district), Warrior's Creek (Laurens district), Charleston.

In Georgia: Queensboro, Buck Head, Big Creek, Joppa, Poplar Springs, Twenty-Six-Mile Creek, Eighteen-Mile Creek, Rayburn's Creek.

Prior to the Revolutionary War there were several Covenanter and Associate ministers in the South, who were not regularly ordained over congregations, but whose labors were of a missionary nature. Among these were: William Martin of Rocky River, Chester district, S. C. (1772 to 1806); John Renwick, Canon Creek, Head Spring, and Prosperity, Newberry district, S. C. (1770 to 1775); Thomas Beattie, Georgia, 1774; William Ronaldson, Long Cane, Abbeville district, S. C., and Louisville and other stations in Jefferson and Burke counties, Ga. (before 1779 to 1780). The Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania began sending supplies to Carolina as early as 1764, in which year James Proudfit visited the Hawfields and preached to what afterwards became the congregation of Coddle Creek. Later in the same year Robert Annan was sent to Sugar Creek, Mecklenburg county, N. C. In 1770, Thomas Clark visited and preached at Hawfields, Deep Run, Waxhaws, Rowan county, and Sugar Creek, all in North Carolina. Four years later John Rodgers was sent to North Carolina, and seems to have visited the Hawfields and in Rowan county. In 1775, James Martin was sent to North Carolina by Presbytery in response to petitions for supplies from Coddle Creek in Rowan county, Steele Creek and Waxhaws in Mecklenburg county, and Eno, New Hope, and Goshen (now Pisgah, Gaston county) in Tryon county. Andrew Patton was sent to North Carolina in 1777, and for some time preached in Mecklenburg and the adjoining counties, afterwards going to Charleston, S. C. In 1784, John Jamieson labored in Mecklenburg and Rowan counties, North Carolina, and Abbeville and Chester districts, South Carolina.

The Second Presbytery of Pennsylvania was organized at Yough Meeting-house, June 24, 1793, its territory embracing all the country west of the Alleghany mountains. Its ministers and congregations were: Matthew Henderson, of Chartiers and Buffalo, Pa.; John Jamieson, of Hannastown and Conemaugh, Pa.; Adam Rankin, of Lexington and Pisgah, Kentucky; and Robert Warwick, of Laurel Hill, Dunlap's Creek, and Spring Hill, Pa. In 1800, the Synod authorized Robert Warwick, Adam Rankin, and John Steele to organize the Presbytery of Kentucky.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

(*Pages 34, 43, Vol. I.*)

JAMES WILSON AND THE CONVENTION OF 1787 *

"ON the method of electing the two branches," says Bancroft, in his account of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, "the upholders of the sovereignty of each State contended that the national government ought to seek its agents through the governments of the respective States; others preferred that the members of the first branch should be choosen directly by the people."

"The people," said Sherman, "should have as little to do as may be about the government; they want information and are constantly liable to be misled; the election ought to be by the State legislatures." "The people do not want virtue; but they are the dupes of pretended patriots," added Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts. To this arraignment of the people by men of New England, Mason of Virginia replied: "The larger branch is to be the grand depository of the democratic principle of the government. We ought to attend to the rights of every class of the people. I have often wondered at the indifference of the superior classes of society to this dictate of humanity and policy." "Without the confidence of the people," said James Wilson of Pennsylvania, "no government, least of all a republican government, can long subsist; nor ought the weight of the State legislatures to be increased by making them the electors of the national legislature."

"I do not mean to throw censure on that excellent fabric, the British Government," said Randolph; "if we were in a situation to copy it, I do not know that I should be opposed to it. But the fixed genius of the people of America requires a different form of government. The requisites for the executive department — vigor, dispatch, and responsibility — can be found in three men as well as in one. Unity in the executive is the fœtus of monarchy." "Unity in the executive," retorted Wilson, "will rather be the safeguard against tyranny. From the extent of this country, nothing but a great confederated republic will do for it."

On the mode of appointing the executive, Wilson said: "Chimerical as it may appear in theory, I am for an election by the people. Experience in New York and Massachusetts shows that an election of the first magistrate by the people at large is both a convenient and a successful mode. The objects of choice in such cases must be persons whose merits have general notoriety." "I," replied Sherman, "am for its appointment by the national legislature, and for making it absolutely dependent on that body whose will it is to execute. An independence of the executive on the supreme legislature is the very essence of tyranny."

Randolph pleaded anew for an executive body of three members, one from each of the three geographical divisions of the country. "Executive questions," said Wilson on the fourth, "have many sides; and of three members no two might agree. All the thirteen States place a single magistrate at the head. Unity in the executive will favor the tranquillity not less than the vigor of the Government." Assenting to unity in the executive, Sherman thought a council necessary to make that unity acceptable to the people. "Council," replied Wilson, "oftener covers malpractices than prevents them."

Wilson and Hamilton desired to trust the executive with an absolute negative on acts of legislation; but this was opposed, though from widely differing motives, by Gerry, Franklin, Sherman, Madison, Butler, Bedford, and Mason, and was unanimously negatived.

The Virginia plan intrusted the appointment of the judges to the legislature; Wilson proposed to transfer it to the executive, Madison to the senate, and on the thirteenth the last mode was accepted without dissent.

* From Bancroft's *History of the United States*. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

"It is essential to the democratic rights of the community," said Hamilton, enouncing a principle which he upheld with unswerving consistency, "that the first branch be directly elected by the people." "The democratic principle," Mason repeated, "must actuate one part of the government. It is the only security for the rights of the people." "An election by the legislature," pleaded Rutledge, "would be a more refining process." "The election of the first branch by the people," said Wilson, "is not the corner-stone only, but the foundation of the fabric."

Connecticut then took the lead; and Sherman, acting upon a principle which he had avowed more than ten years before, moved that each State should have one vote in the second branch, or senate. "Everything," he said, "depends on this; the smaller States will never agree to the plan on any other principle than an equality of suffrage in this branch." Ellsworth shored up his colleague; but they rallied only five States against the six which had demanded a proportioned representation.

Finally Wilson and Hamilton proposed for the second branch the same rule of suffrage as for the first; and this, too, was carried by the phalanx of the same six States against the remaining five. So the settlement offered by Wilson, Hamilton, Madison, Rutledge, and others, to the small States, and adopted in the Committee of the Whole, was: The appointment of the senators among the States according to representative population, except that each State should have at least one.

The plan of New Jersey, which Paterson presented on the fifteenth, was a revision of the articles of confederation. It preserved a congress of States in a single body.

Wilson refuted Paterson by contrasting the two plans. "The congress of the confederacy," he continued, "is a single legislature. Theory and practice both proclaim that in a single house there is danger of a legislative despotism."

It was on the twenty-fifth of June in the course of these debates that Wilson said: "When I consider the amazing extent of country, the immense population which is to fill it, the influence which the government we are to form will have, not only on the present generation of our people and their multiplied posterity, but on the whole globe, I am lost in the magnitude of the object. We are laying the foundation of a building in which millions are interested, and which is to last for ages. In laying one stone amiss we may injure the superstructure; and what will be the consequence if the corner-stone should be loosely placed? A citizen of America is a citizen of the general government, and is a citizen of the particular State in which he may reside. The general government is meant for them in the first capacity; the State government in the second. Both governments are derived from the people, both meant for the people; both, therefore, ought to be regulated on the same principles. In forming the general government we must forget our local habits and attachments, lay aside our State connections, and act for the general good of the whole. The general government is not an assemblage of States, but of individuals, for certain political purposes; it is not meant for the States, but for the individuals composing them; the individuals, therefore, not the States, ought to be represented in it." He persisted to the last in demanding that the senate should be elected by electors chosen by the people.

Ellsworth replied: "The State legislatures are more competent to make a judicious choice than the people at large. Without the existence and co-operation of the States, a republican government cannot be supported over so great an extent of country. We know that the people of the States are strongly attached to their own constitutions. If you hold up a system of general government, destructive of their constitutional rights, they will oppose it. The only chance we have to support a general government is to graft it on the State governments."

Ellsworth now put forth all his strength as he moved that in the second branch the vote should be taken by States: "I confess that the effect of this motion is to make the general government partly federal and partly national. I am not sorry that the vote just passed has determined against this rule in the first branch; I hope it will become a ground of com-

promise with regard to the second. On this middle ground, and on no other, can a compromise take place. If the great States refuse this plan, we shall be forever separated."

"If a minority will have their own will, or separate the union," said Wilson, on the thirtieth, "let it be done. I cannot consent that one-fourth shall control the power of three-fourths. The Connecticut proposal removes only a part of the objection. We all aim at giving the general government more energy. The State governments are necessary and valuable. No liberty can be obtained without them. On this question of the manner of taking the vote in the second branch depend the essential rights of the general government and of the people."

Yet an ineradicable dread of the coming power of the Southwest lurked in New England, especially in Massachusetts. On the fourteenth, only three days after the subject appeared to have been definitely disposed of, Gerry and King moved that the representatives of new States should never collectively exceed in number the representatives from such of the old thirteen States as should accede to the new confederation. The motion came from New England; and from New England came the reply. "We are providing for our posterity," said Sherman, who had taken the principal part in securing to Connecticut a magnificent reserve of lands in northern Ohio. "Our children and our grandchildren will be as likely to be citizens of new western States as of the old States." His words were lost upon his own colleagues. The motion was defeated by the narrowest majority, Massachusetts being sustained by Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland, against New Jersey and the four southernmost States, Pennsylvania being divided. The vote of Maryland and Delaware was but the dying expression of old regrets about the proprietaryship of western lands, from which they had been excluded; that of Massachusetts sprang from a jealousy which grew stronger with the ever-increasing political power of the Southwest.

"The majority," said Wilson, "wherever found, ought to govern. The interior country, should it acquire this majority, will avail itself of its right whether we will or no. If numbers be not a proper rule, why is not some better rule pointed out? Congress have never been able to discover a better. No State has suggested any other. Property is not the sole nor the primary end of government and society; the improvement of the human mind is the most noble object. With respect to this and other personal rights, numbers are surely the natural and precise measure of representation, and could not vary much from the precise measure of property."

The equality of votes of the States in the senate being reported to the convention on the fourteenth, was resisted by Wilson, King, and Madison to the last as contrary to justice. On the other hand, Sherman held that the State governments could not be preserved unless they should have a negative in the general government.

APPENDIX B

(*Page 46, Vol. I.*)

PENNSYLVANIA'S FORMATIVE INFLUENCE UPON FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE important part taken by Pennsylvania in the formation of our federal institutions has never been adequately set forth in the country's history. From an address delivered by William A. Wallace before the Historical Society of that State in 1882, the following passages are of value to every student of the subject:

"The first scheme for a general union of all the colonies originated with Penn, in 1697. It was to be a bond of union for the safety, independence and progress of all. His thought was put in written form and submitted to the English Government for its recognition and endorsement. It embraced a Congress of representatives from each colony, the representation to be in proportion to the population thereof. It was to meet annually, and was given power to regulate commerce; to levy troops by quotas; to assess taxes for war and the common protection and to have power to adjust all differences between colony and colony. A commissioner to be appointed by the King was to preside in the Congress, and in time of war to be the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Union. This plan came to naught, for neither King nor colony was ready for it. . . .

"This plan of union, originated by Penn in the closing hours of the seventeenth century, and reproduced by Franklin in the middle of the eighteenth, was the nucleus of the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, the Continental Congress of 1774, and the basis of the federal union of the States under the Constitution of 1787—now our bond of union. Penn, of Pennsylvania, who gave us the thought that governments are made for men and not men for governments, and Franklin, of Pennsylvania, whose guiding hand did so much to mould the future of the colony, sketched the plan and taught us unity.

"That system of religious toleration, our pride and our boast, crystallized in the Federal Constitution in the words, "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and, "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," is the direct result of that policy which Penn, in 1682, engrafted on his original frame of government and code of laws in these words: 'That all persons living in this Province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world; and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship-place or ministry whatever.'

"This was solemnly re-asserted in Penn's last Charter of Privileges in 1701, under which the colony was governed until 1776, when it was slightly changed, and in our Constitutions of 1790, and 1838, and 1873, it is substantially the same. . . .

"Here, and here alone, there was no State Church, no persecution, and no proscription for religion's sake.

"Here, and here alone, was the seed sown and the plant nurtured which, when political liberty was won by the bayonet, blossomed and fructified in the Federal Constitution as its twin sister, religious toleration.

"For good or for ill to our body politic, universal manhood suffrage has become part of our system. In the fundamental theory of our government the control of the qualifications for suffrage rests with the States as such, but the tendency now is toward the same rule in all of them. With the single exception of Rhode Island, where property qualification exists for the foreign-born citizens, the rule is now practically the same in all the States.

"The root of this system is found in Penn's preface to his frame of government for Pennsylvania in the words: 'Any government is free to the people under it, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws.' By the laws of the province promulgated in 1682 every inhabitant owning land or paying 'scot and lot' to the government was a freeman and an elector.

"This was the rule here in 1682—re-declared in 1701, embodied in our Revolutionary Constitution of 1776, and is the system of the State now; for the payment of a State or county tax within two years is the substantial equivalent of the "scot and lot" of 1682. Scot and lot is defined by Cowell to be 'a customary contribution laid on subjects according to their ability.' The germ of our system for the protection of purity of the ballot is also found in these words in the code of 1682:

"'All elections shall be free and voluntary and the elector that shall receive any reward or gifts in meat, drink, moneys, or otherwise, shall forfeit his right to elect, and such persons as shall directly or indirectly give, bestow or promise any such reward as aforesaid to be elected, shall forfeit his election, and be incapable to serve.'

"Under our system at the very beginning, the freemen—all the freemen—elected both the assembly and the council, and by enacting laws governed the colony.

"We thus have had in Pennsylvania for two hundred years a system of universal suffrage, whilst in every other colony in America there was either a landed, or property or church qualification, and in some of them two of these. At the date of the Revolution the possessions of such qualifications, and especially of property, was a prerequisite to the exercise of suffrage in every colony except Pennsylvania.

"Here the whole free people voted, and by their votes and through their chosen representatives they ruled.

"When the colony was planted this system existed nowhere else, and for two centuries it has been the memento of the belief of Penn in man's capacity for self-government. . . .

"The German Quakers of Pennsylvania within seven years after the colony was founded entered a protest as an organization against buying, selling, and holding men in slavery. This was in 1688. In 1641, Massachusetts had enacted a statute against buying and selling slaves, except those taken in lawful war, or adjudged to slavery for crime; but in 1676, under this very statute, her Government, as such, sold into slavery in the Bermudas a large number of Indians taken captive in war, among whom was the son of King Philip, a boy of tender years. Penn wrote and talked and tried to legislate on the subject from the beginning until his death, and in 1705 and 1710 statutes were enacted by the colonial assembly, imposing a duty upon Negro slaves brought into the colony. The act of 1712 was entitled "An Act to prevent the importation of Negroes and Indians into the Province." Whilst the colony did all it could to prevent the evil, the English Government refused to sanction its law and thus perpetuated the curse upon the Province. Enactments imposing duties on the traffic were made at many different times from 1712 to 1773, the last one of which was perpetual in its operations. In 1777 legislation was introduced into the Colonial legislature for the gradual abolition of slavery in the colony, and this took the form of positive law on the 1st of March, 1780. This was the first enactment by any of the colonies by which slavery was abolished. Connecticut and Rhode Island followed in 1784, and the decisions of the courts in Massachusetts obeyed the spirit of progress, and held that under their Constitution of 1780 slavery was abolished. New Hampshire in 1792, Vermont in 1793, and New York in 1799, joined the column either by statute or by constitutional provision.

"In this as in other things Pennsylvania was in the advance."

APPENDIX C

(*Page 70, Vol. I.*)

ANDREW HAMILTON'S ARGUMENT FOR LIBERTY OF SPEECH IN AMERICA

(*From Zenger's Narrative*)

THEN Mr. Hamilton, who at the request of some of my friends, was so kind as to come from Philadelphia to assist me on the trial, spoke.

Mr. Hamilton. May it please your Honor: I am concerned in this cause on the part of Mr. Zenger, the defendant. The Information against my client was sent me a few days before I left home, with some instructions to let me know how far I might rely upon the truth of those parts of the papers set forth in the Information, and which are said to be libellous: And tho' I am perfectly of the opinion with the gentleman who has just now spoke on the same side with me, as to the common course of proceedings, I mean in putting Mr. Attorney upon proving that my client printed and published those papers mentioned in the Information; yet I cannot think it proper for me, (without doing violence to my own principles) to deny the publication of a complaint, which I think is the right of every free-born subject to make, when the matters so published can be supported with truth; and therefore I 'll save Mr. Attorney the trouble of examining his witnesses to that point; and I do (for my client) confess, that he both printed and published the two newspapers set forth in the Information, and I hope in so doing he has committed no crime.

Mr. Attorney. Then if your Honor pleases, since Mr. Hamilton has confessed the fact, I think our witnesses may be discharged; we have no further occasion for them.

Mr. Hamilton. If you brought them here only to prove the printing and publishing of these Newspapers, we have acknowledged that, and shall abide by it.

Here my Journeyman and two sons (with several others subpœna'd by Mr. Attorney, to give evidence against me) were discharged, and there was silence in the Court for some time.

Mr. Chief Justice. Well Mr. Attorney, will you proceed?

Mr. Attorney. Indeed Sir, as Mr. Hamilton has confessed the printing and publishing these libels, I think the jury must find a verdict for the King; for supposing they were true, the law says that they are not the less libellous for that; nay indeed the law says, their being true is an aggravation of the crime.

Mr. Hamilton. Not so neither Mr. Attorney, there are two words to that bargain: I hope it is not our bare printing and publishing a paper, that will make it a libel: You will have something more to do, before you make my client a libeller; for the words themselves must be libellous, that is, false, scandalous, and seditious, or else we are not guilty.

As Mr. Attorney has not been pleased to favor us with his argument, which he read, or with the notes of it, we cannot take upon us to set down his words, but only to show the book cases he cited, and the general scope of his argument, which he drew from those authorities. . . .

Mr. Hamilton. May it please your Honor; I agree with Mr. Attorney, that government is a sacred thing, but I differ very widely from him when he would insinuate, that the just complaints of a number of men, who suffer under a bad administration, is libelling that administration. Had I believed that to be the law, I should not have given the Court the trouble of hearing anything that I could say in this cause: I own when I read the Information, I had not the art to find out (without the help of Mr. Attorney's Innuendoes) that the Governor was the person meant in every period of that newspaper; and I was inclined to believe, that they were wrote by some, who from an extraordinary zeal for liberty, had misconstrued the conduct of some persons in authority into crimes; And that Mr. Attorney out of his too great zeal for power, had exhibited this Information, to correct the indiscretion of

my client; and at the same time, to show his superiors the great concern he had, lest they should be treated with any undue freedom: But from what Mr. Attorney has just now said to-wit, That this prosecution was directed by the Governor and the Council, and from the extraordinary appearance of people of all conditions which I observe in Court upon this occasion, I have reason to think that those in the administration have by this prosecution something more in view, and that the people believe they have a good deal more at stake, than I apprehended: And therefore as it is become my duty to be both plain and particular in this cause, I beg leave to bespeak the patience of the Court. . . .

Is it not surprising to see a subject, upon his receiving a commission from the King to be a Governor of a colony in America, immediately imagining himself to be vested with all the prerogatives belonging to the sacred person of his Prince? And which is yet more astonishing, to see that a people can be so wild as to allow of and acknowledge those prerogatives and exemptions, even to their own destruction? Is it so hard a matter to distinguish between the majesty of our Sovereign and the power of a Governor of the plantations? Is not this making very free with our Prince, to apply that regard, obedience, and allegiance to a subject which is due only to our sovereign? And yet in all the cases which Mr. Attorney has cited, to show the duty and obedience we owe to the Supreme Magistrate, it is the King that is there meant and understood, tho' Mr. Attorney is pleased to urge them as authorities to prove the heinousness of Mr. Zenger's offence against the Governor of New York. . . .

Mr. Chief Justice. You cannot be admitted Mr. Hamilton, to give the truth of a libel in evidence. A libel is not to be justified; for it is nevertheless a libel that it is true.

Mr. Hamilton. I am sorry the Court has so soon resolved upon that piece of law; I expected first to have been heard to that point: I have not in all my reading met with an authority that says we cannot be admitted to give the truth in evidence, upon an Information for a libel.

Mr. Chief Justice. The law is clear that you cannot justify a libel.

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Mr. Hamilton. I will say no more at this time; the Court I see is against us in this point; and that I hope I may be allowed to say.

Mr. Chief Justice. Use the Court with good manners, and you shall be allowed all the liberty you can reasonably desire.

Mr. Hamilton. I thank your Honor. Then Gentlemen of the Jury, it is to you we must now appeal, for witnesses, to the truth of the facts we have offered, and are denied the liberty to prove; and let it not seem strange, that I apply myself to you in this manner, I am warranted so to do both by law and reason. . . .

Mr. Chief Justice. No, Mr. Hamilton, the jury may find that Zenger printed and published those papers, and leave it to the Court to judge whether they are libellous; you know this is very common; it is in the nature of a special verdict, where the jury leave the matter of law to the Court.

Mr. Hamilton. I know, may it please your Honor, the jury may do so; but I do likewise know, they may do otherwise: I know they have the right beyond all dispute, to determine both the law and the fact, and where they do not doubt of the law they ought to do so: This of leaving it to the judgment of the Court, whether the words are libellous or not, in effect renders juries useless (to say no worse) in many cases; but this I shall have occasion to speak to by and by; and I will with the Court's leave proceed to examine the inconveniences that must inevitably arise from the doctrines Mr. Attorney has laid down: And I observe in support of this prosecution, he has frequently repeated the words taken from the case of *Libel famosus*, in 5 Co. This is indeed the leading case, and to which almost all the other cases upon the subject of libels do refer; and I must insist upon saying, That according as this case seems to be understood by the Court and Mr. Attorney, it is not law at this day: For tho' I own it to be base and unworthy to scandalize any man, yea I think it is even villainous to scandalize a person of public character, and I will go so far into Mr. Attorney's doctrine as

to agree, that if the faults, mistakes, nay even the vices of such a person be private and personal, and don't affect the peace of the public, or the liberty or property of our neighbor, it is unmanly and unmannerly to expose them either by word or writing: But when a ruler of the people brings his personal failings, but much more his vices, into his administration, and the people find themselves affected by them, either in their liberties or properties that will alter the case mightily, and all the high things that are said in favor of rulers, and of dignities, and upon the side of power, will not be able to stop peoples' mouths when they feel themselves oppressed, I mean in a free government: It is true, in times past, it was a crime to speak truth, and in that terrible Court of Star Chamber, many worthy and brave men suffered for so doing; and yet even in that Court, and in those bad times, a great and good man durst say, what I hope will not be taken amiss of me to say in this place, to-wit, The practice of Informations for libels, is a sword in the hands of a wicked king, and an arrand coward, to cut down and destroy the innocent; the one cannot, because of his high station, and the other dares not, because of his want of courage, revenge himself in another manner.

Mr. Attorney. Pray, Mr. Hamilton, have a care what you say, don't go too far neither, I don't like those liberties.

Mr. Hamilton. Sure Mr. Attorney, you won't make any applications; all men agree that we are governed by the best of Kings, and I cannot see the meaning of Mr. Attorney's caution; my well known principles, and the sense I have of the blessings we enjoy under his present Majesty, makes it impossible for me to err, and I hope, even to be suspected, in that point of duty to my King. May it please your Honor, I was saying, that notwithstanding all the duty and reverence claimed by Mr. Attorney to men in authority, they are not exempt from observing the rules of common justice, either in their private or public capacities; the laws of our mother country know no exception: It is true men in power are harder to be come at for wrongs they do, either to a private person or to the public; especially a Governor in the plantations, where they insist upon an exemption from answering complaints of any kind in their own government: We are indeed told, and it is true, they are obliged to answer a suit in the King's Courts at Westminster, for a wrong done to any person here: But do we not know how impracticable this is to most men among us, to leave their families (who depend upon their labor and care for their livelihood) and carry evidence to Britain, and at a great, nay a far greater expense than almost any of us are able to bear, only to prosecute a governor for an injury done here: But when the oppression is general, there is no remedy even that way: no, our Constitution has (blessed be God) given us an opportunity, if not to have such wrongs redressed, yet by our prudence and resolution we may in a great measure prevent the committing of such wrongs, by making a governor sensible that it is his interest to be just to those under his care; for such is the sense that men in general (I mean Free men) have of common justice, that when they come to know that a chief magistrate abuses the power with which he is intrusted for the good of the people, and is attempting to turn that very power against the innocent, whether of high or low degree, I say mankind in general, seldom fail to interpose, and as far as they can, prevent the destruction of their fellow subjects: And has it not often been seen (and I hope it will always be seen) that when the representatives of a free people, are by just representations or remonstrances, made sensible of the sufferings of their fellow subjects, by the abuse of power in the hands of a governor, they have declared (and loudly too) that they were not obliged by any law to support a governor who goes about to destroy a province or colony, or their privileges, which by his Majesty he was appointed, and by the law he is bound to protect and encourage: But I pray it may be considered of what use is this mighty privilege, if every man that suffers must be silent? And if a man must be taken up as libellor for telling his sufferings to his neighbor? I know it may be answered, Have you not a Legislature? Have you not a House of Representatives to whom you may complain? And to this I answer, we have: But what then? Is an Assembly to be troubled with every injury done by a governor? Or are they to hear of nothing but what those in the administration will please to tell them? Or what

sort of a trial must a man have? And how is he to be remedied; especially if the case were, as I have known it to happen in America in my time; That a governor who has places (I will not say pensions, for I believe they seldom give that to another, which they can take to themselves) to bestow, and can or will keep the same Assembly (after he has modelled them so as to get a majority of the House in his interest) for near twice seven years together? I pray what redress is to be expected for an honest man, who makes his complaint against a governor to an Assembly, who may properly enough be said to be made by the same governor, against whom the complaint is made? The thing answers itself: No, it is natural, it is a privilege, I will go farther, it is a right which all freemen claim, and are entitled to complaint when they are hurt; they have a right publicly to remonstrate the abuses of power, in the strongest terms, to put their neighbors upon their guard, against the craft or open violence of men in authority, and to assert with courage the sense they have of the blessings of liberty, the value they put upon it, and their resolution at all hazards to preserve it, as one of the greatest blessings Heaven can bestow: And when a House of Assembly, composed of honest freemen sees the general bent of the people's inclinations, that is it which must and will (I am sure it ought to) weigh with a legislature, in spite of all the craft, caressing, and cajoling, made use of by a governor, to divert them from hearkening to the voice of their country: As we all very well understand the true reason, why gentlemen take so much pains and make such great interest to be appointed governors, so is the design of their appointment not less manifest: We know his Majesty's gracious intentions to his subjects, he desires no more than that his people in the plantations should be kept up to their duty and allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, that peace may be preserved amongst them, and justice impartially administered; that we may be governed so as to render us useful to our mother country, by encouraging us to make and raise such commodities as may be useful to Great Britain: But will any one say that all or any of these good ends are to be effected, by a governor setting his people together by the ears, and by the assistance of one part of the people to plague and plunder the other? The commission which governors bear, while they execute the powers given them, according to the intent of the Royal Grantor, expressed in their commissions, requires and deserves very great reverence and submission; but when a governor departs from the duty enjoined him by his Sovereign, and acts as if he was less accountable than the royal hand that gave him all that power and honor which he is possessed of; this sets people upon examining and enquiring into the power, authority and duty of such a magistrate, and to compare those with his conduct, and just as far as they find he exceeds the bounds of his authority, or falls short in doing impartial justice to the people under his administration, so far they very often, in return, come short in their duty to such a governor: For power alone will not make a man beloved, and I have heard it observed, that the man who was neither good nor wise, before his being made a governor, never mended upon his preferment, but has been generally observed to be worse: For men who are not endued with wisdom and virtue, can only be kept in bounds by the law; and by how much the further they think themselves out of the reach of the law, by so much the more wicked and cruel they are: I wish there were no instances of the kind at this day: And wherever this happens to be the case of a governor, unhappy are the people under his administration, and in the end he will find himself so too; for the people will neither love him, nor support him: I make no doubt but there are those here, who are zealously concerned for the success of this prosecution, and yet I hope they are not many, and even some of those, I am persuaded (when they consider what lengths such prosecutions may be carried, and how deeply the liberties of the people may be affected by such means) will not all abide by their present sentiments; I say, not all, For the man who from an intimacy and acquaintance with a governor has conceived a personal regard for him, the man who has felt none of the strokes of his power, the man who believes that a governor has a regard for him and confides in him, it is natural for such men to wish well to the affairs of such a governor; and as they may be men of honor and generosity, may, and no doubt will, wish him success, so far as the rights

and privileges of their fellow citizens are not affected: But as men of honor, I can apprehend nothing from them; they will never exceed that point: There are others that are under stronger obligations, and those are such as are in some sort engaged in support of a governor's cause, by their own or their relations' dependance on his favor, for some post or preferment; such men have what is commonly called duty and gratitude to influence their inclinations, and oblige them to go his lengths: I know men's interests are very near to them, and they will do much rather than forego the favor of a governor, and a livelihood at the same time; but I can with very just grounds hope, even from those men, whom I will suppose to be men of honor and conscience too, that when they see the liberty of their country is in danger, either by their concurrence, or even by their silence, they will, like Englishmen, and like themselves, freely make a sacrifice of any preferment or favor rather than be accessary to destroying the liberties of their country, and entailing slavery upon their posterity: There are indeed, another set of men, of whom I have no hopes; I mean such who lay aside all other considerations, and are ready to join with power in any shape, and with any man or sort of men, by whose means or interest they may be assisted to gratify their malice and envy against those whom they have been pleased to hate; and that for no other reason, but because they are men of abilities and integrity, or at least are possessed of some valuable qualities far superior to their own: But as envy is the sin of the Devil, and therefore very hard, if at all, to be repented of, I will believe there are but few of this detestable and worthless sort of men; nor will their opinions or inclinations have any influence upon this trial. But to proceed, I beg leave to insist, that the right of complaining or remonstrating is natural; and the restraint upon this natural right is the law only, and that those restraints can only extend to what is false: For as it is truth alone which can excuse or justify any man for complaining of a bad administration, I as frankly agree, that nothing ought to excuse a man who raises a false charge or accusation, even against a private person, and that no manner of allowance ought to be made to him, who does so against a public magistrate. Truth ought to govern the whole affair of libels, and yet the party accused runs risk enough even then; for if he fails of proving every tittle of what he has wrote, and to the satisfaction of the court and jury too, he may find to his cost, that when the prosecution is set on foot by men in power, it seldom wants friends to favor it: And from thence (it is said) has arisen the great diversity of opinions among judges, about what words were or were not scandalous or libellous: I believe it will be granted that there is not greater uncertainty in any part of the law, than about words of scandal; it would be misspending of the Court's time to mention the cases; they may be said to be numberless; and therefore the utmost care ought to be taken in following precedents; and the times when the judgments were given, which are quoted for authorities in the case of libels, are much to be regarded: I think it will be agreed, that ever since the time of the Star Chamber, where the most arbitrary and destructive judgments and opinions were given, that ever an Englishman heard of, at least in his own country: I say, prosecutions for libels since the time of that arbitrary court, and until the glorious revolution, have generally been set on foot at the instance of the crown or its ministers; and it is no small reproach to the law, that these prosecutions were too often and too much countenanced by the judges, who held their places at pleasure (a disagreeable tenure to any officer, but a dangerous one in the case of a judge). To say more to this point may not be proper: And yet I cannot think it unwarrantable to show the unhappy influence that a Sovereign has sometimes had, not only upon judges but even upon parliaments themselves.

It has already been shown, how the judges differed in their opinions about the nature of a libel, in the case of the seven bishops: There you see three judges of one opinion, that is, of a wrong opinion, in the judgment of the best men in England, and one judge of a right opinion. How unhappy might it have been for all of us at this day, if that jury had understood the words in that Information as the Court did? Or if they had left it to the Court to judge whether the petition of the bishops was, or was not a libel? No, they took upon them to their immortal

honor, to determine both law and fact, and to understand the petition of the bishops to be no libel, that is, to contain no falsehood nor sedition, and therefore found them not guilty. And remarkable is the case of Sir Samuel Barnardiston, who was fined £10,000 for writing a letter, in which it may be said none saw any scandal or falsehood but the Court and jury; for that judgment was afterwards looked upon as a cruel and detestable judgment, and therefore was reversed by Parliament: Many more instances might be given of the complaisance of court-judges, about those times and before; but I will mention only one case more, and that is the case of Sir Edward Hales, who though a Roman Catholic, was by King James II. preferred to be a Colonel of his army, notwithstanding the statute of 25 Cha. 2d. Chap. 2, by which it is provided, That every one that accepts of an office, civil or military, &c., shall take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, and take the sacrament, within three months, &c., otherwise he is disabled to hold such office, and the grant for the same to be null and void, and the party to forfeit 500 Pounds. Sir Edward Hales did not take the oaths or sacrament, and was prosecuted for the 500 Pounds for exercising the office of a Colonel by the space of three months, without conforming as in the act is directed: Sir Edward pleads, That the King by his Letters Patent did dispense with his taking the oaths and sacraments, and subscribing the declaration, and had pardoned the forfeiture of 500 Pounds. And whether the King's dispensation was good, against the said Act of Parliament, was the question: I shall mention no more of this case, than to show how in the reign of an arbitrary Prince, where judges hold their seats at pleasure, their determinations have not always been such as to make precedents of, but the contrary; and so it happened in this case where it was solemnly judged, That notwithstanding this Act of Parliament, made in the strongest terms, for preservation of the Protestant religion, That yet the King had by his royal prerogative, a power to dispense with that law; and Sir Edward Hales was acquitted by the judges accordingly: So the King's dispensing power, being by the judges set up above the Act of Parliament, this law which the people looked upon as their chief security against popery and arbitrary power, was by this judgment rendered altogether ineffectual: But this judgment is sufficiently exposed by Sir Edward Atkins, late one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, in his Enquiry into the King's power of dispensing with Penal Statutes; where it is shown, who it was that first invented dispensations; how they came into England; what ill use has been made of them there; and all this principally owing to the countenance given them by the judges: He says of the dispensing power (Postscript to the Enquiry, p. 51): "The Pope was the inventor of it; our Kings have borrowed it from them; and the judges have from time to time nursed and dressed it up, and given it countenance; and it is still upon the growth, and encroaching till it has almost subverted all law, and made the regal power absolute if not dissolute": This seems not only to show how far judges have been influenced by power, and how little cases of this sort, where the prerogative has been in question in former reigns, are to be relied upon for law: But I think it plainly shows too, that a man may use a greater freedom with the power of his sovereign and the judges in Great-Britain, than it seems he may with the power of a governor in the Plantations, who is but a fellow-subject: Are the words with which we are charged like these? Do Mr. Zenger's papers contain any such freedoms with his Governor or his Council, as Sir Edward Atkins has taken, with the regal power and the judges in England? And yet I never heard of any Information brought against him for these freedoms.

If then upon the whole there is so great an uncertainty among judges (learned and great men) in matters of this kind; If power has had so great an influence on judges; how cautious ought we to be in determining by their judgments, especially in the Plantations, and in the case of libels? There is heresy in law as well as in religion, and both have changed very much; and we well know that it is not two centuries ago that a man would have been burnt as an heretic, for owning such opinions in matters of religion, as are publicly wrote and printed at this day: They were fallible men, it seems, and we take the liberty not only to differ from them in religious opinions, but to condemn them and their opinions too; and I must presume

that in taking these freedoms in thinking and speaking about matters of faith or religion, we are in the right: For, though it is said there are very great liberties of this kind taken in New York, yet I have heard of no Information preferred by Mr. Attorney for any offences of this sort: From which I think it is pretty clear, That in New York a man may make very free with his God, but he must take special care what he says of his Governor: It is agreed upon by all men that this is a reign of liberty, and while men keep within the bounds of truth, I hope they may with safety both speak and write their sentiments of the conduct of men in power, I mean of that part of their conduct only, which affects the liberty or property of the people under their administration; were this to be denied, then the next step may make them slaves: For what notions can be entertained of slavery, beyond that of suffering the greatest injuries and oppressions, without the liberty of complaining; or if they do, to be destroyed body and estate for so doing?

It is said, and insisted upon by Mr. Attorney, That government is a sacred thing; That it is to be supported and reverenced; It is government that protects our persons and estates; That prevents treasons, murders, robberies, riots, and all the train of evils that overturns kingdoms and states, and ruins particular persons; and if those in the administration, especially the Supreme Magistrate, must have all their conduct censured by private men, government cannot subsist: This is called a licentiousness not to be tolerated: It is said, that it brings the rulers of the people into contempt, and their authority not to be regarded, and so in the end the laws cannot be put into execution: These, I say, and such as these, are the general topics insisted upon by men in power, and their advocates: But I wish it might be considered at the same time how often it has happened, that the abuse of power has been the primary cause of these evils, and that it was the injustice and oppression of these great men, which has commonly brought them into contempt with the people: The craft and art of such men is great, and who, that is the least acquainted with history or law, can be ignorant of the specious pretences, which have often been made use of by men in power, to introduce arbitary rule, and destroy the liberties of a free people: I will give two instances, and as they are authorities not to be denied, nor can be misunderstood, I presume they will be sufficient.

The first is the statute of 3d. of Hen. 7. Cap. 1. The preamble of the statute will prove all, and more than I have alleged: It begins, "The King, our Sovereign Lord, remembereth how by unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, signs, and tokens, &c., untrue demeanings of Sheriffs in making of pannels, and other untrue returns, by taking of money, by injuries, by great riots and unlawful assemblies, the policy and good rule of this realm is almost subdued; and for the not punishing these inconveniences, and by occasion of the premises, little or nothing may be found by inquiry, &c., to the increase of murders, &c., and unsureties of all men living, and losses of their lands and goods."

Here is a fine and specious pretence for introducing the remedy, as it is called, which is provided by this Act, that is instead of being lawfully accused by 24 good and lawful men of the neighborhood, and afterwards tried by 12 like lawful men, here is a power given to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, the Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, or two of them, calling to them a bishop, a temporal Lord, and other great men mentioned in the Act (who, it is to be observed, were all to be dependents on the Court), to receive Information against any person for any of the misbehaviours recited in that Act, and by their discretion to examine, and to punish them according to their demerit.

The second statute I propose to mention, is the 11th of the same King, Chap. 3d., the preamble of which Act has the like fair pretences as the former; For the King calling to his remembrance the good laws made against the receiving of liveries, &c., unlawful extortions, maintenances, embracery, &c., unlawful games, &c., and many other great enormities and offences, committed against many good statutes, to the displeasure of almighty God, which the Act says, could not, nor yet can, be conveniently punished by the due order of the law, except it were first found by 12 men, &c., which for the causes aforesaid, will not find, nor yet present the truth: And therefore, the same statute directs, that the Justices of Assize and Justices

of the Peace, shall, upon Information for the King before them made, have full power by their discretion, to hear and determine all such offences:

Here are two statutes that are allowed to have given the deepest wound to the liberties of the people of England, of any that I remember to have been made, unless it may be said, that the statute made in the time of Henry the Eighth, by which his proclamations were to have the effect of laws, might in its consequence be worst; And yet we see the plausible pretences found out by the great men to procure these Acts; And it may justly be said, that by those pretences the people of England were cheated or awed into the delivering up their ancient and sacred right of trials by Grand and Petit juries: I hope to be excused for this expression, seeing my Lord Coke calls it an unjust and strange act, that tended in its execution to the great displeasure of Almighty God, and the utter subversion of the common law.

These, I think make out what I alleged, and are flagrant instances of the influence of men in power, even upon the representatives of a whole kingdom. From all which I hope it will be agreed, that it is a duty which all good men owe to their country, to guard against the unhappy influence of ill men, when entrusted with power, and especially against their creatures and dependants, who, as they are generally more necessitous, are surely more covetous and cruel: But it is worthy of observation, that tho' the spirit of liberty was born down and oppressed in England at that time, yet it was not lost; for the Parliament laid hold of the first opportunity to free the subjects from the many insufferable oppressions and outrages committed upon their persons and estates by colour of these Acts, the last of which being deemed the most grievous, was repealed in the first year of Henry 8th. Tho' it is to be observed, that Henry 7th. and his creatures reaped such great advantages by the grievous oppressions and exactions, grinding the faces of the poor subjects, as my Lord Coke says, by colour of this statute by Information only, that a repeal of this Act could never be obtained during the life of that Prince: The other statute being the favorite law for supporting arbitrary power, was continued much longer: The execution of it was by the great men of the realm; and how they executed it, the sense of the kingdom, expressed in the 7th of Charles 1st. (by which the Court of Star Chamber, the soil where Informations grew rankest) will best declare: In that statute—Magna Charta, and the other statutes made in the time of Edw. 3d. which I think are no less than five, are particularly enumerated as Acts, by which the priviledges and liberties of the people of England were secured to them, against such oppressive courts as the Star Chamber, and others of the like jurisdiction; and the reason assigned for their pulling down the Star Chamber is, That the proceedings, censures and degrees of the Court of Star Chamber, even tho' the great men of the realm, nay and a bishop too (holy man) were judges, had by experience been found to be an intolerable burthen to the subject, and the means to introduce an arbitrary power and government: And therefore that Court was taken away, with all the other courts in that statute mentioned, having like jurisdiction.

I don't mention this statute, as if by the taking away the Court of Star Chamber, the remedy for many of the abuses or offenses censured there, was likewise taken away; no, I only intend by it to show, that the people of England saw clearly the danger of trusting their liberties and properties to be tried, even by the greatest men in the kingdom, without a judgment of a jury of their equals: They had felt the terrible effects of leaving it to the judgment of these great men to say what was scandalous and seditious, false, or ironical: And if the Parliament of England thought this power of judgment was too great to be trusted with men of the first rank in the kingdom, without the aid of a jury (of their equals), how sacred soever their characters might be, and therefore restored to the people their original right of trial by juries. I hope to be excused for insisting, that by the judgment of a Parliament, from whence no appeal lies, the jury are the proper judges of what is false at least, if not of what is scandalous and seditious: This is an authority not to be denied, it is as plain as it is great, and to say, that this Act indeed did restore to the people trials by juries, which was not the practice of the Star Chamber, but that did not give the jurors any new authority, or any right to try matters of law: I say this objection will not avail; for I must

insist that where matter of law is complicated with mattter of fact, the jury have a right to determine both: As for instance, upon indictment for murder, the jury may, and almost constantly do, take upon them to judge whether the evidence will amount to murder or manslaughter, and find accordingly; and I must say, I cannot see why in our case, the jury have not at least as good a right to say whether our newspapers are a libel or no libel, as another jury has to say whether killing of a man is murder or manslaughter: The right of a jury to find such a verdict as they in their conscience do think is agreeable to their evidence, is supported by the authority of Bushel's case, in *Vaughan's Reports*, page 135, beyond any doubt: For in the argument of that case, the Chief Justice who delivered the opinion of the Court, lays it down for law, That in all general issues, as upon Non Cul. in trespass, Non Tort. Nul Disseizin in Assize, &c., Tho' it is matter of law whether the defendant is a trespasser, a disseizer, &c. in the particular cases in issue, yet the jury find not (as in a special verdict) the fact of every case, leaving the law to the Court; but find for the plaintiff or defendant upon the issue to be tried, wherein they resolve both law and fact complicately: It appears by the same case, that tho' the discreet and lawful assistance of the Judge, by way of advice to the jury, may be useful, yet that advice or direction ought always to be upon supposition and not positive, and upon coercion: The reason given in the same book is, Because the judge (as judge) cannot know what the evidence is which the jury have, which is, he can only know the evidence given in court; but the evidence which the jury have, may be of their own knowledge, as they are returned of the neighbourhood. They may also know from their own knowledge that what is sworn in court, is not true; and they may know the witnesses to be stigmatized, to which the Court may be strangers: But what is to my purpose is, That suppose that the Court did really know all the evidence which the jury know, yet in that case it is agreed, That the Judge and jury may differ in the result of their evidence, as well as two judges may, which often happens: And in page 148 the Judge subjoins the reason, why it is no crime for a jury to differ in opinion from the Court, where he says, That a man cannot see with another's eye, nor hear by another's ear; no more can a man conclude or infer the thing by another's understanding or reasoning: From all which I insist, it is very plain, That the jury are by law at liberty (without any affront to the judgment of the Court) to find both the law and the fact in our case, as they did in the case I am speaking to, which I will beg leave just to mention, and it was this, Mr. Penn and [Mr.] Mead being Quakers, and having met in a peacable manner, after being shut out of their meeting-house, preached in Grace Church Street in London, to the people of their own persuasion, and for this they were indicted; and it was said, That they with other persons, to the number of 300, unlawfully and tumultuously assembled, to the disturbance of the peace, &c. To which they pleaded Not Guilty: And the Petit jury being sworn to try the issue between the King and the prisoners, that is, whether they were guilty, according to the form of the indictment? Here there was no dispute but they were assembled together, to the number mentioned in the indictment: But whether that meeting together was riotously, tumultuously, and to the disturbance of the peace, was the question: And the Court told the jury it was, and ordered the jury to find it so; For (said the Court) the meeting was the matter of fact, and that is confessed, and we tell you it is unlawful, for it is against the statute; and the meeting being unlawful, it follows of course that it was tumultuous, and to the disturbance of the peace: But the jury did not think fit to take the Court's word for it, for they could neither find riot, tumult, or anything tending to the breach of the peace committed at that meeting; and they acquitted Mr. Penn and [Mr.] Mead: In doing of which they took upon them to judge both the law and the fact, at which the Court (being themselves true courtiers) were so much offended, that they fined the jury 40 Marks apiece, and committed them till paid: But Mr. Bushel, who valued the right of a juryman, and the liberty of his country more than his own, refused to pay the fine, and was resolved (tho' at a great expense and trouble too) to bring and did bring his habeas corpus, to be relieved from his fine and imprisonment, and he was released accordingly; and this being the judgment in his case it is established for law, That the judges how

great soever they be, have no right to fine, imprison, or punish a jury, for not finding a verdict according to the direction of the Court: And this I hope is sufficient to prove, that jurymen are to see with their own eyes, to hear with their own ears, and make use of their own consciences and understandings, in judging of the lives, liberties, or estates of their fellow-subjects: And so I have done with this point.

This is the second information for libelling of a governor that I have known in America: And the first, tho' it may look like a romance, yet as it is true, I will beg leave to mention it. Governor Nicholson, who happened to be offended with one of his clergy, met him one day upon the road, and as was usual with him (under the protection of his commission) used the poor parson with the worst of language, threatened to cut off his ears, slit his nose, and at last to shoot him through the head: The parson being a reverend man, continued all this time uncovered in the heat of the sun, until he found an opportunity to fly for it, and coming to a neighbor's house, felt himself very ill of a fever, and immediately writes for a doctor; and that his physician might the better judge of his distemper, he acquainted him with the usage he had received, concluding, that the Governor was certainly mad, for that no man in his senses would have behaved in that manner: The doctor unhappily shows the parson's letter; the Governor came to hear of it; and so an Information was preferred against the poor man, for saying he believed the Governor was mad; and it was laid in the Information to be false, scandalous, and wicked, and wrote with intent to move sedition among the people, and bring his Excellency into contempt: But by an order from the late Queen Anne, there was a stop put to that prosecution, with sundry others set on foot by the same governor, against gentlemen of the greatest worth and honor in that government.

And may not I be allowed, after all this to say, That by a little countenance almost anything which a man writes, may with the help of that useful term of art, called an Innuendo, be construed to be a libel, according to Mr. Attorney's definition of it, That whether the words are spoken of a person of a public character, or of a private man; whether dead or living, good or bad, true or false, all make a libel; for according to Mr. Attorney, after a man hears a writing read, or reads and repeats it, or laughs at it, they are all punishable. It is true, Mr. Attorney is so good as to allow, after the party knows it to be a libel, but he is not so kind as to take the man's word for it.

[Here were several cases put to show, that tho' what a man writes of a Governor was true, proper, and necessary, yet according to the foregoing doctrine it might be construed to be a libel; but Mr. Hamilton after the tryal was over, being informed, that some of the cases he had put had really happened in this Government, he declared he had never heard of any such; and as he meant no personal reflections, he was sorry he had mentioned them, and therefore they are omitted here].

Mr. Hamilton: If a libel is understood in the large and unlimited sense urged by Mr. Attorney, there is scarce a writing I know that may not be called a libel, or scarce any person safe from being called to an account as a libeller: For Moses, meek as he was, libelled Cain, and who is it that has not libelled the Devil? For according to Mr. Attorney, it is no justification to say one has a bad name: Echard has libelled our good King William: Burnet has libelled, among many others, King Charles and King James; and Rapin has libelled them all: How must a man speak or write? Or what must he hear, read, or sing? Or when must he laugh so as to be secure from being taken up as a libeller? I sincerely believe, that were some persons to go thro' the streets of New York now-a-days, and read a part of the Bible, if it was not known to be such, Mr. Attorney, with the help of his Innuendoes, would easily turn it into a libel: As for instance, Isaiah xi. 16, The leaders of the people cause them to err, and they that are led by them are destroyed: But should Mr. Attorney go about to make this a libel, he would read it thus; The leaders of the people [innuendo, the Governor and Council of New York] cause them [innuendo, the people of this Province] to err, and they [the people of this Province meaning] that are led by them [the Governor and Council meaning] are destroyed, [innuendo, are deceived into the loss of their liberty] which is the worst

kind of destruction. Or, if some persons should publicly repeat, in a manner not pleasing to his betters, the 10th and 11th verses of the 56th Chapter of the same book, there Mr. Attorney would have a large field to display his skill, in the artful application of his innuendo's: The words are, His watchmen are all blind, they are ignorant, &c. Yea, they are greedy dogs, that can never have enough: But to make them a libel, there is according to Mr. Attorney's doctrine, no more wanting but the aid of his skill in the right adapting his innuendo's: As for instance, His watchmen [innuendo, the Governor's Council and Assembly] are blind, they are ignorant, [innuendo, will not see the dangerous designs of His Excellency]. Yea, they, [the Governor and Council meaning] are greedy dogs, which can never have enough, [innuendo, enough of riches and power]. Such an instance as this seems only fit to be laughed at; but I may appeal to Mr. Attorney himself, whether these are not at least equally proper to be applied to his Excellency and his ministers, as some of the inferences and innuendoes in his Information against my client: Then if Mr. Attorney is at liberty to come into Court, and file an Information in the King's name without leave, who is secure, whom he is pleased to prosecute as a libeller? And as the Crown Law is contended for in bad times, there is no remedy for the greatest oppression of this sort, even tho' the party prosecuted is acquitted with honor: And give me leave to say as great men as any in Britain, have boldly asserted, that the mode of prosecuting by information (when a grand jury will not find *Billa vera*) is a national grievance, and greatly inconsistent with that freedom, which the subjects of England enjoy in most other cases. But if we are so unhappy as not to be able to ward off this stroke of power directly, let us take care not to be cheated out of our liberties, by forms and appearances; let us always be sure that the charge in the Information is made out clearly even beyond a doubt; for tho' matters in the information may be called form upon trial, yet they may be and often have been found to be matters of substance upon giving judgement.

Gentlemen: The danger is great, in proportion to the mischief that may happen through our too great credulity: A proper confidence in a Court is commendable; but as the verdict (whatever it is) will be yours, you ought to refer no part of your duty to the discretion of other persons. If you should be of opinion, that there is no falsehood in Mr. Zenger's papers, you will, nay, (pardon me for the expression) you ought to say so; because you don't know whether others (I mean the Court) may be of that opinion: It is your right to do so, and there is much depending upon your resolution, as well as upon your integrity.

The loss of liberty to a generous mind is worse than death; and yet we know there have been those in all ages, who for the sake of preferment, or some imaginary honor, have freely lent a helping hand to oppress, nay to destroy their country. This brings to my mind that saying of the immortal Brutus, when he looked upon the creatures of Cæsar, who were very great men, but by no means good men. "You Romans," said Brutus, "if yet I may call you so, consider what you are doing: Remember that you are assisting Cæsar to forge those very chains, which one day he will make yourselves wear." This is what every man (that values freedom) ought to consider: He should act by judgement, and not by affection or self-interest; for where those prevail, no ties of either country or kindred are regarded: As upon the other hand, the man who loves his country, prefers its liberty to all other considerations, well knowing that without liberty, life is misery.

A famous instance of this, you will find in the history of another brave Roman of the same name, I mean Lucius Junius Brutus, whose story is well known, and therefore I shall mention no more of it, than only to show the value he put upon the freedom of his country. After this great man, with his fellow-citizens whom he had engaged in the cause, had banished Tarquin the Proud, the last King of Rome, from a throne which he ascended by inhuman murders and possessed by the most dreadful tyranny and proscriptions, and had by this means, amassed incredible riches, even sufficient to bribe to his interest many of the young nobility of Rome, to assist him in recovering the crown; but the plot being discovered, and principal conspirators were apprehended, among whom were two of the sons of Junius Brutus. It was absolutely necessary that some should be made examples of, to deter others from attempting

the restoring of Tarquin and destroying the liberty of Rome. And to effect this it was, that Lucius Junius Brutus, one of the Consuls of Rome, in the presence of the Roman people, sat judge and condemned his own sons, as traitors to their country: And to give the last proof of his exalted virtue, and his love of liberty: He with a firmness of mind (only becoming so great a man) caused their heads to be struck off in his own presence; and when he observed that his rigid virtue occasioned a sort of horror among the people, it is observed he only said: "My fellow-citizens, do not think that this proceeds from any want of natural affection: No, the death of the sons of Brutus can affect Brutus only; but the loss of liberty will affect my country." Thus highly was liberty esteemed in those days, that a father could sacrifice his sons to save his country. But why do I go to heathen Rome, to bring instances of the love of liberty, the best blood in Britain has been shed in the cause of liberty; and the freedom we enjoy at this day, may be said to be (in a great measure) owing to the glorious stand the famous Hampden, and others of our own countrymen made against the arbitrary demands and illegal impositions, of the times in which they lived; who rather than give up the rights of Englishmen, and submit to pay an illegal tax of no more I think, than three shillings, resolved to undergo, and for the liberty of their country did undergo the greatest extremities, in that arbitrary and terrible Court of Star Chamber, to whose arbitrary proceedings (it being composed of the principal men of the realm, and calculated to support arbitrary government) no bounds or limits could be set, nor could any other hand remove the evil but a parliament.

Power may justly be compared to a great river: while kept within its due bounds, it is both beautiful and useful; but when it overflows its banks it is then too impetuous to be stemmed, it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If then this is the nature of power, let us at least do our duty, and like wise men (who value freedom) use our utmost care to support liberty, the only bulwark against lawless power, which in all ages has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition, the blood of the best men that ever lived.

I hope to be pardoned, sir, for my zeal upon this occasion; it is an old and wise caution, That when our neighbor's house is on fire, we ought to take care of our own. For tho' blessed be God, I live in a government where liberty is well understood, and freely enjoyed; yet experience has shown us all (I 'm sure it has to me) that a bad precedent in one government, is soon set up for an authority in another; and therefore I cannot but think it mine, and every honest man's duty, that (while we pay all due obedience to men in authority) we ought at the same time to be on our guard against power, wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves or our fellow-subjects.

I am truly very unequal to such an undertaking on many accounts: And you see I labor under the weight of many years, and am borne down with great infirmities of body; yet old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty if required to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations, set on foot by the government, to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating, (and complaining too) of the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration, provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no instances of this kind. But to conclude; The question before the Court and you Gentlemen of the Jury, is not of small nor private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying: No, it may in its consequences affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America: It is the best cause: It is the cause of liberty, and I make no doubt but your upright conduct this day, will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you, as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity and our neighbors, that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right,—The Liberty—both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power, (in these parts of the world, at least) by speaking and writing truth.

APPENDIX D

(*Page 74, Vol. I.*)

FRANCIS MAKEMIE'S ARGUMENT FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN AMERICA

(*From Makemie's Narrative*)

Mr. Attorney orders four of Mr. Makemie's hearers to be called — Captain John Theobalds, Mr. John Vanhorne, Mr. William Jackson, and Mr. Anthony Young — who answered to their names.

The defendant, perceiving they were summoned and called to give their evidence to the matter of fact, told the Court that the swearing of these four gentlemen as evidences would but give a needless trouble, and take up the time of the Court, and he would own the matter of fact as to his preaching, and more than these gentlemen could declare upon oath; for he had done nothing therein that he was ashamed or afraid of, but would answer and own it, not only before this bar, but before the tribunal of God's final judgment. And so Mr. Attorney proposed, and Mr. Makemie answered the following questions, or to the same purpose:

Mr. Attorney. You own that you preached a sermon, and baptized a child at Mr. William Jackson's?

Francis Makemie. I did.

Mr. A. How many hearers had you?

F. M. I have other work to do, Mr. Attorney, than number my auditory when I am about to preach to them.

Mr. A. Were there above five hearing you?

F. M. Yes, and five to that.

Mr. A. Did you use the rites and ceremonies enjoined by, and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer by the Church of England?

F. M. No; I never did, nor ever will, till I am better satisfied in my conscience.

Mr. A. Did you ask leave, or acquaint my Lord Cornbury with your preaching at York, when you dined with him at the Fort?

F. M. I did not know of my preaching at York when I dined with his Excellency; no, not for some days after. For when we came to York we had not the least intention or design of preaching there, but stopped at York purely to pay our respects to the Governor, which we did; but being afterwards called and invited to preach, as I was a Minister of the Gospel I durst not deny preaching, and I hope I never shall when it is wanting and desired.

Mr. A. Did you acquaint my Lord Cornbury with the place of your preaching?

F. M. As soon as I determined to preach, leave was asked, though not by me; for it was the people's business, and not mine, to provide a place for me to preach in. And I would have been admitted to preach in the Dutch church, but they were afraid of offending Lord Cornbury. And Anthony Young went to the Governor to have his leave or permission for my preaching in the Dutch church, though all this was done without so much as my knowledge. But my Lord opposing and denying it, I was under the necessity of preaching where I did, in a private house, though in a public manner, and with open doors.

Mr. Attorney, in pleading, first read over the indictment which the Grand Jury had found, and endeavored to prove the several parts thereof. . . .

Mr. James Reigniere, attorney for the defendant, pleaded against the attorney for the Queen, in the following manner. . . .

Mr. William Nicholl, attorney for the defendant, pleaded in the next place as followeth. . . .

What was offered on the other side by Mr. Attorney as being against the Queen's prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs, was foreign and not at all to the purpose. . . .

Mr. David Jamison, attorney for the defendant, appeared next to plead. His defence was in the following manner. . . .

The defendant prayed that he might have the liberty to speak for himself, which was granted, and he pleaded in his own defence the following arguments, which are in his own words:

F. Makemie. I am amazed to find Mr. Attorney so much changed in his opinion; for when I was before my Lord Cornbury, who told us the Act of Toleration was limited and local, and extended not to the plantations, Mr. Attorney was pleased to confirm it by asserting the same thing, and went a little further, by producing an argument to strengthen his opinion that the penal laws of England did not extend to the plantations, and the Act of Toleration was made to take off the edge of the penal laws; therefore, the toleration does not extend hither. But we find soon after, by an indictment, both the penal laws and the toleration reach hither, and all their penalties too.

The Hon. Chief Justice, Roger Mompesson, Esq., here interrupted the defendant, by saying: Gentlemen, do not trouble the Court with what passed between you before my Lord, or at any other time, but speak directly to the point.

F. Makemie. May it please your honor, I hope to make it appear that it is to the point; and what was Mr. Attorney's argument then, is now mine. For whatever opinion I was of, while an absolute stranger to New York and its constitution, now, since I have informed myself thoroughly with its constitution, I am entirely of Mr. Attorney's opinion, and hope he will be of the same still.

And as to the indictment, to return to the particulars thereof. First. I am charged with contemning and endeavoring to subvert the supremacy of the Queen in ecclesiastical affairs. As to the Queen's supremacy about ecclesiastical persons and things, we allow and believe she has as large a supremacy as in the Word of God is allowed to any Christian Kings or Princes in the world; and our confession of faith, which will compare with any in the world, and is universally known to the Christian world, is very full in this matter, a part whereof it is judged necessary here to introduce for the information of many.

Chapter 23d. Concerning the Civil Magistrate: "1st. God, the supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates to be under him, over the people, for his own glory and the public good; and, to this end, hath armed them with the civil power of the sword, for the defence and encouragement of them that do well, and for the punishment of evil doers. . . .

3d. The civil magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of Heaven; yet he hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church; that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, and all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed; all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented and reformed; and all the ordinances of God be settled; for the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.

4th. It is the duty of the people to pray for magistrates; to honor their persons; to obey their lawful commands; and to be subject to their authority for conscience sake. Infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from the due obedience to him; from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted; much less hath the Pope any power or jurisdiction over them in their dominions, or over any other people, and least of all to deprive them of their dominions or lives, if he should judge them to be heretics, or upon any pretence whatsoever."

And in all which Mr. Attorney has offered concerning the Queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, I cannot learn one argument or one word from all the quoted statutes, that preaching a sermon is the least contempt or overthrow of the supremacy. And I hope it is not now unknown to any that the oath of supremacy has been abolished by a law ever since

the revolution, and consequently the subjects of the Government must be delivered from some obligation thereby, and how far this will be considered to extend, I leave to the Judges to determine. And as to my preaching without license first obtained from Lord Cornbury, which is asserted to be against law, I cannot hear, from any law yet produced, that Lord Cornbury has any power or directions to grant a license to any Dissenters, or that any of them are under any obligations to take license from his Lordship before they preach or after. Mr. Attorney pretends no law, unless he concludes the Queen's instructions to be law, or to have the force of a law. That they have not the force of a law has been abundantly proved already; neither am I any way culpable, even from the Queen's instructions which have been produced in Court; for they consist of two parts, and are rather two distinct instructions, not relating at all to the same persons. In the first place, his Excellency is required to permit a liberty of conscience to all persons except Papists. And this is the liberty allowed to Dissenters, and which we claim by virtue of this instruction; and here is no license mentioned or required. For permission is a negative act, and implies no more than this: You shall so allow it as not to hinder, molest, or disquiet them, but rather protect them in it. And Papists being particularly expressed, it cannot be applied to the Church of England; therefore Dissenters are intended by this instruction, and no others; and if this permission is granted us, according to the express words thereof, we desire no more. And it cannot be esteemed by any, that imprisoning and punishing us at such a rate for preaching one sermon, is a permitting us liberty of conscience.

The other distinct paragraph, or rather the other instruction, which though joined together in this copy, are at a considerable distance from one another in the original, as we really found it so in a copy of instructions to a former Governor. And as the former concerns Dissenters, so this is intended for the clergy of the Church of England; for the words of the instruction, as you have it above, are these: "You are not to permit any Minister coming from England to preach in your Government, without a certificate from the Right Reverend the Bishop of London, nor any other Minister coming from any other part or place, without first obtaining leave from you our Governor." Here is another instruction which should not be produced or improved against Dissenters; for all mankind, even those of the meanest capacity, must conclude and determine that this concerns only the clergy of the Church of England, who, by their constitution, are under strict obligations to take license or certificate from their ordinary—and such as come to the plantations acknowledge the Bishop of London alone as such; and no Dissenter, either in England or any where else in the Queen's dominions, ever took, or ever was under any obligations to take, a license from the Queens or Kings of England, or any other person or persons whatsoever, until a method and practice has of late been erected and forced into practice at New York. For if our liberty either depended upon a license or certificate from the Bishops of England, or the Governors of America, we should soon be deprived of our liberty of conscience secured to us by law, and repeated resolutions of our present sovereign and gracious Queen, "inviolably to maintain the toleration," which she is pleased to signify in all her royal instructions to all her Governors abroad; which we are the more assured of from the instructions produced in this Court. So that, as the first clause of this latter instruction cannot be applied to any other Ministers but of the Church of England, so the latter clause can be understood of no other but the same sort or species as those who came from England with certificates from the Bishop of London. And it is well known there are Ministers of the Church of England who may come, and who do come not directly from England, but from some other place — as from sundry plantations in America; as Mr. Sharp, now chaplain at Fort Anne, came not directly from England but from Maryland. And I must confess, he being a Minister of the Church of England, and enjoying a considerable benefice thereby, was obliged to comply with the constitution of his own church, and take a license from Lord Cornbury, if none could be produced from the Bishop of London. But all this is foreign to us, and not at all required of any Dissenter in Europe or America. And if there had been any thing in these instructions requiring Dissenters to take any license, or empowering

Governors of the plantations to grant them, which we do not find, then preaching a sermon before such license cannot be judged a crime, deserving such a confinement and prosecution as we have met with; for it has been already made to appear that those instructions cannot have the force of a law, to bind the subject to obedience, or render him culpable for disobedience, seeing promulgation, which is the life of the law, and which alone renders all persons inexcusable, never, as yet, has accompanied these instructions. So, if this be Mr. Attorney's law which we have broken by not obtaining license before preaching, I hope you, gentlemen of the jury, cannot but find we are no way culpable hereby, being neither inconsistent with the Queen's instructions and not against any law.

And as to the last part of the indictment, concerning the penal laws or the sundry statutes against conventicles, they never were designed nor intended by our English legislators for America, or any of the plantations thereof; for they are limited and local acts, all of them restricted to England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, as is manifest from the express words of said laws; neither have they ever been put in execution in any of the plantations till now; yea, they have not been executed in England, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed, for which they were calculated and made, these twenty years past. And when they were put in the most strict and rigorous execution in England, which was about the last of the reign of Charles II, the Dissenters in America lived very quiet, even in such plantations where the Church of England had a full and formal establishment. But, what is more to the point still, even the Roman Catholics, who are excluded from the benefit of the Act of Toleration in England, yet cannot be touched in America by these penal laws. For it is a matter of fact known to all, and I appeal to Mr. Reigniere, if Papists have not liberty and the exercise of their religion, without molestation from penal laws, and even in Maryland, where the Church of England has now a formal establishment, by laws made there. And it is manifestly known, the Assembly of Maryland made a late act against the Roman Catholics, and though it was never executed, because not approved of by the Queen, yet it is a plain demonstration, if the penal laws of England, originally and principally designed against Papish recusants, had extended to the plantations, there would have been no need for such an act of Assembly to be made against them in Maryland.

It is also a further argument that the penal laws never did extend to the plantations; because it was a penalty, in some of them, that persons, after sundry and so many convictions, are to be banished or transported to the American plantations as places removed beyond and free from the lash of penal laws; for to what purpose would their banishment be, if, after a removal from their native land, they should be lashed or ruined afresh by the same penal laws.

And if the penal laws of England do not extend to these plantations where the Church of England has a legal and formal establishment, it cannot be imagined they can take place where there is no particular church or persuasion established by law, and consequently all persuasions there are upon an equal bottom of liberty, as I find to be the case in New York, where there is not one act of the Assembly wherein the name or manner of worship, as it is in the Church of England, is so much as mentioned. And where there is no legal establishment, or any penalties or restrictions on the liberty of any Dissenters, there is no room for, or need of toleration, for where there is no penalty, what are we to be tolerated from?—from pure nullities or nothings, which would seem inconsistent with the thing itself? Therefore, in New York government, all persuasions there are upon an equal level and bottom of liberty, and this is confirmed to all Dissenters, except Papists, and allowed by an act of Assembly, already read in Court. And if Jews, who openly blaspheme the Lord Jesus—Quakers, and Lutherans, and all others, or most persuasions, are allowed even in this government, it is matter of wonder why we only should not be allowed of, but put to molestation, as we now are by my present prosecution. Is it because we are Protestants? Is it because we are nearest alike the established Church of England of any Dissenters? Is it because we are the most considerable body of Protestants in the Queen's dominions? Is it because we have

now, since the Union, a national establishment in Great Britain as nearly related and annexed to the Crown of England as the Church of England themselves? Sure, such proceeding, when known, will and must be a prodigy in England.

Mr. Attorney replied. It was impossible for any man to answer all that had been offered, there was so much said, and by so many.

The defendant told Mr. Attorney he verily believed it was impossible for him to answer what was said, and that it was a great truth which he had asserted.

APPENDIX E

(*Pages 66, 84, Vol. I.*)

PARLIAMENTARY EXAMINATION OF JOSEPH GALLOWAY, MARCH, 1779

THE Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq., By a Committee of The House of Commons. (First printed in London, 1779. Reprint edited by Thomas Balch, Philadelphia, 1855.)

(Mercurii, 16° die Junii, 1779.) COMMITTEE on PAPERS presented to Mr. De GREY, the 19th of March last, pursuant to Address. Mr. MONTAGU in the Chair.

Joseph Galloway, Esq; called in, and examined by Lord George Germaine.

Q. How long have you lived in America?

A. I have lived in America from my nativity to the month of October last, about forty-eight years.

Q. In what part; and what public office have you held?

A. I have lived in the province of Maryland, in the Delaware counties, and in the province of Pennsylvania, chiefly in Philadelphia. My public profession was that of the law.—I practised in all the courts of Pennsylvania, in those of the Delaware counties, and in the supreme courts of New Jersey.—I was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania eighteen years—Speaker of the House twelve.—I was appointed by the Assembly of that province to attend the American Congress, which met the 5th of September, 1774.—During the last war, ["The French and Indian War"] under appointment of the same Assembly, I was one of the Commissioners for disposing of the money granted to the crown, and have been several times a Commissioner to treat with the Indians; and, when Sir William Howe took possession of the city of Philadelphia, at his request I undertook the office of Superintendent of the Police of the city of Philadelphia and its suburbs, of the Port, and of the prohibited Articles.

Q. When did you come over to the British army, and how long did you continue with it?

A. I came over to the royal army in the beginning of December, 1776, and continued with it until the evacuation of Philadelphia, on the 18th of June last.

Q. At the beginning of the present rebellion, when the inhabitants first took up arms, had the people, in general, independence in view?

A. I do not believe, from the best knowledge I have of the state of America at that time, that one-fifth of the people had independence in view.—I wish when I give an opinion, always to give my reasons for it.—The progress of the spirit of independence was very gradual. So early as the year 1754, there were men in America, I may say in the towns of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Williamsburg, who held independence in prospect, and who were determined to seize any opportunity that offered to promote it, by procuring additional persons to their number.—These men, when the Stamp Act was passed, made a

stalking-horse, or screen, of the gentlemen of the law in every part of America, to cover their designs, and to sound the trumpet of opposition against Government ; but avowed, that their conduct was on the ground of obtaining a redress of American grievances, and not with a design to separate the two countries.—Upon this ground, I am confident, the gentlemen of the law acted. When the Tea Act was passed, they made the same use of the merchants who were smugglers in America, as they had done of the lawyers before, still declaring, that they meant not independence.—So late as the sitting of the Congress in 1774, the same men, when charged with it in Congress, and whilst they held it tenaciously and religiously in their hearts, they almost to a degree of profanity denied it with their tongues—and all this was done on their knowledge, that the great bulk of the people of North America was averse to independence.—If we look at the resolves of Congress, down almost to the very period of their declaration of independence, we shall find the same language, the same pretense of obtaining a redress of grievances, held out to the people. And for the same reason, at the very time they declared independence, they gave out, that it was not with a view to a total separation of the two countries, but from necessity ; because, unless they declared independence, the powers of Europe would not trade with them, and they were in great distress for want of a great many foreign necessaries.—So that, from all these circumstances, I am convinced, that not one-fifth part of the people had independence in view. . . .

Q. What was the force under Washington when Sir William Howe landed in Long Island ?

A. From the best information I could get, I believe it was about 20,000 men. Some said more, others said less.

Q. Was their force composed chiefly of militia, or continental troops ?

A. More of militia than continental troops.—They had not then had time to raise by recruiting any great number of men, nor were their States at that time perfectly formed, and therefore could not make the exertion for raising the regular troops which they did afterwards.

Q. Did Washington's army diminish after the battle of Long Island—and what was his force at the end of the campaign, when Gen. Howe was at Trenton ?

A. In consequence of the success on Long Island, New York, the White Plains, and Fort Independence, Washington's army did diminish very rapidly ; insomuch that, when Washington crossed the Delaware, and Sir William Howe marched to Trenton, his army did not consist of more than 3300 men. . . .

Q. After the affair at Trenton, did the Congress find it easy to recruit their army, and what number of troops had Washington with him in the Jerseys during the winter ?

A. Notwithstanding that success, the Congress did not find it easy to recruit their army.—They were obliged to make use of the compulsory methods I have mentioned ; and yet, during the winter, Washington, at Morris Town, from the best information I could get, had not 6000 men. . . .

Q. What number of men did the Congress vote for the campaign of 1777 ?

A. Congress voted for that year 88 battalions, each consisting of 750 men, officers included, making in the whole 66,000 men.

Q. What number did they actually raise for that year ?

A. At the outside, they did not bring into the field 16,000 men.—I think I am beyond the mark in that number.

Q. What was the reason that so small a number of the troops voted were raised ? Was it that the Congress had altered their resolution as to the numbers to be employed, or was it because the men were not to be had ?

A. It was not because the Congress had altered their resolution, but because the men were not to be had.—They made every exertion as usual ; but they had lost in the Canada expedition, at Boston, where they were extremely sickly, killed in battle in the several engagements with the British troops, taken prisoners, and by deaths in the military hospitals,

southward of New York, I think I may safely say, upon good enquiry, nearly 40,000 men.—The people also, at that time, were more averse to the measures of Congress than the year before. (The Rebel States, since the commencement of the rebellion, have lost in their military hospitals, and in battle, in their naval and land service, not much short of 100,000 men, which amount to a fifth part of the white men in America capable of bearing arms.) . . .

Q. Were deserters from the rebel army frequent while Sir William Howe was in Philadelphia?

A. They were frequent—almost daily.—I have known forty-nine come in in a day—many days from ten to fifteen.

Q. What number do you suppose came in to the army at Philadelphia?

A. The deserters were generally sent from head-quarters down to me for examination—from me they went to Mr. Story, the officer appointed to administer the oath of allegiance.—He kept a regular account of their numbers, their names, and the places of their nativity, and I think there were upwards of 2300 qualified at his office; and I believe, on good reason, there might have been upwards of 700 or 800 more not qualified; for I often found, on seeing him in the evening, that the numbers I had sent down to him had not gone, so that I suppose, at least, 3000 came in. . . .

Q. That part of the rebel army that enlisted in the service of the Congress, were they chiefly composed of natives of America, or were the greatest part of them English, Scotch, and Irish?

A. The names and places of their nativity being taken down, I can answer the question with precision.—There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America;—about one-half Irish,—the other fourth were English and Scotch.

Q. What is the character that the Provincials serving in the British army bear? Are they good troops, and have they behaved well when employed?

A. I have understood, as soon as they are disciplined they are very good troops, and have always behaved well; I know of no instance to the contrary.—That I know to be the opinion of many of the military gentlemen.

Q. Do you know anything of the army of the rebels in general, how that is composed—of what country people?

A. I judge of that by the deserters that came over.

Q. What was the sum given as bounty money to a recruit enlisting in our provincial corps?

A. I have understood five hard dollars. . . .

Q. What number of men do you suppose are now serving in our army in America, as Provincials?

A. I have been informed, from 6000 to 7000—but I do not know of my own knowledge.

Q. Were there any number of them embodied as militia in any part of the country where the King's troops have been in possession?

A. I understood, when I was at New York, that there was a body of militia formed at Long Island.—There were none in the Jerseys, nor at Philadelphia.

Q. Were there ever any attempts made to induce the inhabitants to take up arms, and defend the country against the incursions of the Rebels either in Pennsylvania or the Jerseys?

A. Not as militia;—there were corps enlisted in Philadelphia.

Q. What number of men were there in Philadelphia capable of bearing arms?

A. At the desire of Sir William Howe, I numbered the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the suburbs, distinguishing the males from the females, and taking the number of those between 18 and 60 years of age.—There were in Philadelphia and suburbs, within the limits, 4481 males under that description.

Q. Might not those men have been embodied as a militia for the defence of the city?

A. A part of them were Quakers—about one-fourth.—These would not take up arms on any account.—I know no reason why the others might not have been induced to take up arms. . . .

Q. Do you know of any instances of the inhabitants taking up arms of their own accord in support of the King's authority?

A. There was a considerable body of people of the back parts of North Carolina (the rebels in their account called them 1600), who took up arms in support of the King's authority, but they were attacked and defeated by the rebels.—Another body in the peninsula between the Chesapeake and the Delaware (as I was well informed, consisting of 2000), likewise took up arms in support of the King's authority.—Another party in the same peninsula, at another time (consisting of several hundreds), and another in the county of Monmouth, in the Jerseys, consisting of about 100.—And I was well informed, that some of the districts above Albany, at the time that General Burgoyne was advancing towards that place, took up arms, and prevented the disaffected part of the districts from joining General Gates; declaring, that if they went out to join General Gates, they would join General Burgoyne.

Q. Did you find many houses deserted as the army marched through Jersey, or in the way from the Head of Elk to Philadelphia?

A. General Howe happened to land his troops in a part of the country more disaffected than any other part I know; I mean Cecil county in Maryland.—At and about the Head of Elk, a number of inhabitants did desert their houses, and carry off their effects, but not all.—After Sir William Howe had advanced into the country from thence, about eight or ten miles, as near as I can guess, I don't believe that I saw in the whole route of the army, from thence to Philadelphia, consisting of at least seventy miles, above ten, or, at most, fifteen houses deserted.—I think not so many, but I chuse to be under the mark.—The inhabitants were found quietly at home; and, to me, there appeared every mark of pleasure at the troops arriving in the colony. . . .

Q. In what state was Washington's army in respect to clothing in the campaign of 1777?

A. All the deserters who came in to us, except the Virginians, and a very few from the northward, were in a manner naked; they were not clothed fit for the inclemency of the season.—Some of them had linen garments on, and those very ragged and torn.—Some without shoes, very few with whole breeches or stockings—in short, they were objects of distress when they came down to me to be examined. . . .

Q. What was the number of Washington's army at this time at Valley Forge?

A. In the latter end of February, or beginning of March, Washington had not 4000 effective men—from a great variety of accounts, from a number of people who lived by his camp, and from officers of his own army.

Q. By what means were the numbers there diminished after the battle of Germantown?

A. By the means I have described; sickness and desertion.

APPENDIX F

(*Page 94, Vol. I.*)

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN AMERICA BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF VIRGINIA

Some parts of the story of the first legal steps taken in America towards the disestablishment of the Episcopalian Church are told very briefly by Jefferson in a few passages in his *Autobiography* (*Works of Jefferson*, 1854, vol. i., p. 38 et seq.): "The first settlers of this colony [Virginia] were Englishmen, loyal subjects to their king and church. . . . In process of time, however, other sectarisms were introduced, chiefly of the Presbyterian family . . . and by the time of the Revolution a majority of the inhabitants had become dissenters from the established church, but were still obliged to pay contributions to support the pastors of the minority. This unrighteous compulsion, to maintain teachers of what they deemed religious errors, was grievously felt during the regal government, and without hope

of relief. But the first republican legislature which met in '76 was crowded with petitions to abolish this spiritual tyranny. These brought on the severest contests in which I have ever been engaged. The petitions were referred to the committee of the whole house on the state of the country, and after desperate contests in that committee, almost daily, from the 11th of October to the 5th of December, we prevailed so far only as to repeal the laws which rendered criminal the maintenance of any religious opinion, the forbearance of repairing to church, or the exercise of any mode of worship, and further, to exempt dissenters from contributions to the support of the established church. . . . The bill [1785] for establishing religious freedom, the principles of which had to a certain extent been enacted before, I had drawn in all the latitude of reason and right."

The history of the events which led up to this legislation is given at some length in Dr. Robert Baird's work on *Religion in America* (book iii., c. iii.). From this it appears that the result was brought about chiefly through the efforts of the Presbytery of Hanover, ably assisted by their fellow-sufferers in other parts of the State, both of their own and other sects. Mr. Baird's account follows in his own words:

"A very general impression prevails in England, and perhaps elsewhere, that the entire separation of church and state in America was the work of Mr. Jefferson, the third President of the United States, who took a distinguished part in the struggle, and who, upon being charged with the task of drawing up the Declaration of Independence, executed the task so much to the satisfaction of his fellow-citizens. Now, none of Mr. Jefferson's admirers will consider it slanderous to assert that he was a very bitter enemy to Christianity, and we may even assume that he wished to see not only the Episcopal Church separated from the State of Virginia, but the utter overthrow of everything in the shape of a church throughout the country. Still, it was not Jefferson that induced the State of Virginia to pass the Act of Separation. That must be ascribed to the petitions and other efforts of the Presbyterians and Baptists.

"No sooner was war declared, than the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, the highest ecclesiastical body among the Presbyterians of America at that time, addressed to their churches a very judicious and patriotic letter, which, while it displayed a firm spirit of loyalty toward the government of England, evidently and naturally sympathized with the contest then begun—a contest which it was thought could not be abandoned without the sacrifice of their dearest rights. Few persons supposed at that time that the struggle was to end in a separation from the mother country. But when in the following year, the Congress issued its Declaration of Independence, the whole face of matters was changed, and ministers of the Gospel had to make their election—whether they would recognize and obey the act of the Congress or still adhere to the sovereignty of England. Then it was that the first body of clergy of any denomination in America that openly recognized that act, and thereby identified themselves with the cause of freedom and independence, was the comparatively numerous and very influential Presbytery of Hanover in Virginia. At its first meeting after the appearance of the Declaration, that body addressed the Virginia House of Assembly in a memorial, recommending the separation of church and state, and the leaving of the support of the Gospel to the voluntary efforts of its friends. The memorial runs as follows:

"'To the Honorable the General Assembly of Virginia. The memorial of the Presbytery of Hanover humbly represents: that your memorialists are governed by the same sentiments which have inspired the United States of America, and are determined that nothing in our power and influence shall be wanting to give success to their common cause. We would also represent that dissenters from the Church of England in this country have ever been desirous to conduct themselves as peaceable members of the civil government, for which reason they have hitherto submitted to various ecclesiastical burdens and restrictions that are inconsistent with equal liberty. But now, when the many and grievous oppressions of our mother country have laid this Continent under the necessity of casting off the yoke of tyranny, and of forming independent governments upon equitable and liberal foundations, we flatter ourselves that we shall be freed from all the incumbrances which a spirit of domination, prejudice, or bigotry has interwoven with most other political systems. This we are the more

strongly encouraged to expect by the Declaration of Rights [given in Bancroft, vol. iv., ch. xxvi.; for the clause relating to freedom of conscience, inserted by Madison, see vol. i., p. 46], we universally applauded for that dignity, firmness, and precision with which it delineates and asserts the privileges of society, and the prerogatives of human nature; and which we embrace as the Magna Charta of our commonwealth, that can never be violated without endangering the grand superstructure it was designed to sustain. Therefore, we rely upon this Declaration, as well as the justice of our honorable Legislature, to secure us the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of our consciences; and we should fall short in our duty to ourselves, and the many and numerous congregations under our care, were we, upon this occasion, to neglect laying before you a statement of the religious grievances under which we have hitherto labored, that they may no longer be continued in our present form of government.

"'It is well known that in the frontier counties, which are justly supposed to contain a fifth part of the inhabitants of Virginia, the Dissenters have borne the heavy burdens of purchasing glebes, building churches, and supporting the established clergy, where there are very few Episcopalians, either to assist in bearing the expense, or to reap the advantage; and that throughout the other parts of the country there are also many thousands of zealous friends and defenders of our State, who, besides the invidious and disadvantageous restrictions to which they have been subjected, annually pay large taxes to support an Establishment from which their consciences and principles oblige them to dissent; all which are confessedly so many violations of their natural rights, and, in their consequences, a restraint upon freedom of inquiry and private judgment.

"'In this enlightened age, and in a land where all of every denomination are united in the most strenuous efforts to be free, we hope and expect that our representatives will cheerfully concur in removing every species of religious as well as civil bondage. Certain it is, that every argument for civil liberty gains additional strength when applied to liberty in the concerns of religion; and there is no argument in favor of establishing the Christian religion but may be pleaded, with equal propriety, for establishing the tenets of Mohammed by those who believe the Koran; or, if this be not true, it is at least impossible for the magistrate to adjudge the right of preference among the various sects that profess the Christian faith, without erecting a claim to infallibility, which would lead us back to the Church of Rome.

"'We beg leave further to represent, that religious establishments are highly injurious to the temporal interests of any community. Without insisting upon the ambition and the arbitrary practices of those who are favored by government, or the intriguing, seditious spirit which is commonly excited by this, as well as by every other kind of oppression, such establishments greatly retard population, and, consequently, the progress of arts, sciences, and manufactures. Witness the rapid growth and improvement of the Northern provinces compared with this. No one can deny that the more early settlement, and the many superior advantages of our country, would have invited multitudes of artificers, mechanics, and other useful members of society, to fix their habitation among us, who have either remained in their place of nativity, or preferred worse civil governments, and a more barren soil, where they might enjoy the rights of conscience more fully than they had a prospect of doing in this. From which we infer that Virginia might have now been the capital of America, and a match for the British arms, without depending on others for the necessaries of war, had it not been prevented by her religious establishments.

"'Neither can it be made to appear that the Gospel needs any such civil aid. We rather conceive that, when our blessed Saviour declares His kingdom is not of this world, He renounces all dependence upon State power, and as His weapons are spiritual, and were only designed to have influence on the judgment and heart of man, we are persuaded that if mankind were left in the quiet possession of their inalienable religious privileges, Christianity, as in the days of the Apostles, would continue to prevail and flourish in the greatest purity by its own native excellence, and under the all-disposing Providence of God.

"'We would also humbly represent, that the only proper objects of civil government are the happiness and protection of men in the present state of existence; the security of the life, liberty, and property of the citizen, and to restrain the vicious and encourage the virtuous by wholesome laws, equally extending to every individual; but that the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the universal Judge.

"'Therefore, we ask no ecclesiastical establishments for ourselves; neither can we approve of them when granted to others. This, indeed, would be giving exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges to one set of men, without any special public services, to the common reproach and injury of every other denomination. And, for the reasons recited, we are induced earnestly to entreat that all laws now in force in this commonwealth, which countenance religious domination, may be speedily repealed; that all, of every religious sect, may be protected in the full exercise of their several modes of worship; exempted from all taxes

for the support of any Church whatsoever, further than what may be agreeable to their own private choice or voluntary obligation. This being done, all partial and invidious distinctions will be abolished, to the great honor and interest of the State, and every one be left to stand or fall according to his merit, which can never be the case so long as any one denomination is established in preference to others.

"'That the great Sovereign of the universe may inspire you with unanimity, wisdom, and resolution, and bring you to a just determination on all the important concerns before you, is the fervent prayer of your memorialists.'

"Besides this petition from the Presbytery of Hanover, there were others from the Baptists and Quakers. The Baptists had suffered more than any other class of dissenters, and the remembrance of their wrongs, now that their day of power had come, stimulated them to an uninterrupted opposition of seven-and-twenty years to the Established Church. Indeed, they now took the lead in opposing its claims. In 1775 they presented to the General Assembly an address, composed by members who had spontaneously convened, in which they petitioned, 'that they might be allowed to worship God in their own way, without interruption; to maintain their own ministers, separate from others; and to be married, buried, etc., without paying the clergy of other denominations.' To this the Assembly returned a complimentary answer, and an order was made that the sectarian clergy should have the privilege of performing Divine service to their respective adherents in the army, equally with the regular chaplains of the Established Church.

"The above memorial from the Presbyterians, and petitions from the Baptists, Quakers, and others opposed to the Established Church, were met by counter-memorials from the Episcopalians and Methodists, appealing on behalf of the Establishment to the principles of justice, wisdom, and policy. Public faith, it was said, required that the State should abide by its engagements; and that a system of such old standing, and which involved so many interests on the part of persons who had staked their all upon its continued existence, possessed the nature of a vested right, and ought to be maintained inviolate. The wisdom of this course was argued from the past experience of all Christian lands, and from the influence of religious establishments in giving stability to virtue and the public happiness. Policy required it, for it was insisted that, were there to be no establishment, the peace of the community would be destroyed by the jealousies and contentions of rival sects. And, finally, the memorialists prayed that the matter might be referred, in the last resort, to the people at large, as they had the best of reasons for believing that a majority of the citizens would be in favor of continuing the Establishment.

"From this it would seem that, in the conviction of these memorialists, a majority of the population of Virginia were Episcopalians; yet it was confidently maintained in other quarters that two-thirds of the people were at that time Dissenters. I am inclined to think that the greater part professed, or favored Episcopacy, but that a decided majority were opposed to its civil establishment. The memorials led to a long and earnest discussion. The Episcopal Church had for her champions Messrs. Pendleton and R. C. Nicolas, and for her great opponent Mr. Jefferson, who speaks of the contest as the severest in which he was ever engaged. After discussing the subject for nearly two months, the Assembly repealed all the colonial laws attaching criminality to the profession of any particular religious opinions, requiring attendance at the parish churches, and forbidding attendance elsewhere, with the penalties attached thereto. Dissenters were to be exempted in future from compulsory contributions in support of the Episcopal Church. The clergy, however, were to have their stipends continued until the first day in the ensuing year, and had all arrears secured to them. The churches, chapels, glebes, books, plate, etc., belonging to the Episcopal Church, were to remain in her possession. This law was passed on the 5th of December, 1776. The question of having a general assessment for the support of religion was at the same time discussed, but the determination of it was put off to a future day.

"In the course of 1777 and 1778, petitions and counter-petitions continued to be addressed to the Legislature on the subject of religion. Some of the petitions prayed for the

preservation of all that remained of the Establishment; others advocated a general assessment for the support of all denominations; others opposed that suggestion. Some, again, called for the suppression by law of the irregularities of the 'sectaries,' such as their holding meetings by night, and craved that none but 'licensed preachers' should be allowed to conduct the public worship of God. Among the memorials was one from the Presbytery of Hanover, opposing the plan of a general assessment. After reverting to the principles laid down in their first petition, and insisting that the only proper objects of civil governments are the happiness and protection of men in their present state of existence; the security of the life, liberty, and property of the citizens; the restraint of the vicious, and the encouragement of the virtuous, by wholesome laws, equally extending to every individual; and that the duty which men owe to their Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the universal Judge, the Presbytery express themselves as follows:

"'To illustrate and confirm these assertions, we beg leave to observe, that to judge for ourselves, and to engage in the exercise of religion agreeable to the dictates of our own consciences, is an inalienable right, which, upon the principles on which the Gospel was first propagated, and the Reformation from Popery carried on, can never be transferred to another. Neither does the Church of Christ stand in need of a general assessment for its support; and most certain we are that it would be of no advantage, but an injury to the Society to which we belong; and as every good Christian believes that Christ has ordained a complete system of laws for the government of His kingdom, so we are persuaded that by His providence He will support it to its final consummation. In the fixed belief of this principle, that the kingdom of Christ and the concerns of religion are beyond the limits of civil control, we should act a dishonest, inconsistent part, were we to receive any emoluments from human establishments for the support of the Gospel.

"'These things being considered, we hope we shall be excused for remonstrating against a general assessment for any religious purpose. As the maxims have long been approved, that every servant is to obey his master, and that the hireling is accountable for his conduct to him from whom he receives his wages; in like manner, if the Legislature has any rightful authority over the ministers of the Gospel in the exercise of their sacred office, and if it is their duty to levy a maintenance for them as such, then it will follow that they may revive the old Establishment in its former extent, or ordain a new one for any sect that they may think proper; they are invested with a power not only to determine, but it is incumbent on them to declare, who shall preach, what they shall preach, to whom, when, and in what places they shall preach; or to impose any regulations and restrictions upon religious societies that they may judge expedient. These consequences are so plain as not to be denied, and they are so entirely subversive of religious liberty, that if they should take place in Virginia, we should be reduced to the melancholy necessity of saying with the Apostles, in like cases, "Judge ye whether it is best to obey God or men," and also of acting as they acted.

"'Therefore, as it is contrary to our principles and interest, and, as we think, subversive of religious liberty, we do again most earnestly entreat that our Legislature would never extend any assessment for religious purposes to us, or to the congregations under our care.'

"This memorial and, probably still more, the strenuous efforts of the Baptists led, in 1779, to the abandonment of the proposed 'general assessment,' after a bill to that effect had been ordered to a third reading."

The history of the struggle for freedom of worship in New York is thus summed up by a writer in the *Magazine of American History* for 1879 (C. W. Baird, "Civil Status of the Presbyterians in the Province of New York," pp. 620, 621):

"During the quarter of a century immediately preceding the Revolution, a discussion of the whole subject of religious rights, important for its effect upon the popular mind, as well as for the ability displayed in its prosecution, was conducted through the public press by the leading men of the Presbyterian Church in New York. Three of these were eminent lawyers. A fourth was the young pastor of the Wall Street Church, Alexander Cumming, whose spirited appeals and cogent arguments contributed not a little to the force and weight of the pamphlet and newspaper publications of the day. But the names of his parishioners, William Smith, William Livingston, John Morin Scott, are better known in connection with this debate. The battle for religious liberty was well fought, at a time when the great struggle for civil freedom

was beginning, by 'the Presbyterian lawyers' of New York; and not only for their own religious communion, but equally for other Christian bodies. It is certainly to the credit of these advocates of the rights of conscience, that representing a Church which in Great Britain was a Church by law established — one of 'the two Communions' in alliance with the State, the National Church of Scotland — they pleaded the common cause of the Protestant denominations not conforming to the Church of England. By the prominent part they took in this controversy, as well as by their activity in the political discussions of the day, Livingston and his associates incurred suspicion and odium as dangerous men. But their arguments and appeals carried the judgment and the sympathies of the people. The partisans of a Church Establishment were no match for the men who stood forth in defence of the rights of conscience and the freedom of the land from an oppressive ecclesiastical rule."

APPENDIX G

(*Page 121, Vol. I.*)

CHRISTIANITY IN EARLY BRITAIN *

THE earliest reliable mention of the Gospel in Britain belongs to the beginning of the third century, and is by Tertullian. The passage occurs in Tertullian's answer to the Jews, where he zealously defends the position that Christ has come, and is as follows: "As, for instance, by this time the various races of the Gætulians, and manifold confines of the Moors, all the limits of the Spains, and the diverse nations of the Gauls, and the haunts of the Britons, inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ, and of the Sarmatians, and Dacians, and Germans, and Scythians, and of many remote nations, and of provinces and islands, many to us unknown, and which we can scarce enumerate. In all which places the name of Christ who is already come reigns, as of Him before whom the gates of all cities have been opened." In the next sentence it is added: "In all these places dwell the 'people' of the name of Christ."

A similarly incidental remark of Origen, written in or soon after the year 246, implies the same. "When did Britain, previous to the coming of Christ, agree to worship the one God? When the Moors? When the whole world? Now, however, through the Church, all men call upon the God of Israel."

The persecution which began in the latter part of the reign of Diocletian, and continued long in the East, extended also to the Western provinces, but for a briefer time. A few British names are recorded in the list of victims. The martyrdom of St. Alban is referred to the year 305.

The army which carried Constantine in victory to Rome, and first elevated the military banner of the cross, began its march from Britain. How much of a British element it contained we cannot say. But it indicates the convictions prevailing in the province that Constantius, who treated Christians with favor, was greatly beloved by the people. If Constantine was not then himself a believer in Christ, he evinced his belief that the Christians were the stronger party by attaching himself to their side; and the army under his command consisted, beyond all doubt, largely of Christian men. Eight years later (314), at the Council of Arles, there were three bishops from the British provinces south of the Tyne — that is, south of the wall of Hadrian — but none from the north.

Little is known of the British churches for the hundred years after the reign of Constantine. Indirectly, it appears that through the Arian controversy they remained orthodox. "In 363, Athanasius could reckon the Britons among those who were loyal to the catholic faith," although three of their bishops took part in the Council of Ariminum, and accepted the

* Condensed from Dr. James C. Moffat's *The Church in Scotland.*

half-Arian formulary there propounded. In that they did not truly represent their Church at home, and "appear to have returned to the Nicene position." Jerome subsequently declared: "Britain worships the same Christ, observes the same rule of truth, with other Christian countries."

By the imperial constitution of Constantine the Christian Church was woven into the web of general government as the State religion. In its own sphere, like the civil and military departments in theirs, it extended over the whole field of Roman dominion. Corresponding to the civil prefects, the great bishops of the capital cities — Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, with Jerusalem — were elevated to the highest ecclesiastical authority next to the emperor. But by that constitution they could have no power over Christians beyond the bounds of the Empire. In the general Council at Constantinople in 381 that fact was recognized, and action taken accordingly, in a canon ordering that churches planted among barbarians should continue the practice they had been taught by their founders — that is, the missionaries under whom they were converted. That was the position of the British Christians north of the Tyne and Solway during the greater part of the Roman dominion in the island.

On the extreme south of Galloway, the coast of Scotland is divided into three capes by the bays of Luce and of Wigton, with the Solway Firth. The middle cape terminates at Barrow Head in an embankment of sea-worn rocks about two hundred feet high. On the eastern side, about three miles from the apex of the cape, there is a break and depression in the rocky wall, forming a natural harbor of small extent, made safe by a little island lying nearly across its entrance. On that point of land, and by that little harbor of Whithorn, in or about the year 397, landed Ninian, the first Christian missionary to Scotland known by name.

And yet Ninian did not come to an entirely heathen country. More than a hundred years before, Christians had been settled in that province. Ninian was a native of Christian Britain, probably of the northern kingdom of the Welsh (Cumbria or Strathclyde). At Rome he had sought a more complete education than his own country could afford. The constitution of Constantine was then in full force, and the hierarchical system in union with the State, although still new, had already shaped itself into the likeness of civil government. On his return through France, Ninian visited Martin, Bishop of Tours. He arrived at Whithorn, there can be little doubt, with ideas of Christianity formed to some degree upon what was to be found in Rome under Siricius. But nothing is credibly recorded of him at variance with the simple practice of earlier Christians. He built a house for residence and worship and for the education of youth, and preached the gospel there, as well as elsewhere in the country of the southern Picts. Many of that people had heard the message of grace before, but ere Ninian's work was closed, all of those living to the south of the mountains of Dumbartonshire, and perhaps farther north on the eastward, had, in the language of Bede, "forsaken the errors of idolatry and embraced the truth."

Shortly before the date assigned to Ninian's death (432), Palladius arrived as an emissary of Rome — sent not to convert heathen, but to conform existing churches to the Romish model. John of Fordun writes: "The Scots in Scotland had long before been believers in Christ, but had as teachers of the faith and administrators of the sacraments only presbyters and monks, following the rite of the primitive Church." But in the middle of the fifth century the residence of the Scots was in Ireland. And by Irish accounts Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to collect and organize into church order the few scattered Christians among them.

Prosper of Aquitaine, a contemporaneous writer, by whom these facts are stated, records in his chronicle, under the consulship of Bassus and Antiochus (A.D. 431), that Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent to the Scots believing in Christ to be their first bishop. In another work, referring to these two missions of Celestine, he adds that the pope in ordaining a bishop for the Scots, while endeavoring to retain the Roman island Catholic, also made a barbarous one Christian. By the "barbarous" island the writer cannot, in that

connection, mean any other than Ireland ; the Latin word *barbarus* designated it as never having been reduced to Roman government. The Scots of Ireland were still heathen. All the pretended evidence to the contrary has disappeared before the light of sober criticism. There is no testimony to indicate more than a probability that a few believers may have been found amid the mass of a heathen public. To unite these into a Church was the mission of Palladius. He was not sent to convert heathen, but as a bishop to Christians. It proved, however, upon his arrival in Ireland, that Christians were not numerous enough in the country to make his enterprise practicable. Encountering much hardship, he became disheartened, and, leaving Ireland, crossed over to Britain. By a storm at sea, or, quite as likely, by intelligent choice, he was directed to the eastern coast north of the wall of Antonine, where there was a Christian community still without a bishop. Fordun in Kincardineshire became the centre of his operations. There he remained, according to the common account, only a short time, but all the rest of his life, for he there died, as the ancient *Book of Armagh* says, in the territory of the Britons, 432.

Palladius came after the Romans had entirely withdrawn from the whole island. His failure to enforce the Romish ecclesiastical rule as it then stood may have owed something to the fact that he was a foreigner. Romans never were favorites on the north side of Antonine's wall. The people may have been apprehensive that in complying with the wishes of the emissary from Rome they might be submitting to the Roman Empire, and thereby yield to an artifice the independence they had so bravely defended with arms. A persistent enemy no longer able to use force might be suspected of craft.

The efforts of Palladius were addressed to the clergy, whom he sought to instruct in "the Christian law." But there is no account of any conversion to the law, except that of Servanus (St. Serf.), who must have been already a Christian. He is said to have accepted consecration as a bishop at the hands of Palladius. He also baptized and instructed Ternan, a youth of noble birth, who afterwards became a presbyter, and later a bishop. But the story of Ternan is entangled in impossible anachronisms. Both Servanus and Ternan were reputed miracle-workers, and most of what passes for biography of them consists of silly and incredible fables. In short, the undertaking of Palladius seems to have been a failure which later Romish writers attempted to disguise.

While the missionary work of Ninian was going on in Galloway and among the southern Picts, incursions of heathen Picts into the province continued, and heathen Scots from Ireland still harried the western coast. The Scots at that date seem to have been in quest not so much of territory as of plunder and slaves. In one of their raids a youth of sixteen years of age, named Succat and also Patricius, was carried off to Ireland, and sold or assigned to an under-chieftain of the O'Neil, in the county Antrim, who put him to the task of tending cattle.

It is a tradition consistently retained in Scotland that the place of Patrick's birth was on the Clyde, a few miles above Dumbarton, on the northwestern frontier of the Roman province of Valentia, and within what afterward became the native kingdom of Strathclyde. He was the son of a Christian family in a Christian community, who must have derived their Christian instruction from a date earlier than Ninian. His father was a deacon, by name Calpurnius, who had also held the civil office of decurio, and his grandfather, Potitus, had been a presbyter. Their names, as well as that of Patricius himself, being Latin, seem to imply (not certainly that they were of Roman birth, but) that their connection had been with the Roman occupants of their neighborhood, and that their Christianity must have reached them through the same channel.

Patrick writes of himself and his young companions as not faithful to the religious education they had enjoyed.

The hardships of bondage revived and intensified his early religious impressions. After six years he escaped, and carried with him the purpose to prepare himself for returning and preaching the Gospel to the barbarous people of Ireland. His process of preparation is not

very clearly recounted, but it seems to have occupied a number of years; after which, in compliance with repeated admonitions of the Lord, he entered upon the execution of his design — at what date is not closely ascertainable. That commonly given is 432, but some authors argue for an earlier and some for a later year — not plausibly later than 442. (Todd's *St. Patrick*, 391 *et seq.*)

Christianity, as preached by Patrick, observed the simple rites once common to all the churches, Roman as well as the rest, but longest retained in the old, out-of-the-way British churches within which Patrick had received his education. He went to Ireland, not to propagate a sacerdotal system, but from love to Christ and to the souls of men. Of a commission from Rome or from any human authority he makes no mention, but says that it was Christ the Lord who, in a vision, commanded him to go, and the admonition of the Holy Spirit which retained him in the work when once begun. He entered upon his work as a presbyter. Concerning his episcopal rank, where and by whom it was conferred, he does not say. And the pretension that he set up a primacy in Armagh has been shown to be unfounded. (Todd, Introd.; also 475.)

He died at Saul, and was buried at Downpatrick, as is generally believed, near the spot where now stands the Cathedral of Down; in what year is not certain. The event has been put at various dates from 455 to 495. Many arguments are urged in favor of 465, March 17.

The external form of Christianity, as carried by Patrick to Ireland, differed from that which prevailed on the Continent at the same date. Confusion was subsequently introduced into the history by attempts of later Romish writers to cover up that difference, or make it appear as little as possible. Because, if Western Christianity came from Rome, as they all believed it did, they thought there could be no difference. Patrick was not a heretic nor a schismatic. And yet from his own writings, as well as from some events in the state of the later Scottish Church, which the chroniclers could not omit, it is plain that there were differences. That fact, however, did not amount to the argument which they apprehended against the Roman origin of the British churches. For the Christianity of Rome in the fifth century differed on several points from itself in the second. That the practices in the Church of Strathclyde were not, in the sixth century, the same in all respects as those of Rome, or of the national churches elsewhere on the Continent, is not now denied; or that the churches in Ireland within the same period agreed with that of Strathclyde on points whereon they differed from others.

Why did they so agree together, and so differ from Rome?

The answer is, That elsewhere there had been progress in definition and statement of doctrine, in construction of formal orthodoxy, in definition of heresies, in multiplication of rites, in worship and sacramental ceremonies, in clerical practices, in distinctions of clerical ranks, and in the development of a great sacerdotal system in union with the Roman imperial government. In Britain the country lying between the walls had never been Romanized, as were the provinces to the south of it. Its communication with the Christian continent never was as free. A great part of the time, and repeatedly, it was the battle-ground between Romanized and independent Britons. It was cut off from such intercourse the more completely as the Roman force declined, for so the more daring was the heathen force which overran it. According to the best that historical criticism can ascertain, Patrick was a native of the extreme northwestern frontier of that debatable land. It was therefore to be expected that the Irish and Strathclyde churches should agree with each other, as well as that they should differ, in some respects, from those on the Continent.

While Patrick was pursuing his mission in Ireland new settlements of heathen were forming in South Britain. Saxons already had their colonies planted along the whole eastern coast from Kent to Northumberland, extending successively to the districts on the Tweed and Forth, while Norsemen had begun their invasions on the farther northeast. What is now Scotland was greatly distracted by invasion. Scots from Ireland on the west, and

Saxons on the east, expelled or subjugated the earlier inhabitants. The Romanized and Christian Britons of the southeastern coast were driven to the central mountains and their congregations broken up. The people north of the great firths were still chiefly heathen. Galloway, embracing what is now Kirkcudbrightshire, Wigtonshire, and the southern part of Ayrshire, was inhabited by an ancient British race, Christian perhaps to some extent in Roman times, together with a recent Pictish immigration, converted under the preaching of Ninian. A large colony of Scots from Ireland had settled in the West Highlands and made themselves masters of what is now Argyllshire.

The history of Scotland as a nation had not yet begun. It was to take shape and consistency from the slow process of unions, subjugations, annexations and amalgamations of different races, and their conversion to Christianity. At that date the principal seat of Christian profession was the south centre, from the Firth of Clyde to the Solway, and Galloway. Of the former the inhabitants were chiefly of Kymric descent, and recognized their religious as well as ethnic relations with the people of Northwest England and of Wales. But they were weakened by division under several petty kings, and the Church within their bounds suffered greatly from neglect and long-continued warfare with the heathen on both north and east, while their clergy were disorganized. It was the period of intensest conflict between Britons and Saxons—the time of King Arthur's legendary wars, described by Geoffrey of Monmouth as the most successful resistance ever made by Christian Britons to the aggregations of their heathen foes. Arthur's twelve great successful battles seem to have been real, and fought in defence of the Kymric south of Scotland against Picts on the north and Saxons on the east. These contests gave to the hills and valleys of the Clyde and Tweed — countries subsequently fertile in themes of romantic fiction and poetry—a foundation for heroic history. The death of Arthur is referred to A.D. 537, soon after which period a revival of Christianity began among the people whom he had defended.

The birth of Kentigern, an event no less deeply covered with the mirage of mediæval fable, must be referred to the same period. Kentigern, also called Mungo (the Beloved), received his education in connection with that ancient Church north of the Tay once visited by Palladius, although his ordination by Servanus, who had been ordained by Palladius, involves an interval of time which is incredible. Called by the king and clergy of Lanark, with the Christian people, then reduced to a small number, he consented to be their bishop. A bishop was invited from Ireland to ordain him. Thus he entered upon his pastorate five or six years after the death of King Arthur. With long-sustained zeal he carried forward the revival of Christianity within the little kingdom, in opposition to encroaching idolatry. A number of youths, accepting their education from Kentigern, followed his example and aided in the execution of his plans. They did not escape persecution from enemies at home. A strong party in favor of the old Druidical worship divided the nation, and during the rule of a king of their persuasion, Kentigern had to take refuge in Wales. There he remained similarly employed until after the accession of a Christian king in Lanark, Rhyderch Hael, and Rhyderch's victory over the princes, leaders of the heathen party, in the battle of Ardderyd in the year 573. By that victory the Kymric tribes from the Firth of Clyde to Derwentwater were united in one kingdom under the name of Strathclyde, with its fortress-capital Dumbriton, now Dumbarton, in the religious interest of Christianity.

Kentigern was welcomed back to his former charge. At first he took up his residence at Hoddam, in Dumfriesshire, no doubt to encounter approaching heathenism on that frontier of Saxon occupancy. From thence he went into Galloway, and, as Jocelin says, cleansed from the foulness of idolatry and contagion of heresy that home of the Picts. Afterward returning to Glasgow, he continued to pursue his evangelical enterprise without interruption until his death. The principal dates in his life — his birth in 518, his ordination in 543, and his death in 603—are only approximate. His extant biographies—the fragment and the Life by Jocelin — were not written until the twelfth century, more than five hundred years after his time, and are full of absurd miracles in the conventional mediæval style. But, setting

these aside, there is no good reason to doubt that Mungo was the main support of the Christian cause in the south of Scotland at a time when it was declining there under the fierce assaults of heathen enemies. His long-sustained reputation for knowledge and piety procured him influence in missionary excursions beyond the bounds of Strathclyde.

APPENDIX H

(*Page 146, Vol. I.*)

HENRY VIII.'S REFORMATION AND CHURCH

CONSIDERABLE information in regard to the causes which led to the establishment of the Church of England may be found in vols. iv., v., vi., vii., and viii., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* A letter written from England, May 31, 1532, by Eustace Chapuys to his master, the Emperor Charles V., may be cited to show how little the desire for a purer religion had to do with Henry's assumption of the papal functions. This letter is preserved in the Vienna Archives, and is printed at page 479, vol. iv., of the series of State papers to which reference has just been made. It begins as follows: "As the King saw that the clergy would not consent to the abolition of their constitution, he has proposed that they should elect fifteen churchmen who, with the same number of laymen appointed by himself, should correct the episcopal and papal constitutions. He has intimated to them that he did not wish any of his subjects, clerical or not, to swear fealty to the Pope, or any other than himself. The prelates replied that if he would show them anything unreasonable in their constitution, they would amend it without the interference of laymen, that their oath to the Pope was legal and not derogatory to the royal authority. The King was not satisfied with these reasons, and remained obstinate. *His object is to force the Pope to do his will, or in default of this, to prevent the English church from opposing his marriage*," etc.

The following extract from a "Memorial of things to be said in answer to the Emperor by the English ambassadors if the matter of the King's marriage be touched upon and an appeal of the Emperor spoken of," printed on page 2266, vol. iv., of the same series, is an official statement of the grounds on which Henry sought to have his marriage with Catherine set aside and his daughter Mary declared illegitimate: "First, they must take care not to say anything about the case themselves; but if anything be said about it by the Emperor or his councillors which calls for a reply either on the whole case or any part thereof, they are to adapt their answer thereto according to the following instructions: If it be objected that the cause rests on no good foundation, but is instigated by some one in hatred to the Emperor, after so many years, &c., it will then be necessary to relate the origin and progress of the whole affair, how it came to light, how carefully it was examined at home and abroad, then referred to the Pope, discussed at great length before him, and finally committed to be examined, viz.: that whereas the King for some years past had noticed in reading the Bible the severe penalty inflicted by God on those who married the relicts of their brothers, he began to be troubled in his conscience and to regard the sudden deaths of his male children as a Divine judgment. The more he studied the matter the more clearly it appeared to him, that he had broken a Divine law," etc.

Years before Henry's conscience thus began to trouble him, he had written the following letter to Anne Boleyn, a lady-in-waiting at his court who had passed some years at the French Court, and had first come under the King's notice in 1522 or 1523: "I have been in great agony about the contents of your letter not knowing whether to construe them to my disadvantage 'comme en des aucunes autres,' or to my advantage. I beg to know expressly your intentions touching the love between us. Necessity compels me to obtain this answer,

having been more than a year wounded by the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail or find a place in your affection. This has prevented me naming you my mistress; for if you love me with no more than ordinary love, the name is not appropriate to you, for it denotes a singularity far from the common. But if it pleases you to do the office of a true, loyal, mistress, and give yourself body and heart to me, who have been and mean to be your loyal servant, I promise you not only the name, but that I shall make you my sole mistress, remove all others from my affection, and serve you only. Give me a full answer on which I can rely; and if you do not like to answer by letter, appoint some place where I can have it by word of mouth." (*Letters and Papers*, etc., vol. iv., p. 1467.)

Some time afterwards, having duly installed the fair Anne as his mistress, and procured from the Pope the appointment of the pliant Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry was forced by the approaching maternity of his new queen to throw off all pretence of regard for law or religion. He obliged Cranmer to pronounce sentence of divorce between Catherine and himself. This was done May 23, 1533, and the announcement made that Henry and Anne had been privately married during the preceding February—while Catherine was still his acknowledged wife. In the following September, Elizabeth was born. She was the illegitimate one, and the iniquities of her reign — committed in the name of religion, yet chiefly for the purpose of sustaining her questionable title to the crown — were entirely in keeping with the character of her father, and but a further carrying out of Henry's plan of reforming the papal Church by prostituting it to the royal will. The divorce was pronounced by Cranmer in May, 1533. On August 8th of the same year the Pope issued a bull, ordering Henry to restore Catherine and put away Anne within ten days, on pain of excommunication. This Henry refused to do, and sentence of excommunication followed accordingly. The next step in these proceedings was a final severance of the relations between Pope and King, and the passage by Henry's Parliament, 1534–36, of those acts designed to establish the royal supremacy in all causes, temporal or spiritual, and to invest in the English monarch all the power, functions, revenues, and attributes of the Roman pontiff. The substance of many of these enactments is given in volume vii. of the *State Papers of Henry VIII.* One of the most characteristic and significant is of the following tenor (p. 236): "All the friars of every monastery in England must be assembled in their chapter house, and examined separately concerning their faith and obedience to Henry VIII., and bound by an oath of allegiance to him, Queen Anne, and her present and future issue. They must be bound by oath to persuade the people of the above at every opportunity. They must acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church, as Convocation and Parliament have decreed. They must confess that the bishop of Rome has no more authority than other bishops. They shall not call the bishop of Rome, Pope, either publicly or privately, or pray for him as such. They shall not presume to wrest the scriptures, but preach the words and deeds of Christ sincerely and simply, according to the meaning of the holy scriptures and Catholic doctrine. The sermons of each preacher must be carefully examined, and burned if not catholic, orthodox, and worthy of a Christian preacher. Preachers must be warned to commend to God and the prayers of the people, first the King as head of the Church of England, then Queen Anne, with her child, and lastly the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the other orders of the clergy. *Each house must be obliged to show their gold, silver, and other moveable goods, and deliver an inventory of them.* Each house must take oath under their convent seal to observe the above orders."

Some of the provisions of this Act foreshadow the course next pursued by this tyrant, whom Luther denominated the English Pharaoh. Torture and death followed non-compliance with its requirements. Among those who fell victims to the cruel despotism of the new Pope were the venerable and saintly Fisher, the scholarly Sir Thomas More, and a number of others of pure and benevolent character. A later Act, aimed against the Lutheran and other like "heresies," also inaugurated a period of persecution, and twenty-eight Protestant martyrs were sacrificed on the altar of the tyrant's new Church. Then, as soon

as the returns and inventories from the monasteries were in, the Founder of the Church of England proceeded to enrich himself by robbing them of all their lands and treasures. Having passed an act of confiscation through his servile Parliament, vesting the title to all the Church properties in the royal person, he turned the inmates of these establishments out upon the world as beggars or dependents, destroyed their convents and monasteries, and possessed himself of their property. By these means he robbed the old Church of property to the value of more than £38,000,000, expending the greater part of the proceeds of the plunder in debauchery, or in lavish distribution amongst the profligate favorites of his court.

The next scene in this hideous and revolting tragedy called Henry's "reformation," is the murder of Anne Boleyn. Like Catherine, she was the victim of a conspiracy—a conspiracy having in view the same end as the former one, and, like that, participated in by Cranmer and some other shining lights of the new Establishment. Its successful issue was immediately followed by Henry's marriage with Jane Seymour.

It was fitting indeed that this prince of iniquity, who had not hesitated to advertise his first child as the illegitimate fruit of his own incestuous union with Catherine, in order that he might set up Anne Boleyn as her successor, should likewise proclaim the daughter of that successor another man's bastard; and, as before, with the active co-operation of his newly created "Church," rid himself of the second child's mother by a like preposterous charge of incest. Nor is it strange that the system of king-worship installed by this modern Heliogabalus should afterwards be continued by the bigoted and intolerant daughter of one French harlot, and later carried to perfection by the son and grandson of another.

Froude makes a labored attempt to justify the murder of Anne as a matter of state necessity. He says (*History of England*, vol. ii.): "If the Catholics could have fastened the stain of murder on the king and statesmen of England, they would have struck the faith of the Establishment a harder blow than by a poor tale of scandal against a weak, erring, suffering woman: the Protestants, in mistaken generosity, have courted an infamy for the names of those to whom they owe their being, which staining the fountain must stain forever the stream which flows from it." These remarks have led Mr. Charles Knight very pertinently to inquire (*History of England*, vol. ii., c. xx.): "What in truth, have the personal motives which led to the rejection of papal supremacy—what the seizure of first fruits and tenths by the Crown — what the avarice that prompted the destruction of the monasteries — what the burnings for heresy — what the 'six articles' of 1539, by which all men were to be regimented into belief — what have these to do with the Protestant 'fountain,' or the 'stream which flows from it?'"

APPENDIX I

(*Page 147, Vol. I.*)

SCOTLAND VS. THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

Mr. John A. Kasson, in one of his addresses before the Scotch-Irish Society of America, has said:

"It ought to be known more widely than it now is, that the fundamental doctrine of our American Declaration of Independence — that kings are responsible not to God alone, but also to their subjects, and may for cause be overthrown by their subjects — came from Scotland, and from a Scotchman. Although Jefferson's pen wrote it in 1776, he probably derived it from the *Social Compact* of Rousseau, published about 1760. Rousseau may have borrowed it from Locke, who printed it about 1690. Locke may have taken it from the brave Netherlanders, who founded their glorious Dutch republic upon the like declaration in 1581. But in 1579, two years before the Dutch Declaration of Independence, George Buchanan published at Edinburgh, and in Latin, then the common language of European

scholars, his work entitled *De Jure Regni*. . . . He distinctly declared and defended the principle of the responsibility of monarchs to their subjects. This he did during the reign of the arbitrary Elizabeth of England. Buchanan boldly declared that it was the duty of a king to deal justly with his subjects. If he were guilty of oppression, his rights were forfeited, and his subjects freed from their allegiance. If he were a tyrant, they might even put him to death. Such was his doctrine." (*Proceedings Scotch-Irish Society of America*, vol. vi., pp. 135, 136.)

This doctrine was not original with George Buchanan. An English preacher, Christopher Goodman, a native of Chester, having been obliged to leave that country on the accession of Queen Mary, settled in Geneva, where he was associated with John Knox in ministering to the British exiles living there. Here, in 1558, he published a book, entitled, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed of Their Subjects, and Wherein They May Lawfully by God's Worde be Disobeyed and Resisted. Wherein also is Declared the Cause of All This Present Miserie in England, and the Onely Way to Remedy the Same.* John Knox, also, who had studied under Buchanan's preceptor, and who helped so much in preparing the way for the Reformation by his open advocacy of the same principles twenty years before Buchanan's essay was written, did a hundredfold more toward their propagation and practice than did the scholarly Latinist. Writing from Geneva to the Protestant nobility of Scotland under date of December 17, 1557, Knox says: "But now, no farder to trubill you at the present, I will onlie advertis you of sic bruit as I heir in thir partis, uncertainlie noysit, whilk is this, that contradictioun and rebellioun is maid to the autoritie be sum in that realme. In whilk poynt my conscience will not suffer me to keip back from you my consall, yea, my judgment and commandement, whilk I communicat with yow in Godis feir, and by the assurance of his trueth, whilk is this, that nane of you that seik to promot the glorie of Chryst do suddanlie disobey or displeas the establissit autoritie in things lawful, neither yet that ye assist or fortifie such as, for their awn particular caus and warldlie promotioun, wald trubill the same. But, in the bowallis of Chryst Jesus, I exhort yow, that, with all simplicitie and lawful obedience, with boldness in God, and with opin confessioun of your faith, ye seek the favour of the autoritie, that by it (yf possible be) the cause in whilk ye labour may be promotit, or, at the leist, not persecutit: Whilk thing, efter all humill request, yf ye can not atteane, then, with oppin and solemp protestation of your obedience to be given to the autoritie in all thingis not planelie repugnying to God, ye lawfullie may attemp the extreamitie, whilk is, to provyd (whidder the autoritie will consent or no) that Chrystis evangell may be trewlie preachit, and his haly sacramentis rychtlie ministerit unto yow and to your brethren, the subjectis of that realme. And farder ye lawfully may, yea, and theirto is bound, to defend your brethrene from prosecutioun, and tiranny, be it aganis princes or emprioris, to the uttermost of your power; provyding alwayis (as I have said) that nether your self deny lawful obedience, nether yit that ye assist nor promot thois that seik autoritie and preeminence of warldlie glorie." (MS. Letters, pp. 434, 435.)

Again, in a letter to the Queen Dowager of Scotland, written immediately after her suspension from the regency, in 1559, he says: "My toung did both perswade and obtein, that your authoritie and regiment suld be obeyed of us in all things lawfull, till ye declair yourself opin enemie to this comoun welthe; as now, allace, ye have done." In September, 1561, a few days after the arrival of Mary Stuart in Scotland and her assumption of the throne, she summoned Knox to the palace and held an interview with him, in presence of her brother, the Prior of St. Andrews. Among other things she charged him with having taught the people to receive a religion different from that which was allowed by their princes (McCrie's *Life of Knox*, period vii.), and in the argument which ensued Knox sustained his right to follow such a course by instancing the refusal of the Hebrews to conform to the religion of Pharaoh, Daniel to that of the Babylonians, and the early Christians to that of pagan Rome. The Queen admitted the strength of this argument, but added (Knox,

History of the Reformation, book iv.) that "none of these men raised the sword against their princes." "Yet, madam, ye cannot deny but they resisted," said Knox, "for those that obey not the commandments that are given, in some sort they resist." "But yet they resisted not with the sword," continued the Queen. "God, madam, had not given unto them the power and the means." "Think ye," said the Queen, "that subjects having power, may resist their princes?" To this Knox returned the ever-memorable reply, "If their princes exceed their bounds, madam, and do against that wherefore they should be obeyed it is no doubt that they may be resisted, even by power. For no greater honor, or greater obedience is to be given to kings and princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. But the father may be struck with a frenzy, in which he would slay his children. Now, madam, if the children arise, join together, apprehend the father, take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison till the frenzy be over, think you, madam, that the children do any wrong? Even so, madam, is it with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject to them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad frenzy; therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God."

Neither George Buchanan nor John Knox were the originators of this principle, however, for they both learned it from the teaching of John Mair, or Major, a travelled Scotsman who was professor of philosophy and theology at Glasgow University when Knox attended there in 1521–22, and who also taught in the University of St. Andrews a few years later when Buchanan was a pupil at that school. Major had studied much in France, and taught in the University of Paris, and while there is said to have imbibed the sentiments of John Gerson and Peter D'Ailly, which were inimical to the supreme power of the Roman pontiff in affairs ecclesiastical. From two of his books that were printed in Paris in 1517 and 1518 (*Commentaries on the Third Book of the Master of Sentences*, and *Exposition of Matthew's Gospel*), it appears that Major taught that a General Council was superior to the pope, and might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity; denied the temporal supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone princes; maintained that ecclesiastical censures and even papal excommunications, had no force, if pronounced on irrelevant or invalid grounds. His political teachings were no less remarkable for their boldness in that age of feudal authority. They were, substantially, that "the authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people; that the former were not superior to the latter as a class; that if rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and may even be deposed by the community as the superior power; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishment."

McCrie, in his *Life of Knox*, Note D, after giving the foregoing statement of Major's opinions, quotes from him as follows: "Of Major's Political Sentiments.—The following are some of the passages from which the account of these, given in the text, has been drawn. Similar sentiments occur in his History of Scotland; but as it has been insinuated that he, in that work, merely copied Boece, I shall quote from his other writings, which are more rarely consulted. 'Ad policiam regalem non requiritur quod rex sit supra omnes sui regni tam regulariter quam casualiter—sed sat est quod rex sit supra unumquemlibet, et supra totum regnum regulariter, et regnum sit supra eum casualiter et in aliquo eventu.' Again, 'Similiter in regno: et in toto populo libero est suprema fontalis potestas inabrogabilis; in rege vero potestas mysterialis [ministerialis?] honesto ministerio. Et sic aliquo modo sunt duo potestates; sed quia una ordinetur propter aliam, potest vocari una effectualiter, et casu quo regnum rex in tyrannidem convertat et etiam incorrigibilis, potest a populo deponi, tanquam a superiore potestate."—*Expos. Matth.*, fol. 71, a. c. Paris, 1518. To the objection urged against this principle from the metaphorical designation of head given to a king, he answers: "Non est omnino simile inter caput verum et corpus verum, et inter caput mysticum et corpus

mysticum. Caput verum est supra reliquam partem sui corporis, et tamen nego regem esse majoris potestatis quam reliquam partem sui regni," etc.— *Ibid.*, fol. 62, b. "Rex utilitatem reipublicæ dissipans et evertens incorrigibilis, est deponendus a communitate cui præest. Rex non habet robur et auctoritatem nisi a regno cui libere præest."— *Ibid.*, fol. 69, c. Speaking of the excision of a corrupt member from the human body, in illustration of the treatment of a tyrant, he says: "Cum licentia totius corporis veri tollitur hoc membrum; etiam facultate totius corporis mystici, tu, tamque minister comitatis, potes hunc tyrannum occidere, dum est licite condempnatus."— *Tert. Sentent.*, fol. 139, c. d. Paris, 1517.

Although not a profound historian, Major is eminently sensible in his ideas of government, and argues against the "divine right" of kings in the coolest fashion. When discussing in his formal scholastic style the relative claims of Baliol and Bruce to the crown, he gives expression to the boldest political sentiments: "A free people confers power on the first king, whose authority is derived from the whole community; Fergus, the first king of Scotland, had no other right, and so is it everywhere, and commonly has been from the beginning of the world." Again: "The people may depose a king for his offences, and exclude his family from the throne, just as it possessed the right at first to appoint him"; and once more: "As to kings, that should be done which is most for the good of the commonwealth: for example, if a state is attacked by the enemy in such a way that a king A cannot defend it, but allows it to be crushed, and if B wrests it from the grip of the enemy, and holds it with a strong hand; then A ought to be deposed and B put in his place." The same opinions are even more boldly stated in his commentaries on Petrus Lombardus. In such passages as we have quoted we recognize the teacher of Knox and Buchanan, and are of opinion, with Christopher Irvine, that he deserved better treatment at the hands of the latter than to be made the subject of a paltry sneer, "solo cognomine Major." *

APPENDIX J

(*Page 148, Vol. I.*)

THE REPRESSION OF TRADE IN IRELAND †

Up to the time of the Restoration no legislative disability rested upon Irish industry, but the people who had but recently acquired the rudiments of civilization had been plunged by the Cromwellian wars into a condition of wretchedness hardly paralleled in history. At last, however, peace had come, and it was hoped that some faint gleams of prosperity would have dawned. Crowds of Cromwellian soldiers, representing the full average of English energy and intelligence, had been settled on the confiscated lands, and in the utter ruin of the native population the resources of the country were to a great degree in their hands. The land was chiefly pasture, and the main source of Irish wealth was the exportation of cattle to England. The English landowners, however, speedily took alarm. They complained that Irish rivalry in the cattle market lowered English rents, and laws were accordingly enacted in 1665 and 1680, absolutely prohibiting the importation into England, from Ireland, of all cattle, sheep, and swine, of beef, pork, bacon, and mutton, and even of butter and cheese.

In this manner the chief source of Irish prosperity was annihilated at a single blow. Crushing, however, and fatal as was this prohibition, it was not the only one. The Irish, though far too poor to have any considerable commerce, had at least a few ships afloat, and

* See McCrie's *Life of Knox*, period i.

† Condensed from Lecky's *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i., ch. ii.

there were some slight beginnings of a colonial trade. It was feared that under more favorable circumstances this might attain considerable proportions. The two great geographical advantages of Ireland are her proximity to America and her admirable harbors. In the original Navigation Act of 1660 Irish vessels had all the privileges accorded to English ones, but in the amended Act of 1663 Ireland was omitted, and she was thus deprived of the whole colonial trade. With a very few specified exceptions no European articles could be imported into the English colonies except from England, in ships built in England and chiefly manned by English sailors. With a very few specified exceptions, no articles could be brought from the colonies to Europe without being first unladen in England. In 1670 the exclusion of Ireland was confirmed, and in 1696 it was rendered still more stringent, for it was provided that no goods of any kind could be imported directly from the colonies to Ireland. In this manner the natural course of Irish commerce was utterly checked. Her shipping interest was annihilated, and Swift hardly exaggerated when he said: "The conveniency of ports and harbors which nature bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon."

Such measures might easily have proved fatal to the industrial development of such a country as Ireland. In the period, however, that elapsed between the Restoration and the Revolution a very remarkable industrial spirit had arisen, and serious and persevering efforts were made by the Protestant colonists to utilize the great natural advantages of the country. Ireland at last enjoyed a period of profound peace, and the religious liberty which was established effected a rapid improvement in her social condition. It was true that the great mass of the people were impoverished, half-civilized, and divided, but it was also true that taxes were lower than in England, that land, living, and labor were extremely cheap, and that the events of the civil war had drawn into the country numbers of able and energetic Englishmen. Being forbidden to export their cattle to England, the Irish landowners turned their land into sheep-walks, and began, on a large scale, to manufacture the wool. As early as 1636 Strafford noticed that there were some small beginnings of a clothing trade in Ireland, and he promised to discourage it to the utmost, lest it should interfere with the woollen manufacture in England. "It might be feared," he added, "they might beat us out of the trade itself by underselling us, which they were well able to do." But after this time the manufacture was for some years unmolested and even encouraged by several Acts of Parliament. The export of raw wool from Ireland to foreign countries had been forbidden under Charles II., but as the same restriction was imposed on English wool, Ireland was in this respect at no disadvantage. It was no doubt a grave disadvantage that she was excluded by the Navigation Act from the whole colonial market, but the rest of the world at least was open to her manufactures. On the prohibition of the export of Irish cattle, the manufacture began to increase. The quality of the wool was supremely good. A real industrial enthusiasm had arisen in the nation. Great numbers of English, Scotch, and even foreign manufacturers came over. Many thousands of men were employed in the trade, and all the signs of a great, rising industry were visible. If it was an object of statesmanship to make Ireland a happy country, to mitigate the abject and heartrending poverty of its people, and to develop among them habits of order, civilization, and loyalty, the encouragement of this industrial tendency was of the utmost moment. If it was an object beyond all others to make Ireland a Protestant country, the extension of a rich manufacturing population, who would for some generations at least be mainly Protestant, would do more to effect this object than any system of penal laws or proselytizing schools. Unfortunately there was another object which was nearer the heart of the English Parliament than either of these. After the Revolution, commercial influence became supreme in its councils. There was an important woollen manufacture in England, and the English manufacturers urgently petitioned for the total destruction of the rising industry in Ireland. Their petitions were speedily attended to. The House of Lords represented to the King that "the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of materials

for making all manner of cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here." The House of Commons in very similar terms urged William "to enjoin all those you employ in Ireland to make it their care, and use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures." The King promised to do as he was requested. A Parliament was summoned in Dublin, in September, 1698, for the express purpose of destroying the Irish industry. The Irish Parliament was then, from the nature of its constitution, completely subservient to English influence, and had it been otherwise, it would have had no power to resist. The Lords Justices in their opening speech urged the House to encourage the linen and hempen manufacture instead of the woollen manufacture, which the English desired to monopolize. The Commons in reply promised their hearty endeavors to establish a linen and hempen manufacture in Ireland, expressed a hope that they might find "such a temperament" in respect to the woollen trade as would prevent it from being injurious to that of England, and proceeded, at the instance of the Government, to impose heavy additional duties on the export of Irish woollen goods. They laid an export duty of four shillings in the pound on all broadcloths carried out of Ireland, and half as much on kerseys, flannels, and friezes, amounting in itself to a complete prohibition; while, to make assurance more sure, the English Parliament passed an act prohibiting the export out of Ireland of either wool or woollen manufactures to any country but England, to any port in England except six on St. George's Channel, and only from the six towns of Dublin, Youghal, Kingsale, Cork, and Waterford. The English, however, were still unsatisfied. The Irish woollen manufactures had already been excluded by the Navigation Act from the whole colonial market; they had been virtually excluded from England itself, by duties amounting to prohibition. A law of crushing severity, enacted by the British Parliament in 1699, completed the work and prohibited the Irish from exporting their manufactured wool to any other country whatever. So ended the fairest promise Ireland had ever known of becoming a prosperous and a happy country. The ruin was absolute and final. "Ireland," wrote Swift a few years later, "is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state. Yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an Act of Navigation, to which we never assented, pressed down upon us and rigorously executed." The main industry of Ireland had been deliberately destroyed because it had so prospered that English manufacturers had begun to regard it as a competitor with their own.

The effect of this policy was ruinous in the extreme. It had become abundantly evident to all reasonable men that England possessed both the power and the will to crush every form of Irish industry as soon as it became sufficiently prosperous to compete in any degree with her own manufactures. It appeared useless to persist, and a general commercial despondency prevailed. The leading manufacturers at once emigrated to England, to America, or to the Continent. Many thousands of Irish Protestants took refuge in the colonies, and the possibility of balancing the great numerical strength of the Catholics was forever at an end. The Irish, forbidden to export their woollen manufactures to any country whatever or their raw wool to any country except England, were driven almost necessarily to seek a market for their produce in a smuggling trade with France.

It was computed by a contemporary writer that the woollen manufacture which was ruined in 1699 afforded employment to 12,000 Protestant families in the metropolis, and to 30,000 dispersed over the rest of the kingdom. (See O'Conor's *Hist. of the Irish Catholics*, p. 149.) According to Hely Hutchinson, in two years after the prohibition, from 20,000

to 30,000 workers in wool had to be supported by charity. (*Commercial Restraints*, pp. 209, 210.) For nearly fifty years after its destruction the people were in such a state of poverty that every bad season produced an absolute famine. The Journals of the Irish Parliament are full of complaints of the decay of trade, and the miserable destitution of the people. It was found necessary to reduce the army. The revenue repeatedly fell short.

As to how England adhered to the linen compact, Mr. Hely Hutchinson's summary of the story will suffice.

"It is true you promised, in return for the restraints, to encourage our linen manufacture. But how have you done it? By giving large bounties for the making of coarse linen in the Highlands of Scotland — bounties on the exportation of English linen — opening the linen manufacture to all persons without serving apprenticeships, and imposing a tax of 30 per cent. on all foreign linens, which has been construed to extend to Irish printed, stained, dyed, striped, or chequered."

"Will you," Hutchinson asked, with prophetic indignation, "will you have an increased population employed at home, where they will contribute to the wealth and strength of the state; or shall they emigrate to America, where it is possible they may assist in dismembering the British empire?"

APPENDIX K

(*Page 148, Vol. I.*)

THE TEST ACT, ETC.*

An act, passed under Charles II., had required the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy as a condition of acquiring property in corporate towns. Had the law been observed, the late rebellion would have been prevented. Limerick and Galway being places of great military importance, the English Council had now consented to the clause which forbade fresh Papist families from settling there; while Papists already occupying tenements within the walls were required to find security for their good behavior. A blow was aimed also at local superstitions, by an order that all crosses, pictures, inscriptions, and objects of public devotion should be destroyed by the magistrates; gatherings at stations and places of pilgrimage were to be treated as riotous assemblies, and persons collecting on such occasions were to be fined or publicly whipped.

Such was this act as it affected Catholics after being remodelled by the English Cabinet; but provisions were attached which reflected the double-edged intolerance of the members of the Anglican communion. A special section declared that no person should take benefit by the act as a Protestant, who did not conform to the Church of Ireland as by law established. If, on the death of a Protestant landowner, the natural heir was a Catholic, the Catholic was disabled; but if the Protestant next of kin, to whom the estate would lapse, happened to be a Presbyterian, he was to be passed over in favor of a more remote member of the Establishment. As if this was not enough, the English Test Act, of which, in the previous correspondence, not a word had been breathed, was found to have been introduced as a parenthesis. The taking the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church was made a condition of holding any office, civil or military, under the Crown, above the rank of a constable. The exclusive privileges so long desired by the Irish bishops were thrown into their hands as a makeweight in a bill of a totally opposite tendency. The Presbyterians, the Independents, the Huguenot immigrants, the Quakers, not protected in their public worship, like the English Dissenter, by a Toleration Act, were swept under the same political disabilities, and were at once cut off from the army, the militia, the civil service, the commission of the peace, and from seats in the municipal corporations.

* Condensed from Froude and Lecky.

The bishops had been bribed into consenting to the Popery Bill by the clause against the Dissenters; and they settled to their work, when the law was passed, with the zeal of heartfelt enjoyment. The Presbyterian magistrates in Ulster were cleared out. "Men of little estate, youths, new-comers, and clergymen, having nothing to recommend them but their going to church," were appointed in their places. Out of twelve aldermen of Derry, ten were Nonconformists, and were ejected. At Belfast the entire corporation was changed; and, the power being now in their hands in town and country, the bishops fell upon the grievance that had so long afflicted them,—the Presbyterian marriages. Catholic marriages did not trouble them; for Catholic priests were lawfully ordained, and could perform valid sacraments. Dissenting ministers were unsanctified upstarts, whose pretended ceremonial was but a license for sin. It was announced that the children of all Protestants not married in a church should be treated as bastards, and, as the record of this childish insanity declares, "Many persons of undoubted reputation, were prosecuted in the bishops' courts as fornicators for cohabiting with their own wives."

For some years after the Revolution a steady stream of Scotch Presbyterians had poured into the country, attracted by the cheapness of the farms or by the new openings for trade, and in the reign of Anne the Nonconformists boasted that they at least equalled the Episcopalian Protestants in Ireland, while in the province of Ulster they immensely outnumbered them. In 1715, Archbishop Synge estimated at not less than 50,000 the number of Scotch families who had settled in Ulster since the Revolution. Three years later Bishop Nicholson, writing from Londonderry, states that this parish—which extended far beyond the walls—though one of the most Episcopalian in the province, contained 800 families of Protestant Nonconformists, and only 400 of conformists, while in some of the parishes in his diocese there were forty Presbyterians to one member of the Established Church. But the political power of the Dissenters even before the imposition of the test was by no means commensurate with their number, for they were chiefly traders and farmers, and very rarely owners of the soil. In the House of Lords they were almost unrepresented. In the House of Commons they appear to have seldom if ever had more than twelve members. When the Test Act expelled them from the magistracy only twelve or thirteen were deprived. In the province of Ulster, Archbishop Synge assures us that there were not in his time more than forty Protestant Dissenters of the rank of gentlemen, not more than four who were considerable landowners, and, according to Bishop Nicholson, they had not one share in fifty of the landed interest in that province. (Archbishop Synge's Letters, p. 35, British Museum Add. MSS., 6, 117. Nicholson's MSS. Letters, p. 157.) Abernethy gave a higher estimate in 1751. He says: "The Protestant Dissenters in Ireland are half of its Protestant inhabitants in the Province of Ulster. As appears by authentic accounts lately sent from it there are about 50,000 families of Dissenters, and consequently about 216,000 souls. In three counties (Down, Antrim, and Tyrone), there are about sixty Dissenting gentlemen who possess estates from 200 £. to 1,400 £. a year."—Abernethy's *Scarce Tracts*, p. 61.

In 1708 and the two following years, the Whig element having again become supreme in England, the Government was very desirous of retracing its steps, and the administration of Lord Wharton did all in its power to induce the Irish Parliament to repeal the test. It soon, however, discovered that in neither House of Parliament was it possible to carry the repeal. The bishops were unanimous against it. Only a single voice was raised for it in convocation, and in the House of Commons a similar feeling prevailed. The Presbyterians by this time numbered rather more than 130 congregations in Ulster, besides a few in Leinster and Munster. In the North their worship seems to have been at this time entirely unrestricted, but the absence of a legal toleration put a ready weapon into the hands of malignant or fanatical men, and in Drogheda a High Church dean and a High Church mayor gave much trouble to two successive Presbyterian ministers, who had been sent on a missionary expedition by the synod of Armagh, and they even kept one of them for some weeks in confinement. The Government interposed in their favor, and Archbishop Marsh, who was

then primate, strongly censured the intolerant zeal that had been displayed. When the ministry of Godolphin was shattered, and the Church power was again in the ascendant in England, the Regium Donum was withdrawn, some meetinghouses in the North were closed, and the English Parliament, by its own authority, extended the Schism Act to Ireland. But the death of the Queen speedily changed the aspect of affairs, and the accession of George I. placed the friends of the Dissenters for a long period at the helm.

In 1715, when rebellion was raging in Scotland, the Irish Presbyterians, with a very praiseworthy loyalty, and with the full assent of the Government, enrolled themselves in the militia, and held commissions in it, in defiance of the test. They were only protected from prosecution by resolutions of the House of Commons, In 1719 a Toleration Act like that of Scotland was at last carried, partly by the assistance of some English bishops, in spite of the efforts of the King to reduce it to the limits of the English Act, and it was accompanied by an indemnity securing from prosecution Nonconformists then holding civil or military offices, and receiving pay from the Crown. Similar indemnity Acts were from this time passed almost every session in Ireland as in England, and they reduced to small practical importance the grievance of the test. In 1737 an important Act was carried, which, without formally authorizing marriages by Presbyterians, secured them from prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts, and thus put an end to a large amount of vexatious and expensive legislation. It was not, however, till a much later period, when the sentiment of nationality had begun to animate the Irish legislature, and the ecclesiastical spirit had greatly declined, that the last disabilities of the Dissenters were removed.

APPENDIX L

(*Page 148, Vol. I.*)

TITHES AND OPPRESSIONS IN ULSTER

THE *Letters Written by Hugh Boulter, D.D., Lord Primate of Ireland* (2 vols., Oxford, 1749), contain some epistles which give us the best contemporary view of that Scottish emigration from Ulster to North America which occurred during the third decade of the eighteenth century. The fourth letter here reprinted is especially valuable in detailing the grievances which led to this emigration. It also appears in Francis Plowden's *Historical Review of the State of Ireland* (London, 1803, vol. i., pp. 248–250):

DUBLIN, Feb. 17, 1727–8.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury:

MY LORD:—I lately troubled your Grace with an account of three bills we are sending from here. I shall now trouble you with two or three more, in the passing of which in England I must desire your Grace's assistance.

The first relates to the more easy recovering of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues of small value. The value settled in the bill is not exceeding 40*s*. . . .

The usual way of suing for tithes here, is in the spiritual courts; and for the small portion people are to pay here, it will not often be worth while to go into the Exchequer. Now, when one of these sorry wretches is put into the spiritual court, he usually incurs contempt for non-appearance, and afterward falls under the sentence of excommunication, which he does not regard. If a clergyman should then be at the expense of taking out a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, and take the defendant up, the cost of the suit and tithes recovered would absolutely beggar the poor wretch; so that these causes are seldom carried through; but when the fellow is found not to be frightened with excommunication (which, considering the number of Dissenters and Papists here, is most generally the case), it is dropped.

To the Duke of Newcastle [Secretary of State]: DUBLIN, Mar. 7, 1727–8.

MY LORD:—. . . Since I came here in the year 1725, there was almost a famine among the poor. Last year, the dearness of corn was such that thousands of families quitted their habitations to seek bread elsewhere, and many hundreds perished. This year, the poor had consumed their potatoes, which is their winter subsistence, near two months sooner than ordinary, and are already, through the dearness of corn, in that want that, in some places they begin already to quit their habitations.

To Lord Carteret [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland]: DUBLIN, Mar. 8, 1727–8.

MY LORD:—. . . We have by this post sent your Excellency the Memorial lately delivered to us by the dissenting ministers here from the letters of their friends in the North. We objected to two heads of it, as we have acquainted your Excellency. But there is another part, relating to the grievances about tithes, which is very far from being true. I do not doubt but some persons in the North may have been oppressed by the farmers of tithes. But I have, at every visitation I have held, had as great complaints from the clergy of the hardships put upon them by the people, in coming at their just dues, as the people can make of being anyways oppressed by the clergy or their tithe-farmers; and, I believe, with as much reason. As to the expensiveness of the spiritual courts, which they complain of, that will be very much avoided by the Act passed last session for the more easy recovery of tithes of small value. And indeed, the gentlemen have, ever since I came hither, been putting it into the heads of their tenants, that it was not their rents, but the paying of tithes, that made them find it hard to live on their farms. And it was easy to see that this was a notion that would readily take with Scotch Presbyterians.

To the Bishop of London: DUBLIN, Mar. 13, 1728.

MY LORD:—As we have had reports here that the Irish gentlemen in London would have the great burthen of tithes thought one of the chief grievances, that occasion such numbers of the people of the North going to America, I have for some time designed to write to your lordship on that subject.

But a memorial lately delivered in here by the Dissenting ministers of this place, containing the causes of this desertion, as represented to them by the letters of their brethren in the North (which memorial we have lately sent over to my lord lieutenant), mentioning the oppression of the ecclesiastical courts about tithes as one of their great grievances: I found myself under a necessity of troubling your lordship on this occasion with a true state of that affair, and of desiring your lordship to discourse with the ministry about it.

The gentlemen of this country have ever since I came hither been talking to others, and persuading their tenants, who complained of the excessiveness of their rents, that it was not the paying too much rent, but too much tithe that impoverished them: and the notion soon took among the Scotch Presbyterians, as a great part of the Protestants in the North are, who it may easily be supposed do not pay tithes with great cheerfulness. And indeed I make no doubt but the landlords in England might with great ease raise a cry amongst their tenants of the great oppression they lay under by paying tithes.

What the gentlemen want to be at is, that they may go on raising their rents, and that the clergy should still receive their old payments for their tithes. But as things have happened otherwise, and they are very angry with the clergy, without considering that it could not happen otherwise than it has, since if a clergyman saw a farm raised in its rent *e. g.*, from 10 to 20 l. per annum, he might be sure his tithe was certainly worth double what he formerly took for it. Not that I believe the clergy have made a proportionable advancement in their composition for their tithes to what the gentlemen have made in their rents. And yet it is upon this rise of the value of the tithes that they would persuade the people to throw their distress.

In a conference I had with the Dissenting ministers here some weeks ago, they mentioned the raising the value of the tithes beyond what had been formerly paid as a proof

that the people were oppressed in the article of tithes. To which I told them, that the value of tithes did not prove any oppression, except it were proved that that value was greater than they were really worth, and that even then the farmer had his remedy by letting the clergy take it in kind.

And there is the less in this argument, because the fact is, that about the years 1694 and 1695, the lands here were almost waste and unsettled, and the clergy in the last distress for tenants for their tithes, when great numbers of them were glad to let their tithes at a very low value, and that during incumbency, for few would take them on other terms : and as the country has since settled and improved, as those incumbents have dropped off, the tithe of those parties has been considerably advanced without the least oppression, but I believe your lordship will think not without some grumbling. The same, no doubt, has happened when there have been careless or needy incumbents, and others of a different character that have succeeded them.

I need not mention to your lordship that I have been forced to talk to several here, that if a landlord takes too great a portion of the profits of a farm for his share by way of rent (as the tithe will light on the tenant's share) the tenant will be impoverished : but then it is not the tithe but the increased rent that undoes the farmer. And indeed in this country, where I fear the tenant hardly ever has more than one third of the profit he makes of his farm for his share, and too often but a fourth or perhaps a fifth part, as the tenant's share is charged with the tithe, his case is no doubt hard, but it is plain from what side the hardship arises.

Another thing they complain of in their memorial is, the trouble that has been given them about their marriages and their school-masters. As to this I told them, that for some time they had not been molested about their marriages ; and that as to their school-masters, I was sure they had met with very little trouble on that head, since I had never heard any such grievance so much as mentioned till I saw it in their memorial.

Another matter complained of is the sacramental test, in relation to which I told them, the laws were the same in England.

As for other grievances they mention, such as raising the rents unreasonably, the oppression of justices of the peace, seneschals, and other officers in the country, as they are by no ways of an ecclesiastical nature, I shall not trouble your lordship with an account of them, but must desire your lordship to talk with the ministry on the subject I have now wrote about, and endeavor to prevent their being prepossessed with any unjust opinion of the clergy, or being disposed, if any attempt should be made from hence to suffer us to be stript of our just rights.

DUBLIN, Mar. 13, 1728.

To the Duke of Newcastle :

MY LORD :—As we are in a very bad way here, I think myself obliged to give your Grace some account of it.

The scarcity and dearness of provision still increases in the North. Many have eaten the oats they should have sowed their land with ; and except the landlords will have the good sense to furnish them with seed, a great deal of land will lye idle this year. . . .

The humour of going to America still continues, and the scarcity of provisions certainly makes many quit us. There are now seven ships at Belfast, that are carrying off about 1000 passengers thither ; and if we knew how to stop them, as most of them can neither get victuals nor work, it would be cruel to do it. . . .

The dissenting ministers here have lately delivered in a memorial, representing the grievances their brethren have assigned as the causes, in their apprehension of the great desertion in the North. As one of these causes relates to the ecclesiastical courts here, and as it is generally repeated here that the Irish gentlemen at London are for throwing the whole occasion of this desertion on the severity of tithes, I have by this post written to the Bishop of London a very long letter on that subject, and have desired him to wait on the ministry, and discourse with them on that head.

To the Duke of Newcastle: DUBLIN, July 16, 1728.

MY LORD:—. . . We have hundreds of families (all Protestants) removing out of the North to America; and the least obstruction in the linen manufacture, by which the North subsists, must occasion greater numbers following; and the want of silver increasing, will prove a terrible blow to that manufacture, as there will not be money to pay the poor for their small parcels of yarn.

To the Duke of Newcastle: DUBLIN, Nov. 23, 1728.

MY LORD:—I am very sorry I am obliged to give your Grace so melancholy an account of the state of this kingdom, as I shall in this letter; but I thought it my duty to let his Majesty know our present condition in the North. For we have had three bad harvests together there, which has made oatmeal, which is their great subsistence, much dearer than ordinary; and as our farmers here are very poor, and obliged as soon as they have their corn to sell it for ready money to pay their rents, it is much more in the power of those who have a little money, to engross corn here, and make advantage of its scarceness, than in England.

We have had for several years some agents from the colonies in America, and several masters of ships, that have gone about the country and deluded the people with stories of great plenty, and estates to be had for going for, in those parts of the world; and they have been the better able to seduce people, by reason of the necessities of the poor of late.

The people that go from here make great complaints of the oppressions they suffer here, not from the Government, but from their fellow-subjects, of one kind or another, as well as of the dearness of provisions, and they say these oppressions are one reason of their going.

But whatever occasions their going, it is certain that above 4200 men, women, and children have been shipped off from hence for the West Indies [*i. e.*, North America] within three years, and of these, above 3100 this last summer. Of these, possibly one in ten may be a man of substance, and may do well enough abroad; but the case of the rest is deplorable. The rest either hire themselves to those of substance for passage, or contract with the masters of ships for four years' servitude when they come thither; or, if they make a shift to pay for their passage, will be under the necessity of selling themselves for servants when they come there.

The whole North is in a ferment at present, and people every day engaging one another to go next year to the West Indies. The humour has spread like a contagious distemper, and the people will hardly hear anybody that tries to cure them of their madness. The worst is, that it affects only Protestants, and reigns chiefly in the North, which is the seat of our linen manufacture.

This unsettled state puts almost a stop to trade, and the more so, as several who were in good credit before have taken up parcels of goods and disposed of them, and are gone off with the money, so that there is no trade there but for ready money.

We have had it much in consideration how to put some stop to this growing evil. We think, by some old laws, we can hinder money being carried abroad, and stop all but merchants, that have not a license, from going out of the kingdom.

By this post we have sent my Lord Lieutenant the representation of the gentlemen of the North, and the opinion of our lawyers what can be done by law to hinder people going abroad; but these are matters we shall do nothing in without directions from his Majesty. But whatever may be done by law, I feel it may be dangerous forcibly to hinder a number of needy people from quitting us.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury: DUBLIN, Dec. 3, 1728.

MY LORD:—. . . We are endeavoring here by a subscription to provide against one reason given here for the people leaving us, which is, the dearness of provision, by having three bad harvests together; and we have consulted the ministry to know what other measures that are in our power, may be proper to be taken.

The keeping of the people here by force will, I fear, have bad consequences, the number that are infected with this humour being very great.

APPENDIX M

(*Page 151, Vol. I.*)

THE SCOTCH-IRISH AND THE REVOLUTION

It is a little singular that we have to rely upon foreign historians for correct or adequate treatment of the important part taken in the Revolutionary struggle by the Scotch-Irish. As a rule, New England writers have utterly neglected these people; and the comparative lack of written records of their deeds and characteristics as a race is another proof that we have yet to see in print a just and comprehensive history of the American people. William Johnson, writing in the early part of the century (*Life of Nathanael Greene*, Charleston, S. C., 1822, vol. ii., p. 181), very justly remarks: "There is, and perhaps there ought to be, a clannish spirit in the States of the Union, which will ever dispose the writers they produce, to blazon with peculiar zeal the virtues and talents of the eminent men of their respective States. And it will probably happen that in future time, the States that have produced the ablest writers will enjoy the reputation of having produced the ablest statesmen, generals, and orators."

Here is what two leading British authorities have to say on the subject of the Scotch-Irish:

FROUDE ON THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA

"The Dissenters were not relieved of the undeserved note of ignominy which had been stamped on them. The bishops and their officials [in 1709] continued to harass them so far as their power extended; and the Presbyterian emigration to New England continued also, and gathered volume, to assist, as Hely Hutchinson foretold, in dismembering the British Empire.

"In 1719 a sketch of a bill had been sent from England [to Ireland] to be produced, if the temper of the two houses promised favorable. It was an equivalent to a simple repeal of the Sacramental Test clause.

"The old speaker, now Lord Middleton, continued constant to his principles. His son, young Alan, for some unknown reason, had gone over to the bishops' faction; and, backed by a knot of High Churchmen who were called the Cork squadron, resisted a relaxation of the test with the fiercest determination. Archbishop King, failing to see the sarcasm which he was uttering against the Establishment, declared that the tests were its only protection, and that, without them, Protestant Ireland would be Presbyterian. A Toleration Act, such as they had refused before, more meagre than that which now stands on the Irish statute book —a bill giving Nonconformists a bare permission to meet for worship in their own chapels, while the tests were sternly upheld, this was all that could be obtained. For the peers, lean as it was, the bill proved almost too much. Had the bishops' phalanx been unbroken, they would have still been irresistible, and the bill would have been lost. Fortunately the advice to supply the vacant sees from England had not been neglected. Sixteen prelates were in their places: of them the viceroy had now secured the support of six, and the neutrality of a seventh. (Of the six bishops who voted for the Government, five were English whigs appointed since the accession of George the First, and only one was an Irishman. Of the nine who were in the minority, seven were Irish and two English.) The three Archbishops struggled as if the Christian faith itself was at stake. The primate called schism a damnable sin. The Archbishop of Dublin insisted, in the usual style, that a door was being opened to every kind of wild extravagance. The bill was eventually carried by a majority of 39 to 26. Archbishop King complained to his brother of Canterbury, that the good cause had been betrayed by false brethren intruded on the bench from England. Unless God, by unforeseen Providence, supported it, the Church of Ireland he considered to be lost; and

the occasion of his panic was the simple permission to the Presbyterians, who had saved Ireland from Tyrconnell, who formed two-thirds of the Protestant population of Ulster, to open chapels of their own. Though they were incapacitated from holding public employments, though their marriages were invalid, though they were forbidden to open a single school, or hold any office in town or country above the rank of a petty constable, the mere existence of Nonconformists as a body legally recognized, was considered of fatal omen to the Church of Ireland. The Church of Ireland must have been a very feeble institution.

"And now recommenced the Protestant emigration, which robbed Ireland of the bravest defenders of English interests, and peopled the American seaboard with fresh flights of Puritans. Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade. Many more were driven away by the first passage of the Test Act. The stream had slackened, in the hope that the law would be altered. When the prospect was finally closed, men of spirit and energy refused to remain in a country where they were held unfit to receive the rights of citizens; and thenceforward, until the spell of tyranny was broken in 1782, annual shiploads of families poured themselves out from Belfast and Londonderry. The resentment which they carried with them continued to burn in their new homes; and, in the War of Independence, England had no fiercer enemies than the grandsons and great-grandsons of the Presbyterians who had held Ulster against Tyrconnell.

"And so the emigration continued. The young, the courageous, the energetic, the earnest, those alone among her colonists who, if Ireland was ever to be a Protestant country, could be effective missionaries, were torn up by the roots, flung out, and bid find a home elsewhere; and they found a home to which England fifty years later had to regret that she had allowed them to be driven.

"Sir Arthur Chichester, the great Viceroy of Ireland under James the First, was of all Englishmen who ever settled in the country, the most useful to it. His descendant, the Lord Donegal, of whom it has become necessary to speak, was, perhaps, the person who inflicted the greatest injury on it.

"Many of his Antrim leases having fallen in simultaneously [in 1772], he demanded a hundred thousand pounds in fines for the renewal of them. The tenants, all Protestants, offered the interest of the money in addition to the rent. It could not be. Speculative Belfast capitalists paid the fines, and took the lands over the heads of the tenants to sublet. A Mr. Upton, another great Antrim proprietor, imitated the example, and 'at once a whole country side was driven from their habitations.' The sturdy Scots, who in five generations had reclaimed Antrim from the wilderness, saw the farms which they and their fathers had made valuable, let by auction to the highest bidder; and when they refused to submit themselves to robbery, saw them let to others, and let in many instances to Catholics, who would promise anything to recover their hold upon the soil.

"The most substantial of the expelled tenantry gathered their effects together and sailed to join their countrymen in the New World, where the Scotch-Irish became known as the most bitter of the secessionists.

"Flights of Protestant settlers had been driven out earlier in the century by the idiocy of the bishops. Fresh multitudes now winged their way to join them, and in no tender mood toward the institutions under which they had been so cruelly dealt with. The House of Commons had backed up the landlords. The next year [1773] they had to hear from the Linen Board that 'many thousands of the best manufacturers and weavers with their families had gone to seek their bread in America, and that thousands were preparing to follow.' Religious bigotry, commercial jealousy, and modern landlordism had combined to do their worst against the Ulster settlement. The emigration was not the whole of the mischief. Those who went carried their art and their tools along with them, and at the rate at which the stream was flowing the colonies would soon have no need of British and Irish imports. In the two years which followed the Antrim evictions, thirty thousand Protestants left Ulster for a land where there was no legal robbery, and where those who sowed the seed could reap

the harvest. They went with bitterness in their hearts, cursing and detesting the aristocratic system of which the ennobling qualities were lost, and only the worst retained.

"Lord Townshend had spoken of endeavors to unite the popular party in Ireland and America. There were good reasons why at that moment these two countries should be of peculiar interest to one another. Ireland was but a colony of longer standing, and the Americans saw a picture there of the condition to which an English colony could be reduced in which the mother country had her own way. The Scotch-Irish emigrants especially had their suspicions on the alert, whose grievances were more recent, and whose bitter feelings were kept alive by the continued arrivals from Ulster. None of the Transatlantic settlers had more cause to complain, for none had deserved so well of the country from which they had been driven. The Protestant settlers in Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century were of the same metal with those who afterwards sailed in the *Mayflower*—Presbyterians, Puritans, Independents—in search of wider breathing space than was allowed them at home. By an unhappy perversity they had fallen under the same stigma and were exposed to the same inconveniences. The bishops had chafed them with persecutions; the heroism with which the Scots held the northern province against the Kilkenny Parliament and Owen Roe O'Neill was an insufficient offset against the sin of nonconformity. The shadow which fell on Puritanism at the Restoration once more blighted the new colonies. Nonconformity was still a stain for which no other excellence could atone. The persecutions were renewed but did not cool Presbyterian loyalty. When the native race made their last effort under James the Second to recover their lands, the Calvinists of Derry won immortal honor for themselves, and flung over the wretched annals of their adopted country a solitary gleam of true glory. Even this passed for nothing. They were still Dissenters, still unconscious that they owed obedience to the hybrid successors of St. Patrick, the prelates of the Establishment; and no sooner was peace re-established than spleen and bigotry were at their old work. William had so far recognized their merits as to bestow on their ministers a small annual grant. Vexed with suits in the ecclesiastical courts, forbidden to educate their children in their own faith, treated as dangerous to a state which but for them would have had no existence, and associated with Papists in an act of Parliament which deprived them of their civil rights, the most earnest of them at length abandoned the unthankful service. They saw at last that the liberties for which they and their fathers had fought were not to be theirs in Ireland. If they intended to live as freemen, speaking no lies, and professing openly the creed of the Reformation, they must seek a country where the long arm of prelacy was still too short to reach them. During the first half of the eighteenth century, Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh, and Derry were emptied of Protestant inhabitants, who were of more value to Ireland than California gold mines.

"Who and what were the provincial militia who gave the soldiers of England so rude a lesson at Bunker Hill? Most of them, no doubt, were descendants of the ancient Puritan stock, reinforced from the old country from time to time by men who had the same quarrel as their fathers with the constituted authorities in Church and State.

"But throughout the revolted colonies, and, therefore, probably the first to begin the struggle, all evidence shows that the foremost, the most irreconcilable, the most determined in pushing the quarrel to the last extremity, were the Scotch-Irish whom the bishops and Lord Donegal and company had been pleased to drive out of Ulster. 'It is a fact beyond question,' says Plowden (vol. ii., p. 178), 'that most of the early successes in America were immediately owing to the vigorous exertions and prowess of the Irish emigrants who bore arms in that cause.' Ramsay says the Irish in America were almost to a man on the side of Independence. 'They had fled from oppression in their native country, and could not brook the idea that it should follow them. Their national prepossessions in favor of liberty were strengthened by their religious opinions. They were Presbyterians, and therefore mostly Whigs.

"There is a Bunker's Hill close outside Belfast. Massachusetts tradition has forgotten

how the name came to the Charlestown Peninsula. It is possible that the connection with Ireland is a coincidence. It is possible that the name of a spot so memorable in American history was brought over by one of those exiles, whose children saw there the beginning of the retribution that followed so closely on the combination of follies which had destroyed the chance of making Ireland a Protestant country, and had filled Protestant Ulster with passionate sympathy for the revolted colonists."

LECKY ON THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA

"For nearly three-quarters of a century the drain of the energetic Protestant population continued. The famine of 1740 and 1741 gave an immense impulse to the movement, and it is said that for several years the Protestant emigrants from Ulster annually amounted to about 12,000. More than thirty years later Arthur Young found the stream still flowing, and he mentioned that in 1773, 4000 emigrants had sailed from Belfast alone (*Young's Tour*, i., 164). Newenham, who, in his book on *Irish Population*, has collected much information on this subject, remarks: 'If we said that during fifty years of the last century the average annual emigrations to America and the West Indies amounted to about 4000, and consequently that in that space of time about 200,000 had emigrated to the British plantations, I am disposed to think we should rather fall short of than exceed the truth' (p. 60). (See, too, Hutchinson's *Commercial Restraints*, p. 141; the *Intelligencer*, No. 19.) Many went to the West Indies, and many others to the American colonies. They went with hearts burning with indignation, and in the War of Independence they were almost to a man on the side of the insurgents. They supplied some of the best soldiers of Washington. The famous Pennsylvania Line was mostly Irish, and Montgomery, who, having distinguished himself highly at the capture of Quebec, became one of the earliest of the American commanders in the War of Independence, was a native of Donegal.

"Protestant Ireland [in 1776] was indeed far more earnestly enlisted on the side of the Americans than any other portion of the Empire. Emigrants from Ulster formed a great part of the American army, and the constitutional question of the independence of the Irish Parliament was closely connected with the American question. The movement of opinion, however, was confined to the Protestants. The Catholic gentry on this, as on all other questions of national danger, presented addresses to the King attesting in strong terms their loyalty."

"The Presbyterians of the North, who in their hearts are Americans, are gaining strength every day; and, by letters written by designing men, whom I could name, from your side of the water, have been repeatedly pressed to engage Ireland to take an adverse part in the contest, telling them the balance of the cause and the decision of the quarrel was on this side St. George's channel. The subject would then have been pressed upon me with such advantage as I should have had difficulty in resisting."—Lord Harcourt (in Ireland) to Lord North, Oct. 11, 1775.

"In Ireland, though those in office and the principal nobility and gentry declared against America, by far the majority of the Protestant inhabitants there, who are strenuous and declared Whigs, strongly leaned to the cause of the colonies."—*Annual Register* for 1776, p. 39.

"A remarkable feature of political life in the colony of New York during the eighteenth century is the leadership of lawyers, especially upon the popular side.

"It has often been remarked that a Presbyterian community breeds able lawyers. Cadwallader Colden was not the only Tory politician to observe with some asperity that all the popular leaders of his day were both lawyers and Presbyterians. That supreme conception

of law and justice which is inherent in the creed of Calvin was the mainspring of the whole popular party in New York, just as it was the mainspring of the whole polity in New England."—Charles H. Levermore: "The Whigs of Colonial New York," *American Historical Review*, vol. i., p. 239 (Jan., 1896).

"The only organized and official measures taken by any one of the religious denominations in sympathy with the American Revolution was that of the Presbyterians who had freed themselves from dependence on a civil establishment. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians on the frontier of Virginia and North Carolina had stoutly vindicated their religious rights against the Established Church in Virginia, and were among the foremost in asserting their independence of the mother country. With the sturdiest resolution they had successfully triumphed over the Episcopal party in New York and thwarted government influence in its behalf. John Witherspoon, the only clergyman in the Congress of 1776, gave by delegated authority the vote of the Presbyterians for independence.—George E. Ellis, "The Sentiment of Independence," *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vi., p. 244.

"The Tory refugee, Judge Jones, uses the terms Presbyterians and Episcopalians as almost synonymous with the terms rebels and loyalists.

"The Tory Galloway wrote (*Reflections*, etc., p. 115): 'The disaffection is confined to two sets of dissenters [Presbyterians and Congregationalists], while the people of the Established Church, the Methodists, Lutherans, German Calvinists, Quakers, Moravians, etc., are warmly attached to the British government.'"—*Ibid.*, p. 241.

APPENDIX N

(*Page 33, Vol. I.*)

NOTES ON THE GENEALOGIES OF THE PRESIDENTS

GEORGE WASHINGTON, born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, February 22, 1732, was the son of Augustine (1694–1743) and Mary-Ball [daughter of Colonel Joseph and Mary Montague (?) Ball] Washington; grandson of Lawrence (d. 1697–98) and Mildred-Warner [daughter of Colonel Augustine Warner, of Gloucester county, Va.] Washington; and great-grandson of John (d. 1677) and Anne-Pope [daughter of Nathaniel Pope, of Gloucestershire] Washington. John Washington (b. 1633–34) resided for a time at South Cave, near the Humber, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, before his emigration to Virginia. He was the son of Lawrence (born about 1602) and Amphillis Roades Washington. Lawrence Washington was the Rector of Purleigh, in Essex, and son of Lawrence Washington (d. 1616) of Sulgrave Manor in Northamptonshire and of Brington, whose wife was Margaret Butler [daughter of William Butler]. This Lawrence was the son of Robert and Elizabeth-Light [daughter of Robert Light] Washington; grandson of Lawrence (d. 1584) and Amy Pargiter Washington; and great-grandson of John and Margaret Kitson Washington, of Warton, West Lancashire. John Washington, last named, was the son of Robert and ——— Westfield Washington, and grandson of John Washington of Whitfield, Lancashire.

George Washington, like Zachary Taylor and the Adamses, is descended in the paternal line from families the earliest traces of which indicate that they originated in the west of England — in Washington's case, North Lancashire; in Taylor's, Cumberland; in the Adamses', Devonshire. The population of northern Lancaster and of Cumberland, to-day, is probably a great deal more Celtic than Teutonic; for its original Brythonic race never was exterminated or driven out by the Angles or Saxons as was the case in some portions of eastern England. The same districts once formed part of the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, which extended in western Britain from south of the river Ribble, in Lancashire, to the Clyde, in Scotland, and formed the hereditary domain of the real King Arthur. Later,

it was known as Cumbria, and as such was ruled over for centuries by the kings of Scotland. In the time of William the Conqueror, it was governed by King Malcolm Canmore, of Scotland, whose rule, according to Palfrey, extended as far south as the Ribble, and embraced the ancestral home of the Washingtons.

JOHN ADAMS, born at Quincy, Massachusetts, October 30, 1735, was the son of John (d. 1760) and Susanna-Boylston [daughter of Peter Boylston] Adams; grandson of Joseph (b. 1654) and Mary Chapin Adams; and great-grandson of Joseph (b. about 1626) and Abigail Baxter Adams. Joseph Adams, last named, was the son of Henry Adams, who emigrated to Massachusetts from Devonshire, England, about 1636. He was of reputed Welsh ancestry, and is said by Whitmore to have been descended from John Ap Adam.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, born at Shadwell, Virginia, April 13, 1743, was the son of Peter (d. 1757) and Jane-Randolph [daughter of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, and granddaughter of William and Mary Isham Randolph] Jefferson. Of the Randolphs, Thomas Jefferson says in his *Autobiography*, "They trace their pedigree far back in England and Scotland." In England, it connects with the Warwickshire Randolphs, and in Scotland, with Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, whose mother was Isabel, sister of King Robert Bruce. Thomas Jefferson states that the tradition in his "father's family was, that their ancestor came from Wales, and from near the mountain of Snowdon." The first of the Virginia Jeffersons was a member of the Virginia Legislature in 1619.

JAMES MADISON, born at Port Conway, Virginia, March 16, 1751, was the son of James (1723–1801) and Eleanor-Conway [daughter of Francis (d. 1760) and Rebecca Catlett Conway] Madison. Francis Conway was the son of Edwin (d. 1698) and Elizabeth Thompson Conway, and grandson of Edwin (b. in Worcestershire, England, about 1610) and Martha Eltonhead Conway. James Madison, last named, was the son of Ambrose and Frances-Taylor [daughter of James Taylor, whose son, Zachary, was the grandfather of President Taylor] Madison; grandson of John Madison; and great-grandson of John Madison, of Welsh or English descent, who, in 1653, patented 600 acres of land in Gloucester county, Va.

JAMES MONROE, born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, April 28, 1758, was the son of Spence (d. 1774) and Eliza-Jones [sister of Judge Joseph Jones] Monroe; grandson of Andrew Monroe, and great-grandson of Andrew (d. 1714) and Elizabeth-Spens [daughter of Patrick Spens, d. about 1689] Monroe. Andrew Monroe was the son of Andrew Monroe (d. 1668), who first emigrated to Maryland, and afterwards settled in Westmoreland county, Va.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, born at Quincy, Mass., July 11, 1767, was the son of John Adams, whose genealogy is given above.

ANDREW JACKSON, born in Lancaster county, South Carolina (or Union county, North Carolina), March 15, 1767, was the son of Andrew (d. 1767) and Elizabeth Hutchinson Jackson, who emigrated to America from Carrickfergus, County Down, Ireland, in 1765; and grandson of Hugh Jackson, of Carrickfergus.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, born at Kinderhook, New York, December 5, 1782, was the son of Abraham and Mary-Hoes (or Goes) Van Buren, and grandson of Martin Pieterse and Dirkje-VanAlsteyn [b. 1710; daughter of Abraham Jans and Marritje Mattheus Van Deusen Van Alsteyn] Van Buren. The Van Buren line seems to be Dutch on both sides of the house.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, born at Berkeley, Virginia, February 9, 1773, was the son of Benjamin (b. 1726–40; d. 1791) and Elizabeth-Bassett [b. 1730; daughter of William and Elizabeth Churchill Bassett] Harrison; grandson of Benjamin (~~1740–1791~~) and Anne-Carter [daughter of Robert Carter] Harrison, and great-grandson of Benjamin (1673–1710) and Elizabeth-Burwell [d. 1734; daughter of Lewis and Abigail Smith Burwell] Harrison. Benjamin Harrison, last named, was the son of Benjamin (1645–1712) and Hannah Harrison, and grandson of Benjamin and Mary Harrison, the former a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1642.

JOHN TYLER, born at Greenway Court, Charles City county, Virginia, March 29, 1760, was the son of Governor John (1747–1813) and Mary-Armistead [daughter of Robert Booth and Anne Shields Armistead] Tyler ; grandson of John (b. about 1715 ; d. 1773) and Anne-Contesse [daughter of Louis (Contesse, a French Huguenot) and Mary Morris] Tyler, and great-grandson of John (d. 1720–28) and Elizabeth (Low ?) Tyler. John Tyler, last named, was the son of Henry (d. 1729) and Elizabeth-Chiles [daughter and granddaughter of Walter Chiles (2), (1)] Tyler, and grandson of Henry (1604–1672) and Anne (Orchard ?) Tyler, who emigrated to Virginia from England before 1645. Robert Booth Armistead, above named, was the son of Ellyson (d. 1757) and Jane-Anderson [daughter of Rev. Charles Anderson] Armistead ; grandson of Robert (d. about 1742) and ——— Booth Armistead, and great-grandson of Anthony and Hannah-Ellyson [daughter of Robert Ellyson] Armistead. Anthony Armistead was the son of William (b. 1610) and Anne Armistead, who came to Virginia about 1636, and grandson of Anthony and Frances Thompson Armistead, of Kirk-Deighton, Yorkshire, England.

JAMES KNOX POLK, born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, November 2, 1795, was the son of Samuel (1771–1827) and Jane-Knox [1773–1848 ; daughter of James Knox, of Iredell county, N. C.] Polk ; grandson of Ezekiel (b. about 1737) and Mary-Wilson [daughter of Samuel Wilson] Polk ; and great-grandson of William (1701-1769) and Nancy Knox Pollock. William Pollock (the original form of the name "Polk") was the son of Robert (d. 1727) and Margaret Pollock ; and grandson of Robert (d. 1703) and Magdalene Tasker Pollock, who emigrated with their family from County Londonderry, Ireland, to Somerset county, Md., about 1690. William Pollock removed from Dorchester county, Md., to Hopewell township, Cumberland county, Pa., about 1738, and thence, a few years later, to Mecklenburg county, N. C.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, born in Orange county, Virginia, September 24, 1784, was the son of Richard (1744–1826) and Sarah-Strother [daughter of William Strother] Taylor ; grandson of Zachary (b. 1704–05) and Elizabeth Lee Taylor, and great-grandson of James (b. 1670?–1729) and Martha Thompson (d. 1762) Taylor. James Taylor was also the father of Frances Taylor Madison, grandmother of President Madison, and was the son of James Taylor (d. 1698), who emigrated to Virginia from Carlisle, in northwestern England.

MILLARD FILLMORE, born at Summerhill, New York, January 7, 1800, was the son of Nathaniel (b. 1771) and Phœbe-Millard [daughter of Abiathar Millard, of Pittsfield, Mass.] Fillmore ; grandson of Nathaniel Fillmore (d. 1814), and great-grandson of John (b. 1702 and Mary Spiller Fillmore, of Franklin, Conn. John Fillmore was a son of John and Abigail Tilton Fillmore, of Ipswich, Mass.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, born at Hillsboro, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804, was the son of Benjamin (1757–1839) and Anna Kendrick Pierce of Hillsboro, N. H. Benjamin Pierce was born in Chelmsford, Mass., the son of Benjamin Pierce, grandson of Stephen Pierce, and great-grandson of Stephen (b. 1651) and Tabitha Pierce. Stephen Pierce, last named, was the son of Thomas Pierce, who emigrated from England, and lived at Woburn, Mass. (possibly the son of Thomas, who settled in Charlestown about 1634).

JAMES BUCHANAN, born at Cove Gap, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791, was the son of James (1761–1821) and Elizabeth-Speer [daughter of James and Elizabeth Patterson Speer] Buchanan. James Buchanan, last named, emigrated to Pennsylvania from County Donegal, Ireland, in 1783. He was the son of John and Jane-Russel [daughter of Samuel Russel] Buchanan, of County Donegal. John Buchanan is said to have been a descendant of Thomas, who emigrated to Ulster from Scotland.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, born in Hardin county, Kentucky, February 12, 1809, was the son of Thomas (1778–1851) and Nancy-Hanks [daughter of Joseph and Nancy Shipley Hanks, and granddaughter of William Hanks] Lincoln ; grandson of Abraham (d. in Kentucky, 1788), great-grandson of John, of Rockingham county, Va. John Lincoln was the son of Mordecai

Lincoln (d. 1735), of Berks county, Pa. ; and probably the grandson of Mordecai Lincoln, of Hingham, Mass., and great-grandson of Samuel Lincoln, who emigrated to Massachusetts from Norwich, Norfolk, England, 1635–45.

Andrew Johnson, born at Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808, was the son of Jacob and Mary McDonough Johnson, and grandson of Andrew Johnson, a native of Ulster, who removed from Lancaster (?) county, Pennsylvania, to North Carolina about 1750–60.

Ulysses Hiram Simpson Grant, born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822, was the son of Jesse Root (1794–1873) and Hannah-Simpson (b. 1799) Grant. Hannah Simpson was the daughter of John (1767–1837) and Rebecca-Weir [d. 1801–02 ; daughter of Samuel Weir, of New Britain township, Bucks county, Pa.] Simpson. John Simpson was the son of John Simpson, who was born in the North of Ireland, 1738, emigrated to America, and settled about 1763, in Horsham township, Montgomery county, Pa., where he married Hannah Roberts, sister of Colonel William Roberts of Warrington township, Bucks county, Pa. He died in August, 1804. His parents are supposed to have been William (1710–1794) and Jane (1717–1801) Simpson, who are buried in Newtown cemetery, Bucks county. Jesse Root Grant was the son of Noah (1748–1819) and Rachel-Kelly [of Westmoreland county, Pa., d. 1805] Grant ; grandson of Noah (1718–1756) and Susannah-Delano [daughter of Jonathan Delano, of Tolland, Conn.] Grant ; and great-grandson of Noah (1692–1727) and Martha-Huntington [daughter of John and Abigail Lathrop Huntington] Grant. Noah Grant, last named, was the son of Samuel (b. 1659, at Windsor, Conn., d. 1710) and Grace-Minor [daughter of John and Elizabeth Booth Minor, and granddaughter of Thomas and Grace Palmer Minor] Grant ; grandson of Samuel (b. 1631, at Dorchester, Mass.) and Mary-Porter [daughter of John Porter] Grant ; and great-grandson of Matthew (1601–1681) and Priscilla (1601–1644) Grant. Matthew Grant emigrated from Great Britain, and settled at Dorchester, Mass., about 1630, removing thence to Windsor, Conn., 1635.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes, born at Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822, was the son of Rutherford (1787–1822) and Sophia-Birchard [daughter of Roger and Drusilla Austin Birchard] Hayes ; grandson of Rutherford (1756–1836) and Chloe-Smith [daughter of Israel and Abigail Chandler Smith] Hayes ; and great-grandson of Ezekiel (1724–1807) and Rebecca-Russell [daughter of John and Sarah Trowbridge Russell] Hayes. Ezekiel was the son of Daniel (1686–1756) and Sarah-Lee [daughter of John and Elizabeth Crampton Lee] Hayes ; great-grandson of George (d. 1725) and Abigail Dibble Hayes, of Windsor, Conn. George Hayes came from Scotland to America about 1680.

James Abram Garfield, born in Cuyahoga county, Ohio, November 19, 1831, was the son of Abraham (1799–1833) and Eliza-Ballou (b. in Richmond, N. H., 1801) Garfield ; grandson of Thomas (1774–1801) and Asenath Hill (b. in Schoharie county, N. Y., 1778) Garfield ; and great-grandson of Solomon (1743–1807) and Sarah Stimson (?) Garfield. Solomon Garfield was the son of Thomas (1713–1744) and Rebecca Johnson Garfield ; grandson of Thomas (b. 1680) and Mercy Bigelow Garfield ; and great-grandson of Benjamin (1643–1717) and Elizabeth Bridge Garfield. Benjamin Garfield was the son of Edward (1575–1672) and Rebecca Garfield. Edward Garfield emigrated to Massachusetts, 1630–38, and was one of the first settlers of Watertown. President Garfield considered this emigrant to have been of Welsh ancestry, though it is possible he may have belonged to the Garfields of Kilsby, in Northampton.

Chester Alan Arthur, born at Fairfield, Vermont, October 5, 1830, was the son of William (1796–1875) and Malvina-Stone [daughter of George Washington Stone and granddaughter of Uriah Stone] Arthur ; and grandson of Gavin MacArthur and ——— Gaston, of Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland.

Stephen Grover Cleveland, born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837, was the son of Richard Falley (1804–1853) and Ann-Neal [daughter of Abner Neal, born in Ireland, and Barbara Reel, born in Germantown, Pa.) Cleveland ; grandson of William (1770–1837)

and Margaret-Falley [daughter of Richard Falley, born in the Isle of Guernsey, France, and Margaret Hitchcock] Cleveland; and great-grandson of Aaron (d. 1815) and Abiah-Hyde [daughter of James and Sarah Marshall Hyde] Cleveland. Aaron Cleveland was the son of Aaron (d. 1757) and Susannah-Porter [daughter of Aaron and Susanna Sewall Porter] Cleveland; grandson of Aaron (1680–1755) and Abigail-Waters [daughter of Samuel and Mary Hudson Waters] Cleveland; and great-grandson of Aaron (1655–1716) and Dorcas-Wilson [daughter of John and Hannah James Wilson] Cleveland. Aaron Cleveland, last named, was the son of Moses (1624–1702) and Ann-Winn [of Welsh descent] Cleveland. Moses Cleveland emigrated from Ipswich, Suffolk, England, to Massachusetts, in 1635.

Benjamin Harrison, born at North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833, was the son of John Scott (1804–78) and Elizabeth Irwin Harrison, and grandson of William Henry (1773–1841) and Anna-Symmes [1775–1864; daughter of John Cleves (1742–1814) and Anna Tuthill (1741–46) Symmes] Harrison. Anna Tuthill Symmes was the daughter of Henry Tuthill (1715–93). For Harrison genealogy, see that of William Henry Harrison, given above. The mother of Benjamin Harrison, Elizabeth Irwin (1810–1850), was the daughter of Archibald (1772–1840) and Mary-Ramsey [d. 1813; daughter of James (d. 1810) and Elizabeth-Porter (b. 1754; daughter of William and Sarah Porter) Ramsey] Irwin; granddaughter of Archibald (d. 1798–99) and Jean-McDowell [b. 1736; d. about 1805; daughter of William McDowell (1680–1759) who came from the North of Ireland about 1718, and died in York county, Pa.] Irwin; and great-granddaughter of James (d. 1778) and Jean Irwin. James Irwin emigrated from the North of Ireland and settled in Peters township, Franklin county, before 1750.

William McKinley, born at Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843, was the son of William (1807–92) and Nancy-Campbell-Allison [1809–97; daughter of Abner and Ann Campbell Allison] McKinley; grandson of James (1783–1836) and Mary-Rose [daughter of Andrew, Jr., and Hannah Chapman Rose] McKinley; and great-grandson of David (1755–1840) and Sarah-Gray [b. about 1760; d. 1814; daughter of John and Hannah Stevenson Gray] McKinley. David McKinley was the son of Stephen (b. in the North of Ireland about 1730; d. in Chanceford township, York county, Pa., 1819) and Rachel-Stewart [daughter of Robert Stewart] McKinley, and grandson of David (b. in the North of Ireland about 1706; d. before 1761) and Esther McKinley.

Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City, October 27, 1858, the son of Theodore (1831–78) and Martha Bulloch Roosevelt. Martha Bulloch Roosevelt was the daughter of Major James-Stephens and Martha-Stewart Bulloch (the latter a daughter of General Daniel and Susan Oswald Stewart, and granddaughter of John Stewart, who was the son of John Stewart of Scotland); granddaughter of James (1765–1806) and Ann-Irvine Bulloch (the latter a daughter of John and Ann-Elizabeth-Baillie Irvine [the latter a daughter of Kenneth Baillie] and granddaughter of Charles Irvine of Cults and Euphemia Douglass Irvine [the latter a daughter of John Douglass, Laird of Tilquhillie and Inchmarlo, and Agnes Horn Douglass, daughter of James and Isabel Leslie Horn of West Hall]); great-granddaughter of Governor Archibald and Mary De Veaux Bulloch of Georgia (the latter a daughter of Judge James and Anne Fairchild De Veaux [the latter a daughter of Richard and Anne Bellinger Fairchild, and granddaughter of Edmund Bellinger]); and great-great-granddaughter of James (1701–1780) and Jean Stobo Bulloch, the former born in Scotland (the latter a daughter of the Rev. Archibald and Elizabeth Stobo, who removed from Scotland to the Isthmus of Darien in 1698 and thence to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1700). Theodore Roosevelt, Sr. (1831–1878), was the son of Cornelius-Van-Schaik (1794–1871) and Margaret Barnhill (d. 1861) Roosevelt (the latter a daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Potts Barnhill of Philadelphia); grandson of James-I. (1759–1840) and Mary-Van-Schaik (1773–1845) Roosevelt; great-grandson of Jacobus (b. 1724) and Annetje Bogaert Roosevelt; great-great-grandson of Johannes (b. 1689) and Hilotje Syverts Van Roosevelt; and great-great-great-grandson of

Nicholas (b. 1658) and Hyllotje Jans Van Roosevelt. Nicholas Van Roosevelt was the son of Claes [Nicholas]-Martensen and Jannetje Samuels-Thomas Van Roosevelt of New Amsterdam, who came from Holland in 1649; and grandson of Martin Van Roosevelt of Holland. The Bulloch or Balloch clan was a sept of the McDonalds.

At the fifth annual meeting of the Scotch-Irish Society of America, held at Springfield, Ohio, May 11–14, 1893, William McKinley, at that time Governor of Ohio, and afterwards President of the United States, delivered the following address:

WILLIAM McKINLEY ON THE SCOTCH-IRISH

"We can, for the most part, determine where we will live, the people among whom we will dwell, our occupation or profession; but we cannot select either our ancestors or our birthplace: these we must accept, for good or ill. It is fortunate where both are favorable and helpful, bringing blessings rather than blight. The Scotch-Irish would not change either ancestry or birthplace if they could. They are proud of both; but they are prouder yet of their new home they have helped to create under the Stars and Stripes, the best and freest under the sun. . . . The Scotch-Irish were not only well born, but they have improved upon their beginning, have progressed with their opportunities, and have made opportunities where none seemed present.

"While he is distinctive as a type, the Scotch-Irishman is a racial evolution — the result of a slow fusion of diverse characteristics. It is said of the Scotch-Irish that they are doers rather than talkers or writers. True, they have been builders, and their foundations were deep and strong and enduring. They have builded for the ages, but they write and talk quite as well as other races. Their deeds in behalf of American Independence should ever be cherished in patriotic remembrance; and it is a remarkable fact — as observed by those who have taken the trouble to examine the matter — that it is only within the past few years that recorded history has given just credit to the sturdy race, to whom Washington looked as his never-failing support and as his forlorn hope when all others should have left him, when defeat should have encompassed him.

"Representatives of the Scotch-Irish race are among the brightest names in American history. They have shone in every great epoch of national life. So long as there is a struggle for human liberty, so long as patriotism has a place in the American heart, that long will the name and fame of your ancestors be preserved and enshrined. The roll-call is a large one; I can only pick out a name here and there: Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Hamilton, Jackson, Madison, Polk, Buchanan, the heroic Grant, and the immortal Lincoln. Not only in statecraft and war have the Scotch-Irish distinguished themselves in American annals. There are Greeley and Bonner in journalism, and Fulton, McCormick, and Morse in invention.

"My distinguished predecessor at the State Capitol [James E. Campbell] has contributed to the records of your association an eloquent presentation of the part that the Scotch-Irish have played in the history of Ohio. While that sketch was not exhaustive (for the field is a very rich one), yet it was so comprehensive in its scope as to debar me from venturing on the same line of thought, tempting though it be. Interwoven with a history of the Northwest Territory and of Ohio as a State are the names of Anthony Wayne, Simon Kenton, Jeremiah Morrow, Allen Trimble, Joseph Vance, Wilson Shannon, Tom Corwin, Robert Lucas, Seabury Ford, William Medill, Jacob Burnett, John McLean, Joseph R. Swan,— soldiers, senators, governors, judges, — all to the forefront in their respective spheres; and a long line besides, rich in deeds for State and country.

"With the conflicting theories of those who delve into the musty past we need trouble ourselves but little. The Scotch-Irishman comes of mighty stock — that we know — descending from those who would fight, who would die, but never surrender. Celt and Saxon are in him combined, after each has been tempered and refined. The Celt made his final stand as a racial individuality in the extremities of western Europe. Hence he issued forth, both as a colonizer and missionary. Taking up his abode in the Lowlands of Scotland, he became

subject to Anglo-Saxon influence. The blood of the North Britons mingled with that of the Celt from the Green Isle and with that of the ancient Pict. The result of this commingling of blood and of local environment was the Lowland Scotch, even then possessing characteristics distinct from the Highlander and the Irish Celt. The Lowlander recrossed the narrow sea to Ulster. His going marked an epoch in the history of civilization. The tragic history of Ireland has been for centuries food for racial hate. In this land, at least, however, the irremediable past should not be matter for quarrel; for who of us, of whatever blood, that naught of wrong tarnishes the history of his race? Scot though the Ulsterman is proud to call himself, yet he is also retransplanted Celt.

"To the Ulsterman across the ocean, to the Celt south of him, each with his virtues and his faults, I can but say, in the tender, pleading language of the venerable Gladstone, the greatest living Englishman: 'Let me entreat you — and if it were with my latest breath I would entreat you — to let the dead bury its dead, to cast behind you every recollection of bygone evils, and to cherish, to love, to sustain one another through all the vicissitudes of human affairs in the times that are to come.'

"The Americanized Scotch-Irishman is the perfection of a type which is the development of the commingling and assimilating process of centuries. Before he loses his racial distinctiveness and individuality he should be photographed by history's camera, although for long years to come his identity will manifest itself in the composite presentment of the future typical American.

"As American citizens, the Scotch-Irish have ample reason for pride. The Scotch-Irish were the first to proclaim for freedom in these United States; even before Lexington, Scotch-Irish blood had been shed in behalf of American freedom; and the spirit of Patrick Henry animated the Scotch-Irish to a man when the great clash came. 'In the forefront of every battle was seen their burnished mail, and in the gloomy rear of retreat was heard their voice of constancy and courage.' Of no race or people can Milton's words be applied in juster eulogy: 'Inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue; stirred up with high hope of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages.' Next to their intense patriotism, the distinguishing characteristics of the Scotch-Irish are their love of learning and of religion. The Scotch-Irishman is the ideal educator, and he is a natural theologian. It would be difficult to find a college or university without a Scotch-Irishman upon its Faculty. And he was the early schoolmaster of Ohio, where manual training was with the birch rod. Another marked characteristic of the Scotch-Irish is the love of home and family, and wherever this prevails there are found manly virtue, and high integrity, and good citizenship. The home and the schoolhouse have been mighty forces, marking the progress of the Scotch-Irish race. . . .

"In the American Scotch-Irishman we behold the personification of liberty and law. His thoughts have been 'widened with the process of the suns,' and the civilization which he has helped to secure has added light and sweetness to the stern faith of his fathers. To the distinctive qualities of his type has been added the humanizing and fraternal influence of the American spirit of toleration and equality.

"Here in Ohio this true American spirit of toleration and equality prevails—perhaps as nowhere else. Here the Puritan and Cavalier, the Protestant and Catholic, the Englishman and Irishman, the Scotch-Irish and the pure Celt, live together in harmony and fraternity as American citizens, struggling together to secure the highest destiny for mankind, and vying with each other in their love for our free institutions and in their devotion to liberty. The typical 'Buckeye' has many of the characteristics of the Scotch-Irish, and to-day I modestly assert that the 'Buckeye' stands forth as a fair prototype of the coming American."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE SCOTCH-IRISH.

"Along the western frontier of the colonies that were so soon to be the United States, among the foothills of the Alleghanies, on the slopes of the wooded mountains, and in the

long trough-like valleys that lay between the ranges, dwelt [in 1774] a peculiar and characteristically American people. . . .

"The backwoods mountaineers were all cast in the same mould, and resembled each other much more than any of them did their immediate neighbors of the plains. The backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania had little in common with the peaceful population of Quakers and Germans who lived between the Delaware and Susquehanna; and their near kinsmen of the Blue Ridge and the Great Smoky Mountains were separated by an equally wide gulf from the aristocratic planter communities that flourished in the tidewater regions of Virginia and the Carolinas. . . .

"The backwoodsmen were American by birth and parentage, and of mixed race; but the dominant strain in their blood was that of the Presbyterian Irish—the Scotch-Irish, as they are often called. Full credit has been awarded the Roundhead and the Cavalier for their leadership in our history; nor have we been altogether blind to the deeds of the Hollander and the Huguenot; but it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern and virile people, the Irish whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin. These Irish representatives of the Covenanters were in the West almost what the Puritans were in the Northeast, and more than the Cavaliers were in the South. Mingled with the descendants of many other races, they nevertheless formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward. . . .

"They were a truculent and obstinate people, and gloried in the warlike renown of their forefathers, the men who had followed Cromwell, and who had shared in the defence of Derry, and in the victories of the Boyne and Aughrim . . . the West was won by those who have been rightly called the Roundheads of the South, the same men who before any other declared for American independence. . . .

"That these Irish Presbyterians were a bold and hardy race is proved by their at once pushing past the settled regions and plunging into the wilderness as the leaders of the white advance. They were the first and last set of immigrants to do this; all others have merely followed in the wake of their predecessors. But indeed, they were fitted to be Americans from the very start; they were kinsfolk of the Covenanters; they deemed it a religious duty to interpret their own Bible, and held for a divine right the election of their own clergy. For generations their whole ecclesiastic and scholastic systems had been fundamentally democratic."—*Winning of the West*, vol. i.

APPENDIX O

(*Page 317, Vol. I.*)

EXTRACTS FROM THE IRISH ANNALISTS

Peculiar circumstances have deprived the Scottish Highlanders of any historians who may be termed native; and we must, consequently, turn to the annals of other countries between which and the North of Scotland any intercourse formerly subsisted, as our only sources of information. Among these, the principal are the Norse Sagas and the Irish Annals; but while the former throw very great light over that period in the Highlands which was more particularly connected with the ravages and conquests of the Norwegian Sea Kings, the latter are particularly valuable from their greater antiquity, and from their embracing a more extensive period of history. From the establishment, in the sixth century, of an Irish colony in Scotland, which gave rise, in some degree, to their sources of information, down to the reign of David I., when the last struggle of the Highlanders for independence took place, they throw a steady light upon the internal history of Scotland, and become an unfailing guide through the intricacies of fable and

the obscurity of antiquity. The earliest of these Annalists lived during the reign of Macbeth, when the Highlanders had reached the height of their power, and became, in consequence, a witness of the events of that intricate period. The last of them concludes his annals when the reign of Alexander II. gave the final blow to the attempts of the Highlanders to maintain their independence, if not to regain their supremacy.

It is not to be expected that the information regarding the early history of Scotland, to be found in these annals, should be very full, or that a clear and minute detail of the events in the most obscure part of Scottish history should be gathered from them. The principal object of the Annalists was Irish history,—and events in Scottish history are only casually alluded to when of sufficient importance to attract the notice of the Irish writers. The form in which these Annalists recorded the different events precluded any continued narrative of the history of either country; and although the greatest accuracy of chronology is attained by the form of the chronicle or annals, yet, on the other hand, the Annalist was obliged to confine himself to a mere unconnected notice of the principal events under the different years in which they took place. The Irish annals are not, however, on this account, of less importance for the early history of the Highlands of Scotland. The events narrated are, no doubt, merely short and unconnected notices, but it is during a period of which otherwise we know nothing at all. Their great antiquity gives them the highest claims to authenticity, and they become most important guides by which the information contained in the Roman, monkish, and Norwegian authors can be brought to bear on the history of Scotland.

These annals are four in number, namely:

I. *The Annals of Tighernac.* Tighernac, the oldest of the Irish Annalists, died as early as the year 1088. He was thus a contemporary of Duncan, Macbeth, and Malcolm Canmore, kings of Scotland, and is, therefore, the most valuable authority we possess for the early history of Scotland. With the exception of a few short extracts quoted in O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, no part of Tighernac's annals was ever published or made use of, and until the appearance of the *Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum* they were in fact almost inaccessible; for, although Pinkerton pretends to quote largely from this Annalist, and founds much of his system on facts, for which he refers to Tighernac, it admits of very easy proof that the author never saw the annals themselves, and that, with the exception of the extracts taken from O'Flaherty, not a single quotation is genuine. A strict comparison of Tighernac with all the other authorities (not Irish) for the early history of Scotland proves that his chronology is strictly accurate. As the other Irish annals in this point vary considerably from Tighernac, his chronology has, therefore, been followed throughout; whilst the various dates given by the other Annalists are subjoined to the respective extracts.

II. *The Annals of Innisfallen.* This chronicle was written by the monks of Innisfallen, in Munster, about the year 1215.

III. *The Annals of Buellan.* This chronicle was written by the monks of Buellan, in Connaught, about the year 1253.

IV. *The Annals of Ulster.* This chronicle was arranged and put in its present shape about the middle of the fifteenth century; but it has been satisfactorily proved by the learned editor, Dr. O'Connor, that the first part of it, which includes all before the tenth century, was certainly written previous to the twelfth century; a fact which is confirmed by the character and style of that part of the annals of Ulster. The remainder seems to have been added by different collectors and

continuators in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first part of the chronicle appears to be based largely on Tighernac.

All of these annals are written with many contractions, and partly in Latin, both the Irish and Roman characters being used.

A.D. 502. Feargus mac Earca the Great held a part of Britain with the Dalriadic tribe [*gente*], and died there.—Tighernac.

505. Death of Domangairt mac Nissi, King of Alban.—Tighernac (Annals of Innisfallen, 495).

520. Buitte mac Bronaig died. Columchille [or Culumba chill] was born.—Tighernac (An. Innis., 511; Annals of Buellan, 499; Annals of Ulster, 518).

538. Comgall mac Domangairt, King of Alban, died in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.—Tighernac (An. Innis., 531; An. Ult., 537).

560. Death of Gabrain mac Domangairt, King of Alban. Flight of the Albanich [Scots] before Bruidi (son of Maelchon), King of the Cruithne [Picts].—Tighernac (An. Innis., 551; An. Ult., 559).

563. Voyage of Columcille to the island of Ia [Iona] in the forty-second year of his age.—Tighernac (An. Innis., 555; Buellan, 561; An. Ult., 562).

568. A piratical expedition in the western regions by Colman mbecc (son of Diarmad) and Conall (son of Congall).—An. Ult., 567.

574. Death of Conaill (son of Comgaill), King of Dalriada, in the sixteenth year of his reign, who gave the island of Ia to Colaimcille.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 573; Inis., 566). Battle of Delgen in Kintyre, in which Duncan (son of Conaill son of Comgaill) and many others of the servants of the sons of Gabrain, fell.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 575).

580. Cendaeladh, King of the Picts, died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 579, also adds—"Piratical expedition by Aedan, son of Gabrain").

581. Battle of Man, in which Aedan (son of Gabrain) was victorious.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 581; An. Innis., 575).

583. Death of Bruidhe (son of Maelcon), King of the Cruithne.—Tighernac (An. Ult.; An. Innis., 576).

590. Battle of Leithrigh by Aedan, son of Gabrain.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 589).

596. Death of Columcille on Whitsuneve, the fifth day of the ides of June, the thirty-fifth year of his ministry, and the seventy-seventh year of his age.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 594; An. Inis., 589; An. Buellan, 568). Death of Eogain, son of Gabhrain.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 594). Slaughter of the sons of Aedan, *i. e.*, Bran and Domangairt and Eochfin and Artuir, in the battle of Chirchind, in which Aedan was vanquished.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 595).

598. Death of Baetin, Abbot of Iona, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 597).

599. Death of Gartnaidh, King of the Picts.—Tighernac.

600. Battle of the Saxons with Aedan, where fell Eanfraith, brother of Etalfraich, by Maeluma (son of Baedain), in which he was victorious.—Tighernac. Battle of the Saxons, in which Aedan was vanquished.—An. Ult., 599.

605. Laisren, Abbot of Iona, died.—Tighernac.

606. Death of Aedan (son of Gabhrain), in the thirty-eighth year of his reign and seventy-fourth year of his age.—Tighernac (An. Buellan, 580; An. Ult., 605; An. Inis., 601).

618. Death of Tolorgyain.—Innis. (610).

622. Battle of Cindelgthin, in which the two sons of Libren (son of Illiand, son of Cerbaill) were slain. Conall (son of Suibne) was victorious, and Domhnall Breacc along with him. Conaing (son of Aedan, son of Gabrain) was drowned. Bimudine the learned thus sang:

The resplendent billows of the sea, the sun that raised them, is my grief;
The storms were against Conaing with his army;
The woman of the fair locks was in the Churac with Conaing;
And there was great lamentation this day at Bili Tortan.—Tighernac (An.Ult., 621).

623. Death of Fergna, Abbot of Iona.—Tighernac (An. Ult.).

624. Birth of Adomnain, Abbot of Iona.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 623).

627. Battle of Ardcoraind in Dalriada; Lachtnen (son of Abbot Toir bene) was victorious, and Fiachna (son of Demain) was slain by Conadh Cerr, King of Dalriada.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 626).

629. Battle of Fedhaeoin, in which Maelcaith (son of Scandail), King of the Cruithne, was victorious. The Dalriads fell. Concad Ceir, King of Dalriada, was slain, and Dicuil (son of Each), King of the Ceneoil Cruithne, was slain; and the grandsons of Aedan were slain, *i. e.*, Rigullan (son of Conaing) and Failbe (son of Each), and Oiseric (son of Albruit), Prince of the Saxons, with a great slaughter of his people. Eochbuidhi (son of Aedan) was victorious; and Guaire Gaillsech (son of Forannain) was slain.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 628). The death of Ecdach buide [the yellow], son of Aedan.—An. Innis., 623.

630. Death of Conaing Chir, as others say, in the first year of his reign, who was conquered in the Battle of Fheadhaeoin.—Tighernac.

631. Death of Cinaetha [Kenneth] (son of Lachtren), King of the Picts.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 630; An. Innis., 625,—styles him "King of Alban").

634. Seigine, Abbot of Iona, founded the Church of Rechran.—Tighernac. Death of Angus, son of Nechtain.—An. Innis. (628).

635. Battle of Seghuise, in which Lochene (son of Nechtain the long-headed) and Cumascach (son of Aengusa) were slain.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 634, and adds —"Gartnait, son of Foith").

638. Battle of Glinne Mairison, in which the people of Domhnaill bricc were put to flight; and the besieging of Etain.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 637).

641. Death of Bruidi, son of Foith. Shipwreck of the boat of the community of Iona.—An. Ult. (640).

642. Domhnall brecc slain in the battle of Strath Cauin, in the end of the year in December, in the fifteenth year of his reign, by Hoan, King of the Britons. —Tighernac (An. Ult., 641.; Innis., 635).

645. Lochene (son of Fingen), King of the Cruithne, died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 644).

650. Death of Catasaigh, son of Domhnaill bricc.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 649).

652. Death of Seghine, Abbot of Iona, son of Fiachna.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 651).

653. Death of Ferich (son of Totalain) and of Ectolairg (son of Foith), King of the Picts.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 652).

654. Battle of Stratha Ethairt by Tolartach (son of Anfrait), King of the Cruithne, in which Duncadh (son of Conaing) and Congal (son of Ronain) were slain. Aed Roin (son of Mailchoba) died.—Tighernac. Battle of Rath Etairt where Duncat (son of Conaing) was slain by Ado Roin (son of Maelchoba).—An. Ult. (653).

657. Death of Suibine (son of Cuirthre), Abbot of Iona. Battle of Delen

in which Maelded (son of Conaing) was slain. Death of Tolarcain (son of Ainfrith), King of the Cruithne.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 656).

660. Conaill Crandamna died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 659).

663. Death of Gartnaidh (son of Domhnaill), King of the Cruithne, and Dohmnaill (son of Tuathalain) and Tuathal (son of Morgainn).—Tighernac (An. Ult., 662).

664. Battle of Lutofeirnn.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 663).

666. Eochaigh Iarlaithe, King of the Midland Cruithne, died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 665).

668. Voyage of the sons of Gartnaith to Ireland with the people of Scith [Skye].—Tighernac (An. Ult., 667).

669. Death of Cumaine Ailbe, Abbot of Iona. Among the Pictones, Starnan and Cordinu died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 668).

670. The Gartnait tribe returns from Ireland,—Tighernac (An. Ult., 668).

671. Maelruba sails to Britain.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 670). Expulsion of Drost from his kingdom.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 671).

673. Slaughter of Domainguirt mac Domhnaill bricc, King of Dalriada. Voyage of Failbe, Abbot of Iona, to Ireland. Maelruba founded the Church of Aporcrossan.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 672).

676. Failbe returned from Ireland.—Tighernac. Many of the Pictores drowned in the river of Abae.—An. Ult. (675).

678. Slaughter of the tribe of Loairn in a battle between Ferchairfata and the Britons, who were victorious. Death of Drost mac Domhnall. Battle in Calistros, in which Domhnall breac was vanquished.—Tighernac. (An. Ult., 677). Slaughter of the tribe of Loairnn in the district of Inn. Battle of Duinlocho, and battles of Liacc Maelain and Doiradd Eil inn.—An. Ult. (677).

679. Death of Failbe, Abbot of Iona. Death of Nectain.—Tighernac (An Ult., 678, styles him "Nechtain Neir").

680. Siege of Duinbaitte. Duncan mac Eogawan slain—An. Ult. (679).

681. Death of Conaill Chail mac Dinchadh in Kintyre. Death of Sechnusaigh mac Airmidhaig and Conaing mac Congall.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 680, and adds—"Siege of Duinfoither").

682. Orcades wasted by Bruidhe.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 681).

683. Death of Aiemadhaigh of the Craebe—Tighernac (An. Ult., 682, and adds—"Siege of Duinaill and Duinduirn").

686. Battle of Duin Nechtain fought on the twentieth of May, on the Sabbath day, in which Ecfrit mac Ossu, King of the Saxons, was slain, in the fifteenth year of his reign, with the whole of his great army of soldiers, by Brudhi mac Bili, King of Fortrein. Domhnall breacc mac Eachbuidhi slain by Hoan, King of the Britons, in the battle of Strath Carn.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 685) gives the date of the battle of Duin Nechta as May eleventh, and adds—"Tula Aman Duin Ollaig burnt. Talorg mac Aicthaen and Domhnall brecc mac Each diea").

689. Death of Cathasaig, grandson of Domhnall bricc; of Feradhaig mac Tuathail; and of Maileduin mac Conall Crandomnai.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 688).

692. Adomnan proceeded to Ireland in the fourteenth year after the death of Failbe of Iona.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 691).

693. Bruide mac Bile, King of Fortrend, and Alpin mac Nechtain died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 692).

694. Domhnall mac Avin, King of Alochluaithe, died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 693, and adds—"Siege of Duinforter. Death of Fercair mac Conaet Cirr").

696. Slaughter of Conaill Crandomna.—Tighernac. Slaughter of Domhnail. mac Conaill Crandamhnai.—An. Ult., 695.

697. Fearcar fota died. Adomnan brought a law with him this year to Ireland.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 696).

698. Battle between the Saxons and the Picts, where a son of Bernith was slain, who was called Brechtraig.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 697, and adds—"Burning of Dunimolaing. Expulsion of Ainfcellarch mac Fercair from his kingdom, and carried bound to Ireland").

701. Destruction of Duinonlaig by Sealbac. Slaughter of the tribe Cathboth.—An. Ult., 700.

704. Slaughter of the Darlaids in Glenlemna.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 703). Adomnan, Abbot of Iona, died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, on the ninth of the kalends of October.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 703; An. Innis., 693).

706. Bruide mac Derile died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 705).

707. Dunchad held the primacy of Iona.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 706).

709. Battle against the Orkneys, in which the son of Artablar was slain.—An. Ult. (708).

710. Conmael, son of the Abbot of Iona, died.—Tighernac. Conain mac Failbi, Abbot of Iona, died. Check given to the tribe of Comgail, where the two sons of Nechtain mac Doirgarto were slain. Angus mac Maelaen slain upon the island. Fiachra mac Dungaile slain by the Cruithne.—An. Ult. (709).

711. Slaughter of the Picts in the plain of Monand [An. Ult. says—"Manonn"] by the Saxons, where Findgaine mac Deleroith was slain by an untimely death. Conflict between the Britons and the Dalriads at Loirgeclat [or Longecclet], where the Britons were overcome.—Tighernac (An Ult., 710).

712. Ceode, bishop of Iona, dies.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 711, and adds—"Burning of Tiarpirt Baetten. Congal mac Doirgarto dies. Siege of Aberte by Selbhac.").

713. Cinaedh [Kenneth] mac Derili and his son Mathgernan are slain. Dorheni obtained the episcopal chair of Iona, and after five months' possession of the primacy, died on the Sabbath day, on the fifth of the kalends of November. Tolarg mac Drostain bound by his brother Nechtan, the king.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 712).

714. Dunolaigg built by Selbhac.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 713).

715. Dorbene, Abbot of Iona.—Tighernac.

716. The time of holding Easter changed in the community of Iona. Faelchu mac Doirbeni received the episcopal chair of Columba, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, on the fourth of the kalends of September, on the Sabbath day.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 715, and adds—"Garnat mac Deileroit died.").

717. Duncan mac Cindfaeladh, Abbot of Iona, died. Expulsion of the community of Iona across Drumalban [*dorsum Britanniæ*] by Nectan the king. Conflict between the Dalriads and the Britons at the stone which is called Minvircc, and the Britons were defeated.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 716).

718. The tonsure of the crown of the head imposed upon the community of Iona.—Tighernac.

719. Battle of Finglinne, between the two sons of Ferchairfota, in which Ainbhcellach was slain, about the fifth of the ides of September. Naval battle of Airdeanesbi between Duncan mac Becc with the tribe of Gabrain and Selbac with the tribe of Loairn, and Selbac was defeated on the second of the nones of October, in which battle certain chiefs were slain.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 718).

721. Duncan Becc, King of Kintyre, died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 720).

722. Maelruba died in Apercrossan in the eightieth year of his age, third month, and nineteenth day, on the eleventh day of the kalends of May. Bili mac Alpine, King of Allochluaithe, died. Feidlimid held the primacy of Iona.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 721).

723. Selbaigh, King of Dalriada, became a cleric.—Tighernac.

724. Faelchu mac Dorbene, Abbot of Iona, died. Cillenius the Long succeeded him in the primacy.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 723). Echtain [Nechtan], King of the Picts, became a cleric. Druxst reigned after him.—Tighernac.

725. Sima mac Druist put in chains.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 724, and adds —"Congal mac Maeleadfaith Brecc of Fortrenn, and Oan, Prince of Ego, died.").

726. Nechtain mac Derili put in chains by Druist the king.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 725). Cillenus the Long, Abbot of Iona, died. Dungal is expelled from his kingdom, and Druist is expelled from the kingdom of the Picts, and Elphin reigns after him. Eoch mac Each begins to reign.—Tighernac.

727. Conflict at Irroisfoichne between Selbac and the family of Echdach, grandson of Donald, where some from both the Airgialls were slain.—An. Ult. (726).

728. Battle of Monaigh Craebi between the Piccardach themselves. Angus and Alpin fought that battle, and the victory was with Angus, and the son of Alpin was there slain, and Angus took his power. An unfortunate battle between the Piccardach at the Castle of Credhi, and the victory was against the same Alpin, and his territories and all his men were taken, and Nechtain mac Derili obtained the kingdom of the Piccardach.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 727).

729. Three ships of the Piccardach wrecked this year on Irrois Cuissine. Battle of Dromad's Blathmig between the Piccardach, between Drust and Angus, King of the Piccardach, and Drust was slain on the twelfth day of the month of August.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 728, and adds—"Battle of Monitcarno, near the marsh of Loegdea, between the army of Nechtain and the army of Angus, and the officers of Nechtain were slain, that is, Bisceot mac Moneit and his son, and Finguine mac Drostan, and Ferot mac Finguine, and many others. The clan of Angus were triumphant").

730. Bran mac Eugain and Selbac mac Fercair died. Slaughter of the son of Kenneth. Conflict of Dunaid against Domhnaill mac Murcado.—An. Ult. (729).

731. Battle between the Cruithne and the Dalriads with the Murbulg where the Cruithne were overthrown. Battle between the son of Angus and the son of Congus; Brude conquered and Talorco fled.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 730, and adds —"Burning of Tiarpirt Boitter by Dungal").

732. Nechtan mac Derile died.—Tighernac.

733. Dungal mac Selbaigh died. The beginning of his expedition, and the beginning of another in the same month in which he fell. Muredach mac Anbhcellach acquired the kingdom of the tribe of Loairn. Flaibhertach leads the fleet of the Dalriads to Ireland, and a great slaughter was made of them in the island of Hoie, where these men were slain: Concobar mac Lochlein and Branin mac Brain; and many were drowned in the river of Bann. Eoch mac Each, King of Dalriada, and Conall mac Concobar died.—Tighernac. Dungal mac Selbaich desecrated Toraic when he dragged Brude out of it, and at the same time invaded the island of Culrenrigi. Muredac mac Ainfcellach took possession of the kingdom of the tribe of Loairn.—An. Ult. (732).

734. Tolarg mac Congus seized by his own brother and delivered into the hands of the Piccardach, and drowned by them.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 733, and

adds—"Talorgan mac Drostain taken and bound near the citadel of Ollaig. Dunleven destroyed after Dungal was wounded and fled to Ireland from the power of Angus.").

736. Angus mac Fergus, King of the Picts, laid waste the territories of the Dalriads, and took Dunad [the capital of Dalriada], and drove away booty, and threw the two sons of Selbaiche, Dongal and Feradach, into chains; and a short time thereafter Brude mac Fergus died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 735, and adds—"Battle of Knock Cairpre, at Calatros, on the shores of Linne, between the Dalriads and Fortren; and Talorgan mac Fergus pursues with his army the son of Ainfcellach, who fled before him, in which conflict many nobles were slain.").

737. Failbe mac Guare, the successor of Maelruba in Apurcrossan, was drowned in the open sea with all his sailors, to the number of twenty-two.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 736).

739. Tolarcan mac Drostan, King of Atholl, drowned by Angus.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 738).

741. Battle of Drum Ethmal, by the Cruithne and Dalriads, against Innrechtac. Downfall of the Dalriads, by Angus mac Fergus. An. Ult. (740).

749. Drowning of the community of Iona.—Tighernac. (An. Ult., 748, and adds—"Burning of Kilmore of Aedahmac Angus").

750. Battle between the Pictones and the Britons [of Strathclyde], that is, Tolargan mac Fergus and his brother, and the slaughter of the Piccardach along with them.—Tighernac. Battle of *Cato hic* between the Pictones and the Britons, in which Talorgan mac Fergus, brother of Angus, was slain.—An. Ult. (749).

752. Death of Cille Droictigh, hermit of Iona. Death of Cilline mac Congal in Iona.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 751). Battle of Sreith in the territory of the Circi, between the Pictones themselves, in which Brude mac Maelchon [Malcolm] was slain.—Tighernac.

754. Sleibine, Abbot of Iona, comes into Ireland.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 753).

759. Angus, King of Alban, died.—Tighernac.

761. Angus mac Fergus, King of the Picts, died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 760).

763. Bruidhi, King of Fortchern [Fortrenn], died.—Tighernac (An. Ult., 762).

766. Suibne, Abbot of Iona, came to Ireland.—An. Ult. (765).

767. Death of Sleibne, Abbot of Iona.—Ann. Ult. (766); (An. Innis., 754).

768. Battle in Fortrinn between Aedh and Cinaedh.—An. Ult. (767).

772. Death of Suipne, Abbot of Iona.—An. Ult. (771).

775. Death of Cinadhon, King of the Picts.—An. Ult. (774).

778. Aedfinn mac Ecdach, King of Dalriada, died.—An. Ult. (777).

780. Burning of Alocluade [Alclyde, capital of Strathclyde] on the kalends of January.—An. Ult. (779).

781. Fergus mac Echach, King of Dalriada, died.—An. Ult. (780).

782. Dubtolarg, King of the Picts on this side [west] of the Mounth, and Muredac mac Huargail, steward of Iona, perished. Airtgail mac Cathail, King of Connaught, assumes the pilgrim's staff, and his voyage in the following year to island of Iona.—An. Ult. (781).

789. Battle between the Picts, where Conall mac Taidg was conquered and escaped, and Constantine was victorious.—An. Ult. (788).

792. Donncorcin, King of Dalriada, died.—An. Ult. (791).

794. Ravaging of all the islands of Britain by the Gentiles (*gentibus, i. e.*, Norse).—An. Ult. (793). Ravaging of Icolmkill.—Innis. (781).

798. Burning of Inchpatrick by the Gentiles, and a plundering by seas

made by them in Ireland and Alban.—An. Ult. (797). The Hebrides Islands and Ulster laid waste by the Danes.—Innis.

801. Bresal mac Regeni, Abbot of Iona, died in the thirty-first year of his primacy.—An. Ult. (800).

802. Icolmkill burned by the Gentiles.—An. Ult. (801).

806. The community [*familia*] of Iona slain by the Gentiles, to the number of sixty-eight.—An. Ult. (805). Forty-eight of the monks of Icolumkill slain by the Lochlannaibh.—Innis.

807. Slaughter of Conall mac Taidg by Conall mac Aedan in Kintyre.—An. Ult. (806); (Innis., 794).

814. Cellach, Abbot of Iona, having finished the construction of the church of Cenindsa, resigned the primacy, and Diarmicius, the disciple of Daigri, was ordained in his place.—An. Ult. (813).

819. Death of Aedha mac Neill near the Ford of the Two Miracles, in Tyrconaill.—An. Ult. (818). Death of Aeda mac Neill, King of Temrach, while carrying on war in Alban.—Innis. (806). Aodh Oirdnidhe mac Neill frossach was king of Teaffhair [Temora] for twenty-two years, until he died at Athdaferda, in Tirconall. But other Sennachies say that it was in the battle of Droma that he was slain.—Innis. (797).

820. Constantine mac Fergus, King of Fortren, died.— An. Ult. (819); (Innis., 807).

823. Galloway of the Britons laid waste, with all its dwellings and its Church, by Feidlimidh.—An. Ult. (822).

825. Martyrdom of Blaimhic mac Flainn, by the Gentiles, in Iona.—An. Ult. (824).

829. Diarmait, Abbot of Iona, went to Alban with the reliques of Columcille. —An. Ult. (828).

831. Diarmait came to Ireland with the reliques of Columcille.—An. Ult. (830).

834. Angus mac Fergus, King of Fortrenn, died.—An. Ult. (833).

839. Battle by the Gentiles against the men of Fortren, in which Euganan mac Angus and Aed mac Boanta, and innumerable others, fell.—An. Ult. (838).

849. Innrechtach, Abbot of Iona, came to Ireland with the reliques of Columcille.—An. Ult. (848).

854. The wise and excellent successor of St. Columba put to death by the Saxons on the fourth day of the Ides of March.—An. Ult. (853). Innrechtach (grandson of Finechta), Abbot of Iona, put to death on his way to Rome by the Saxons.—Innis. (840).

856. Great battle between the Gentiles and Maelsechnaill, who had the Gallgoidhel with him.—An. Ult. (855).

857. Victory by Imar [Ivar] and Amlaiph [Olaf] over Caittil the White [*i. e.*, Norse], with his Gallgaedhel, in the lands of Munster.—An. Ult. (856).

858. Cinaedh mac Alpin, King of the Picts, died.—An. Ult. (857); (An. Innis., 844).

862. Domhnall mac Alpin, King of the Picts, died.—An. Ult. (861); (An. Innis., 847).

865. Ceallach mac Ailello, Abbot of Kildare and Abbot of Iona, died in the country of the Picts. Tuathal mac Artguso, Primate of Fortren and Abbot of Dunkeld, died.—An. Ult. (864).

866. Amlaiph and Auisle went into Fortrenn with the Galls of Ireland and

Alban, and laid waste all the Cruitintuait, and carried off hostages.—An. Ult. (865).

870. Siege of Ailecluithe by the Northmen, that is, by Amlaiph and Imhar, the two kings of the Northmen; they besieged that citadel, and, after four months, destroyed the citadel and plundered.—An. Ult. (869). Death of Feradaich, Abbot of Iona.—An. Innis. (866).

871. Amlaiph and Imhar return to Dublin [*Athcliath*] from Alban with two hundred ships; and a great booty of men, Angles, Britons, and Picts, are brought along with them to Ireland into captivity.—An. Ult. (870); (An. Innis., 871).

872. Artgha, King of the Britons of Strathacluade, is slain by the counsel of Constantine mac Kenneth.—An. Ult. (871).

873. Flaithbertach mac Murcertaigh, Prince of Dunkeld, dies.—An. Ult. (872).

875. Conflict between the Picts and the Dubgalls, and a great slaughter of the Picts is made. Oistin mac Amlaiph, King of the Northmen, is slain by the Albanenses, by stratagem.—An. Ult. (874).

876. Constantine mac Kenneth, King of the Picts, dies.—An. Ult. (875).

878. Aedh mac Kenneth, King of the Picts, is slain by his followers [or allies —*socius*]. The shrine of Columba is transferred to Ireland in refuge from the Galls. —An. Ult. (877).

880. Feradach mac Cormaic, Abbot of Iona, dies.—An. Ult. (879); (An. Innis., 866).

891. Flann mac Maleduin, Abbot of Iona, dies in peace.—An. Ult. (890); (An. Innis., 877).

900. Domhnall mac Constantin, King (*Ri*) of Alban, dies.—An. Ult. (899); (An. Innis., 886).

904. Imhar, the grandson of Imhar, slain by the men of Fortrenn, and great slaughter of his followers.—An. Ult. (903).

913. Malmire, the daughter of Kenneth mac Alpin, dies.—An. Ult. (912).

918. The Galls of Loch Dachaech expelled from Ireland, that is, Ragnall, King of the Dubgalls, and the two jarls, namely, Ottir and Gragabai, and afterwards they invade the people of Alban. The men of Alban, however, prepared to oppose themselves to them, and gave them battle, with the assistance of the Northern Saxons. The Gentiles divided themselves into four battalions; the first battalion under Gothbrith, grandson of Imair; the second under the two jarls; the third under the young lords, and a very strong battalion under Raghnall the leader, which, however, the men of Alban did not see. The men of Alban were victorious over the three battalions, which they saw, and made a great slaughter of the Gentiles who were with Ottir and Gragabai. Raghnall, however, made an attack upon the men of Alban from behind, and slew many of them with great slaughter, but neither their king nor any of the Mormaers were slain. The night put an end to the battle.—An. Ult. (917).

927. Maelbrigda mac Tormain, successor of Patrick and of Columba, died at a good old age.—An. Ult. (626). Death of Maelbigte mac Thomain, Abbot of Armagh, and Abbot of Iona.—An. Innis. (911).

938. Dubtach, successor of Columba and Adomnan, died in peace.—An. Ult. (937).

952. Constantine mac Aeda, King [*Ri*] of Alban, died. Battle against the men of Alban, the Britons, and the Saxons by the Galls.—An. Ult. (951).

954. Maelcolaim mac Domhnaill, King of Alban, slain. Robartach, successor of Columba and Adomnan, died in Christ.—An. Ult. (953).

959. Duibduin, successor of Columba [died].—An. Ult. (958).

964. Dubscuile mac Cinaeda, successor of Columba, died.—An. Ult. (963).

965. Battle between the men of Alban, in Monetir, where many were slain with Duncan, Abbot of Dunkeld.—An. Ult. (964).

967. Dub mac Malcolaim, King of Alban, slain by the Albanich themselves. —An. Ult. (966).

971. Culen mac Illuilb, King of Alban, slain by the Britons in battle.— An. Ult. (970).

976. Foray by Gillacolaim O'Canadan, King of the Ceneoill Conaill, in O'Failge, and Fergal mac Fogartaig, King of Cairpre mor, Cell. mac Findgaine, Cell. mac Baireda, Dondead mac Morgaind, three Mormaers of Alban, were slain there.—Tighernac.

977. Amlaim mac Illuilb, King of Alban, slain by Cinaeth mac Mailcolaim.— Tighernac. Amlaim mac Iluilb, King of Alban, slain by Cinaet. mac Dohmnaill. —An. Ult. (976).

978. Fiachra Aircinnach of Iona, died.—An. Ult. (977).

980. Mugron, successor of Columba in Erin and Alban, died.—An. Ult. (975); (An. Innis., 963).

986. Iona ravaged by the Danes on Christmas Eve, and they slew the Abbot and fifteen of the clergy of the Church.—An. Ult. (985). The fort of Columba laid waste by the Galls, and the islands ravaged by them, and the bishop of Iona slain by them.—An. Ult. (968).

987. Great slaughter of the Danes, who ravaged Iona, and three hundred and sixty of them were slain.—An. Ult. (986).

989. Gofraig mac Arailt, King of Innsegall, slain by the Dalriads.—Tighernac (An. Inis.; An. Ult., 988, and adds—"Duncan O Robacan, successor of Columba, died. Dubdaldetha, successor of Patrick, received the successorship of Columba, by the election of the men of Erin and Alban.").

995. Cinaet mac Maelcolaim, King of Alban, slain by his own people.— Tighernac (An. Inis., 977). Cinaed mac Maelcolaim, King of Alban, slain by stratagem.—An. Ult. (994).

996. Dubdalithe, successor of Columba, died.—An. Innis. (978).

997. Battle between the Albanich, in which Constantine mac Cuilindain, King of Alban, and many others, were slain.—Tighernac.

998. Dubdalethe, successor of Patrick and Columba, died on the fifth of the nones of June, in the eighty-third year of his age.—An. Ult. (997).

1004. The grandson of Arailt died in Munster.—An. Innis. (986).

1005. Aed O Flanacan, keeper of the treasure of Columba, Raghnall mac Gofraig, King [*Ri*] of the Isles, Maelbrigda O Rimeda, Abbot of Iona, died in Christ. Battle between the men of Alban in Monetir, Cinaed mac Duib was slain. —An. Ult. (1004). (An. Innis., 1004, also records death of Raghnailt mac Godfra.)

1006. Battle between the men of Alban and the Saxons. The Albanich were overcome, and great slaughter made of their nobles.—An. Ult. (1005).

1007. Muredhach mac Cricain resigns the successorship of Columba for the service of God. Ferdomnach elected to the successorship of Columba at the council of the men of Erin.—An. Ult. (1006).

1008. Ferdomhnach, successor at Kells, died in Christ.—An. Ult. (1007); (An. Innis., 990).

1011. Muredach O Crican, successor of Columba and reader of Armagh, died in Christ.—An. Ult. (1010).

1014. [In this year was fought in Ireland the celebrated battle of Cluantarf,

or Clontarf, between the Irish on the one side, and a vast assemblage of Danes and Norse, including those of Britain, on the other. The Irish were victorious, but with the loss of their monarch, Brian Boroimhe. The long accounts of this battle contained in the annals need not be inserted here, further than to notice the part taken by persons connected with Scotland]. On the part of the Danes, the third battalion consisted of the Galls of the Isles, with Luadar, Earl of Orkney and Bruadar, leader of the Danes, and the Galls of Innescead, and of Man and Skye, and Lewis, and Kintyre, and the Ergadians, and the district Britons, and the Britons of Cillemuine, and of Cor na liogog, with all their kings.—An. Innis. And there was slain Sitrioc [Sigurd] mac Luadar, Earl of Orkney.—An. Innis., An. Buellan, An. Ult. Slain on the part of the Irish, Donald mac Emmi [or Emin] mac Kenneth, Mormaer of Marr in Alban.—An. Buellan, An. Ult.

1020. Findlaec mac Ruaidri, Mormaer of the sons of Croeb, slain by the sons of his brother, Maelbrigde.—Tighernac. Finnloech mac Ruadri King [*Ri*] of Alban, slain by his own people.—An. Ult.

1025. Flanobra, successor at Iona, died in Christ.—An. Ult.

1027. Dunkeld in Iona entirely burned.

1029. Maelcolaim mac Maelbrigdi mac Ruadri, King of Alban, died.—Tighernac (An. Ult.).

1032. Gillacomgan mac Maelbrig, Mormaer of Moray, burned, with fifty of his men.—An. Ult.

1033. M. mac [grandson] Boete Cinaedha slain by Maelcoluim mac Cinaeda.—An Ult. Cormac mac Faelan, successor of the sons of Iona, died.—An. Innis. (1016).

1034. Maelcolaim mac Cinaeta, King of Alban—of the whole of Western Europe—died.—Tighernac (An. Ult.); (An. Innis., 1017). Suibne mac Cinae King [*Ri*] of the Gallgedel, died.—Tighernac. Mac Nia O'Uchtan, reader at Kells, drowned while on his way to Alban with the books of Columba and three of the reliques of Patrick, and thirty of his men drowned with him.—An. Ult.

1040. Duncan mac Crinain, Supreme King [*Airdri*] of Alban, prematurely slain by his subjects.—Tighernac (An. Ult.). Maelmuire O'Uchtan, successor of Columba, died in Christ.—An. Ult.

1045. Battle between the Albanich on both sides, in which Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, was slain, and many with him, that is, nine times twenty heroes.—Tighernac (An. Ult.).

1054. Battle between the Albanich and the Saxons, in which many of the soldiers were slain.—Tighernac. Battle between the men of Alban and the Saxons, in which were slain three thousand of the men of Alban and fifteen hundred of the Saxons, along with Dolfinn mac Finntuir.—An. Ult.

1055. Battle between Dubdaleite, successor of Patrick, and Murcad. O'Maels., successor to Finden and Columba, fighting for the reliques of the martyrs, and the battle was gained by the successor of Patrick, and by the staff of Jesus, and many were slain there.—Tighernac (An. Innis., An. Ult.).

1057. Robartach mac Ferdomhuach, successor of Columba, died in the Lord. —An. Ult.

1058. Lulac, King [*Ri*] of Alban, slain by Malcolm mac Duncan, by stratagem. Maritime expedition by the son of the King of Lochlan with the Galls of Orkney and Innse Gall, and Dublin, to subject the kingdom of the Saxons, but God was against them in that affair. Macbetad mac Findlai, Supreme King (*Airdri*) of Alban, slain by Maelcolaim mac Doncada.—Tighernac. Lulach mac Gillcomgain, Supreme King [*Airdri*] of Alban, slain by Maelcolaim mac Doncha

in battle. Macbeath mac Finnlaich, Supreme King [*Airdri*] of Alban, slain by Maelcol. mac Doncha, in battle.—An. Ult.

1062. O Maildoraig, successor of Columba, died.—Tighernac (An. Ult.).

1065. Dubtach of Alban, chief Anchorite of Erin and Alban in Ardmagh, died.—An. Ult.

1070. The Abbot of Iona, mac Baetan, slain by Indab O Maldor.—An. Ult.

1072. Diarmuit mac Mailnambo, King of the Britons, and Innse Gall, and Dublin, and the south half of Ireland, slain by Concobur O Maelsechlan in the battle of Odba, and great slaughter made of the Galls and men of Leinster with him.—Tighernac (An. Innis., An. Buellan, An. Ult.). (The last adds—"The Franks enter Alban, and carry off the King of Alban with them as a hostage.")

1085. Maelsnechtai mac Lulaigh, King of Moray, died peacefully. Donald mac Maelcoluim, King of Alban, died a violent death.—An. Ult.

1093. Maelcoluim mac Donchada, King of Alban, and his son, slain by the Franks in battle, and Margaret, his wife, died of grief.—An. Innis. (1076). Tothudh, Archbishop of Alban, died in Christ. Maelcoluim mac Donncha, supreme King of Alban, and Ecbhard, his son, slain by the Franks.—An. Ult.

1094. Duncan mac Maelcoluim, King of Alban, slain by his own brothers, Domhnall and Etmond, by stratagem.—An. Ult. Donnchad mac Mailcoluim, King of Alban, slain by Domhnaill mac Donnchad. The son of that Domhnall took the kingdom of Alban after him.—An. Ult., Innis. (1077).

1095. Goffraig Meranach, King of the Galls, died.—An. Ult. A great mortality among the men of Erin, in which multitudes perished. In this mortality died Gobraith [Godfrey], King of Dublin and Innsegall.—An. Innis. (1078).

1099. Duncan (grandson of Moenag), Abbot of Iona, died in peace.—An. Ult.

1106. Edgar, King of Alban, died.—An. Ult.

1109. Angus O'Donallan, chief Anchorite of the congregation of Columba, died.—An. Ult.

1111. Domhnall mac Taidg carried war into the North of Ireland, and acquired the kingdom of Innsegall by force.—An. Innis. (1094).

1116. Ladmunn mac Domhnall . . ., King of Alban, slain by the men of Moray.—An. Ult.

1124. Alexander mac Maelcoluim, King of Alban, died after absolution.—An. Ult.

1130. Battle between the men of Alban and the men of Moray, in which four thousand of the Morebh were slain, along with their king, Angus, the son of the daughter of Lulach; a thousand of the men of Alban, however, were slain in that battle.—An. Ult. (An. Innis., 1113).

1153. David mac Mailcoluim, King of Alban and of the Britons, died.—An. Buellan.

APPENDIX P

(*Page 239, Vol I.*)

EXTRACTS FROM THE NORSE SAGAS

The history of Scotland, previous to the thirteenth century, as contained in the ancient Scottish chronicles, is, in fact, the history of the south of Scotland only. Of the northern districts the writers did and could know nothing. The most

important revolutions might have taken place there without reaching the ears of the learned monks of the southern monasteries, who are the only native historians of these distant periods; and that such was actually the case will be sufficiently apparent, when we turn to the only quarter from which we can expect information on the subject.

The most important events of the north and west of Scotland were connected with the Norwegians, and therefore, as might have been expected, the best and most accurate account of these events is to be found in the Norwegian Sagas, whose antiquity would sufficiently warrant their accuracy, were it not further confirmed by the remarkable fact that, wherever the same events are alluded to in the Irish annals, the account contained in the Sagas, although at variance with the generally received history, is invariably borne out, in the fullest manner, by these invaluable annalists. From these Sagas it appears that there existed, at three different periods, *a Norwegian kingdom in the Highlands*. Of this kingdom there are accounts in four different Sagas, viz.:

I. *Ynglinga Saga*, written by Snorro Sturleon, about the year 1200, and published in his *Heimskringla*, at Copenhagen, 1777.—2. *Olaftryggvasonir Saga*, written in the thirteenth century, and published at Copenhagen, 1825, in the *Fornmanna Sogur*.—3. *Islands Landnamabok*, written by Are Frode, in the beginning of the twelfth century, and published at Copenhagen, 1829.—4. *Laxdaela Saga*, written in the end of the twelfth century, and published at Copenhagen, 1826.

The accounts of this kingdom, contained in the first two of these Sagas, are so exactly alike, that only one of them, has been given viz., that of Snorro.

I. YNGLINGA SAGA

Chapter XX.—After this battle [of Hafursfiord, in Norway, fought about 888], King Harald met with no farther resistance in Norway. All his opponents and greatest enemies were subdued, but a great multitude of them fled the country, in consequence of which many uninhabited countries were colonized. It was at this time that Jamta-land and Helsinga-land were occupied, but both of these were somewhat inhabited before by Northmen. In the same war by which King Harald obtained the sovereignty of Norway, the remote countries of Faroe and Iceland were discovered and occupied. There was also at that time a great migration of the Northmen to Shetland, and many of the rich Norwegians fled there as outlaws from King Harald, and engaged in the Vestrviking [a peculiar phrase applied to the piratical expeditions to Great Britain and Ireland]. During the winter months they remained in the Orkneys or in the Sudreys [the Hebrides are here meant], but during summer they infested the coasts of Norway, and did considerable damage to the country. There were also many wealthy men who made submission to King Harald, became his subjects, and dwelt with him in the land.

Chapter XXII.—King Harald, having learned that several Vikings infested the midland country far and wide, who took refuge during the winter in the western sea, went out with an army every summer, and explored the islands and rocks; but, wherever the Vikings perceived his army, they always fled, and generally took refuge in the open sea; but the king, becoming dissatisfied with these expeditions, followed the Vikings one summer with his army "westward over the sea." He arrived first at Shetland, and killed there all the Vikings who had not fled at his approach. King Harald then sailed to the Orkneys, and drove the Vikings out of the whole country; from thence he went to the Sudreys [Hebrides] and attacked the Vikings there. He killed a great many of them, who had been commanders of

great bodies of men, and fought numerous battles, until at length he arrived at the island of Man; but the inhabitants, having heard what devastation he had formerly made in that country, fled to Scotland, and he found the country quite deserted. The inhabitants had also carried with them all their wealth and possessions which could be taken, so that when King Harald and his followers landed they obtained no booty.

In one of these battles was killed Ivar the son of Rognvald, Earl of Maeri, but as a compensation for this loss, King Harald gave Earl Rognvald, on his return, the Orkneys and Shetland. Earl Rognvald, however, made over both of these countries to Sigurd his brother, who, accordingly, remained in the west, and King Harald bestowed upon him the title of a jarl. Previous to Harald's departure, Sigurd was joined by Thorstein the Red, who was a son of Olaf the White and Audur the wealthy. *They then invaded Scotland and obtained possession of Catthness and Suderland, and all as far as Ekkjalsbakka* [probably the mountain chain forming the southern boundary of Inverness-shire and Aberdeenshire].

In this invasion Earl Sigurd killed Melbrigda Tonn [Maolbride the Bucktoothed], a Scottish jarl, and having tied his head to the bridle, the tooth, which was very prominent, struck his leg, and the wound, inflaming, caused the death of the Earl, who was buried at Ekkjalsbakka. After his death, his son Guttorm ruled over the countries for one winter, and died childless. The Vikings then took possession of the countries, both Danes and Northmen.

II. ISLANDS LANDNAMABOK

Harald the Fairhaired made war "westward over the sea," as is written in his Saga. He subdued all the Sudreys so far west that no Norwegian king has since conquered farther, except King Magnus Barefoot; but he had no sooner returned than Vikings, both Scottish and Irish, cast themselves into the islands and made war, and plundered far and wide. When King Harald, however, heard this, he sent westward Ketil Flatnefr [flatnose], the son of Bjarnan Bunu, to reconquer the islands. Ketil was married to Ingvild, the daughter of Ketil Vedr, a hersr [baron] of Ringariki. Their sons were Bjorn the Eastward and Helgi Bjola; Audur the Wealthy and Thorir the Horned were their daughters. Ketil departed for the west, leaving behind him his son Bjorn, and subdued all the Sudreys. He made himself king over them, however, and refused to pay tribute to King Harald, as had been stipulated; upon which King Harold took possession of Ketill's Norwegian property and expelled his son Bjorn. Helgi Bjola, the other son of Ketill, went to Iceland from the Hebrides.

There was a sea king called Olaf the White; he was the son of King Ingiald, son of Helgi, son of Olave, son of Godred, son of Halfdun, king of Upland. Olave the White went into the "Vestrviking," conquered Dublin with the surrounding territory, and became king there. He married Audur the Wealthy, the daughter of Ketill Flatnefr, and had a son called Thorstein the Red. Olave was killed in Ireland in battle, upon which Audur, and Thorstein her son, went to the Sudreys, and Thorstein married there Thurid, the daughter of Eyvind the Ostman, and sister of Helgi the Lean, by whom he had many children. He had a son called Olaf Feilan, and his daughters were Groa and Alaf Osk, and Thorhild, Thorgierd, and Vigdis. Thorstein became a sea king, and entered into an alliance and confederacy with Earl Sigurd the Rich, the son of Eystein Glumra. They conquered Katenes and Sudrland, Ross and Moray and more than half of Scotland, and Thorstein reigned as king over these districts until he was betrayed by the Scotch and slain

in battle. Audur was in Katenes when she heard of her son Thorstein's death and caused a large ship to be secretly made in a wood, and when it was ready she fled to Orkney. There she gave away in marriage Groa, the daughter of Thorstein the Red. [Groa was married to Dungadr, jarl of Katenes, and his daughter Grelauga, by her marriage with Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, brought the former district once more into the possession of these earls.] She became mother to Grelauga, who was married to Thorfinn the Cleaver of Skulls. After that Audur went to Iceland; she had twenty freemen along with her in the ship.

III. LAXDAELA SAGA

CHAPTER I.—There was a man called Ketill Flatnefr, the son of Bjorn Bunu, he was a "hersr" of Norway, both rich and of noble descent, and dwelt in Raumsdal in the Fylki [The petty kings of Norway, previous to Harald's conquest, were known by the name of "Fylkis Konunger" and the districts over which they reigned by that of "Fylkis."] of Raumsdal, which is situated between Sunmear and Nordmaer. Ketill Flatnefr was married to Ingvald the daughter of Ketil Vedr, an excellent man. They had five children, one of whom was called Biorn the Eastward, and another Helgi Bjolan. One of his daughters, called Torin the Horned, was married to Helgi the Lean, the son of Eyvind the Ostman, and of Rafarta, daughter of Kearval, king of Ireland. Unur the Wealthy was another daughter of Ketill, who was married to Olave the White, the son of Ingiald, the son of Frodi the Gallant, whom the Svertlings killed.

CHAPTER II.—In the latter days of Ketill the dominion of King Harald the Fairhaired commenced, so that no king of a Fylki, nor any other nobleman, could retain his station, unless he came under subjection to Harald. Ketill having heard that Harald intended the same conditions for him as had been forced upon the other noblemen, viz., that his relations should be left uncompensated, and that he should be obliged to hold his possessions of the king, he summoned a meeting of his kindred, and thus addressed them: "The transactions which have passed between me and King Harald, are well known to you, and it will not be necessary for me to repeat them, for it is our principal business now to deliberate concerning those difficulties which present themselves before us. I am certainly informed of King Harald's enmity towards us, and it appears to me that we cannot place any confidence in him. I think, therefore, that there are but two alternatives left for us, either to fly the country, or for each man of us to be killed in his place; for myself I am more inclined to meet the death which my relations have had, but I will not lead you through my obstinacy into so much danger; for I well know the sentiments of my relations and friends to be such, that you would not desert me, even although you might encounter great dangers in remaining with me." To this Bjorn, the son of Ketill, answered—"I shall not take long in making my intentions known, for I shall follow the example of many noble men and fly the country. It appears to me that I should not gain much by waiting at home for the thralls of King Harald, who would either chase us from our possessions, or slay us outright." This was well received, and they thought it manly spoken. The plan was therefore fixed, that they should leave the country, as the sons of Ketill urged it much and none spoke against it.

Bjorn and Helgi wished to go to Iceland, for they had heard much from thence that was attractive. They said that the quality of the land was good, and that there was no occasion to buy cattle. They also said that there was a great influx of whales, good salmon-fishing, and a fishing-station at all seasons. Ketill said that

to that fishing-station he would never come in his old age, and declared his intentions that he was more inclined to go westward "over the sea" for he liked it well there. The countries there were known to him far and wide, for he had frequently infested them before.

Chapter III.—Ketill then prepared a great feast, and gave his daughter Thorin the Horned in marriage to Helgi the Lean, as was mentioned before. After that Ketill made preparations for his journey from the country "westward over the sea." Unur, his daughter, and many of his kindred, went with him; but his sons, together with their brother-in-law Helgi, the Lean, departed that same summer for Iceland. . . .

Chapter IV.—Ketill Flatnefr arrived with his vessel at Scotland, and was well received there by men of rank, as he was both a celebrated man and of high descent. They offered him any possessions he pleased, so that Ketill settled there with all the rest of his kindred except Thorstein, his daughter's son, who immediately commenced making piratical expeditions, infesting Scotland far and wide and always obtaining victory. *Thorstein at length became reconciled with the king of the Scots, and obtained possession of the half of Scotland, over which he became king.* He married Thorod the daughter of Eyvind, and sister of Helgi the Lean. The Scotch did not keep the treaty long, but betrayed him in confidence. Of his death, Arefrode, the son of Thorgils, says he was killed in Katenes [Caithness].

Unur the Wealthy was in Katenes when her son Thorstein was killed; and when she heard that Thorstein was no more, her father being also dead, she thought that her prosperity was at an end. She caused, however, a ship to be secretly made in the wood, and when the ship was completed, she furnished it with tackle and placed all her wealth on board of it, and carried away with her all those of her kindred that remained alive, so that it is generally thought that there are few examples of a single woman escaping from such hostilities with so much wealth and so many of her followers; from which it is very plain that she was no ordinary woman.

Unur was also accompanied by many persons of importance and good birth. One of Unur's companions, called Kollr, was the most important of them, which arose chiefly from his possessing the title of Hersr. There was also among them a person called Hordr, a man of high birth and importance. When everything was ready, Unur steered her ship to Orkney, where she remained a short time. Here she gave away in marriage Groa, the daughter of Thorstein the Red. She was the mother of Grelauga, who was married to Earl Thorfin, the son of Earl Torfeinar, who was the son of Rognvald, Earl of Maeri. Her son was Lodver, the father of Earl Sigurd, the father of Earl Thorfin, and from thence is descended the race of Earls of Orkney.

OF EARL LODVER AND EARL SIGURD THE STOUT, HIS SON

Lodver took the earldom after Liotr, and was a great chieftain. He was married to Audur, the daughter of Kiarval, King of the Irish. Their son was Sigurd the Stout; Lodver died of sickness, and was intombed in Hofn in Katenes. Sigurd his son took the earldom after him, and became a great chieftain, and wide landed. He kept Katenes by main force from the Scotch, and had every summer an army ready for service. He made war in the Sudreys, on Scotland, and on Ireland. It happened one summer that Finlay, the Earl of Scots, marked out a battlefield to Sigurd on Skida Myre on a certain day. But Sigurd went to consult

his mother; she was wise in many things, [a magician]. The earl said there were no less odds than seven men against one. She answered, "I would long have fostered thee in my wool basket, if I had known thou wouldst live forever, and fortune decides as to a man's life, and not circumstances. It is better to die with honor than to live with dishonor. Receive a standard which I have made with my whole knowledge, and I expect it will be victorious to him before whom it is carried, but the bane of him who bears it." The standard was wrought with much manual art and equisite elegance. It was made in likeness of a raven, and, when the wind blew the standard, it appeared as if the raven was hastening on its flight. Earl Sigurd got angry at the words of his mother, and restored to the Orkney men their allodial possessions for their assistance, and went to Earl Finlay on Skida Myre, and both arrayed their army. And, when the battle came to close quarters, the standard-bearer of Earl Sigurd was shot dead. The earl called another man to bear the standard, and when they had fought awhile he was killed. Three standard-bearers of the earl were slain, but he got the victory; and the Orkney men then received back their allodial possessions according to his promise, and he went to marry the daughter of Malcolm, King of the Scots.

ORKNEYINGA SAGA

Chapter I.—It is said that in the days of Harald Harfagre the Orkneys began to be inhabited, but formerly they were a den of pirates. The first earl in Orkney was called Sigurd. He was the son of Eystein Glumru, and brother to Rognvald, Earl of Maeri. After Sigurd, [ruled] Gutterm, his son, one winter. After him Torfeinar, the son of Earl Rognvald, took the earldom, and was a long time earl, and a wealthy man. Halfdan, the Long-legged, son of Harold Harfagre, attacked Torfeinar, and drove him from the Orkneys. Einar returned, and then killed Rognvald [Halfdan] of the island. After that King Harald went with an army to Orkney. Einar fled then upon Scotland. King Harald made the Orkney men swear him oaths, and all their allodial possessions. After that the earl and Harald reconciled themselves, and he became the king's man, and took land and fiefs of the king, but was not to pay tribute therefor, because the country was much exposed to warlike invasions. The earl paid to the king sixty marks of gold, then Harald made war on Scotland, as is stated in the Glumdrapa. After Torfeinar, his sons, Arnkell, Erlend, and Thorfinnr the Skull-cleaver, ruled over the land. In their days, Erik the Bloody-axe came from Norway, and the earls were then obliged to assist him with military force. Arnkell and Erlend were killed on an expedition, but Thorfinnr ruled over the land, and lived to an old age; his sons were Arnfin, Havardr, Lodver, Liotr, and Skuli; their mother was Grelaugra, daughter of Earl Dungadr of Katanes; her mother was Groa, a daughter of Thorstein the Red. In the days of Earl Thorfinnr, there came from Norway the sons of Erik the Bloody-axe, when they had fled from Earl Hakon. Then they did many violent deeds in the islands. Earl Thorfinnr died of sickness; after him his sons ruled over the country, and there are great histories of them. Lodver lived longest of them, and then ruled the country alone; his son was Earl Sigurd the Stout; he was wealthy, and a great warrior in his days. Olaf Tryggvason returned from a western expedition with his army, and landed in Orkney. He took captive Earl Sigurd in Rorvik, lying there before him in one ship. King Olaf offered his life's redemption to the earl if he should receive the right faith and baptism, and become his man, and propagate Christianity throughout all Orkney. King Olaf

took as hostage his son, who was called Hundi, or the Whelp; from thence Olaf went to Norway, and became king there, and Hundi was with him some winters, and died there; but after that Earl Sigurd paid no allegiance to King Olaf. He went to marry the daughter of Melkolm, King of Scots; and their sons were Earl Thorfinn the elder, Sumerled, Brusi, and Einar. Five winters after the slaughter of King Olaf Tryggvason, Earl Sigurd went to Ireland. He put his elder sons over the land. Thorfinn he sent to Scotland to the King of the Scots, his mother's father. In this expedition Earl Sigurd was killed in the battle of Brian. But when this news came to Orkney, his sons Sumerled, Brusi, and Einar, were made earls, and divided the lands between them in thirds. Thorfinn, the son of Sigurd, was then five winters old when his father was killed; but when the earl's slaughter was reported to the King of Scots, the King of Scots gave to Thorfinn his relation Katanes and Sutherland, and an earl's title along with it, and gave him men to rule the domain along with him. Earl Thorfinn was very precocious in his education, and in every improvement. He was a strong man, and ugly, and of great stature. When he grew up it was manifest that he was avaricious, harsh, and cruel and sagacious. The brothers Einar and Brusi, were unlike each other in their temper. Brusi was a very peaceful man, and clever, eloquent, and had many friends. Einar was stern and taciturn, harsh, avaricious, and a great warrior. Sumerled resembled Brusi in his temper; he was the oldest and lived the shortest of the brothers; he died of sickness. After his death Thorfinn claimed the part of the Orkneys, because Thorfinn had Caithness, and Sutherland the domain which his father had had; and Einar said that that was much more than a third of Orkney, and he would not allow any portion to Thorfinn. But Brusi did not object to the division as far as he was concerned; "and I will not covet," says he, "to have more land than that third which justly belongs to me"; then Einar subjected to himself two parts of the islands. He became then a wealthy man and had many followers; he was often in expeditions during summers, and had great levies in the country. But as to gain after expeditions it was very different [at different seasons]. Then the Bonde became tired of this work; but the earl continued with violence all his imposts, and made it not safe for any man to contradict him. He was a man of the greatest violence. Then much scarcity arose in the islands by means of the labour and expense to which the Bonde was subjected. But in that part of the land which Brusi had there was peace and prosperity; he was well liked by the Bonde.

Now Thorfinn became a great chieftain, one of the largest men in point of stature, ugly of aspect, black-haired, sharp-featured, and somewhat tawny, and the most martial-looking man; he was a contentious man, and covetous both of money and dignity; victorious and clever in battle, and a bold attacker. He was then five winters old when Malcolm, King of the Scots, his mother's father, gave him an earl's title, and Caithness to rule over; but he was fourteen winters when he prepared maritime expeditions from his country, and made war on the domains of other princes.

Earl Thorfinn had great assistance from the King of Scots, and this much promoted his power in Orkney, that that assistance was so near to him. The King of Scots died when the brothers had reconciled themselves. Then succeeded to the crown of Scotland Kali Hundason. He thought that Caithness belonged to him as well as to the former kings, and he would have tribute of it as of other places, but Earl Thorfinn thought that he had not too great an inheritance from his mother's father, although he had Caithness, and he also thought that at an earlier period it was given to him, and he would therefore pay no tribute to it. Now from this

arose great enmity, and the one made war against the other. King Kali wished to put a chieftain in Caithness, whose name was Moddan; he was his sister's son and he gave him an earl's title. Then Moddan rode down from Scotland, and strengthened himself as to forces in Suderland. News of this reached Earl Thorfinn; he drew then an army together about Caithness. Then Thorkell Fostri came from the Orkneys with a great army to meet Earl Thorfinn, and they had then manifestly a greater army. When the Scots knew that Earl Thorfinn had a greater army they were slower in the invasion, and after that rode up into Scotland. Earl Thorfinn subjected to himself Sutherland and Ros, and made war far and wide in Scotland, and returned from thence again to Caithness. But Thorkell went out to the islands. The conscript forces returned home. The earl resided in Caithness, in Dungalsbae, and had five long ships, and frequently inspected his forces to see that they were well manned. Moddan visited King Kali in Berrik, and told him of his unsuccessful journey. King Kali got very wroth that his territory was invaded. He instantly embarked, and had eleven long ships, and a great army, and took his course northwards along Scotland. He sent Moddan again to Katanes with a great army, and he rode through the Highlands in Scotland. It was intended that he should descend from thence, and that Thorfinn should be enclosed in the angle. Now, that is to be related of King Kali, that he did not stay until he came to Caithness, and then there was a short distance between him and Earl Thorfinn. Then Earl Thorfinn adopted this experiment, that he embarked in a ship and went out in the Pentland Firth, intending to go to Orkney, and there was a short space between them, and they saw the sails of King Kali when they sailed into the Firth from the east and pursued them. Earl Thorfinn and his followers took their course eastward along the islands, and intended to reach Sandrick. He turned up eastward below Drynes, and sent word to Thorkell that he should gather a force. Earl Thorfinn lay off Dyrnes, having arrived there late, but on the morrow when it was light they knew of nothing ere King Kali rose upon them in eleven ships. Then there were two conditions before their hands; the one to run on land, and leave the ships to their enemies, and all the money; the other to lay themselves against the king, and make fortune decide. Then Earl Thorfinn called on his men, and bade them prepare their weapons, said he would not flee, desired them to row briskly, then both parties fastened their ships together. Earl Thorfinn did then greatly exhort his army, desired them to be brisk, and make the first attack very severe, said that few of the Scots would stand. This battle was both severe and long.

Earl Thorfinn did now vehemently exhort his army, and there was a very severe battle. The Scotch did not make much stand before the mast on the king's ship. Then Earl Thorfinn leapt up behind on the quarter-deck, and forward on the ship, and fought most valiantly, and when he saw that the king's crew was thinned, he exhorted his men to come on board; and when King Kali saw that, he desired them to cut the adjoining ropes, and be off with all the ships as quick as possible; and they took their oars and set off. Then Earl Thorfinn got boarding hooks on the king's ship. Then Thorfinn desired them to bring up the standard, and with it followed a great multitude of men. Then King Kali run off his ship with such men as still were standing, but the greatest part were fallen on that ship. King Kali leapt into another ship, and desired them to lay hold on their oars. Then the Scotch fled, but Thorfinn pursued them.

King Kali rowed off southward to Breidafiord, and landed there, and gathered a new army. Earl Thorfinn returned after the battle. Thorkell Fostri came to meet him, and had a great army. Then they sailed southward to Breidafiord,

after King Kali and his followers, and when they reached Scotland, they commenced plundering. Then they were told Earl Moddan was in Caithness in Thorsa, and had there a great army; he had also sent to Ireland for forces, for he had there many relations and friends, and waited for those forces. Then they adopted this plan, that Thorkell went northward to Caithness with some part of the army, but Earl Thorfinn lay behind near Scotland, and plundered there. Thorkell went concealedly, for all the people in Caithness were true and faithful to him. There came no news of him before he arrived in Thurso, at night, and broke down the house on Earl Moddan, and brought fire to it. Moddan slept in an upper story; he ran out, and as he leapt down from the beams of the upper story, Thorkell hewed with a sword after him, and it hit the neck, and took off the head. After that the men surrendered, but some escaped by flight. A great number of men were killed there, but quarter was given to some. Thorkell stayed there a short while ere he went to Breidafiord, and he had there with him all that army which he got on Caithness, and about Sutherland and about Ross, and there he met Earl Thorfinn in Moray, and told him what had taken place in his journey. The Earl thanked him for his work, and both of them lay there for a time. Now we have to relate of King Kali, that he went up into Scotland, after the battle with Earl Thorfinn, and strengthened himself again as to forces. He drew an army together from the south of Scotland, from the west, and from the east, and all the way from Satiri. Then there also came to meet him that force from Ireland which Earl Moddan had sent for. He sent them far and wide to chieftains for assistance, and brought all his army against Earl Thorfinn. Their meeting took place in Torfnes, south of Baefiord. There was a severe battle, and the Scotch had a greater army. Earl Thorfinn was in the foremost part of his division. He had a gilt helmet on his head, and was girt with a sword, a spear in his hand, and he hewed and cut on both sides. It has been related that he was foremost of all his men. He attacked first there where the division of the Irish was. He was so vehement along with his followers, that they instantly gave way, and never got righted again. Then King Kali had his standard borne forward against Earl Thorfinn. Then there was a severe battle for a while and the conclusion of it was, that the king fled; but some say he was slain.

Earl Thorfinn drove the fugitives all the way upon Scotland, and laid the land under him wherever he went, and all the way south to Fife, but sent Thorkell Fostri with some part of his army. But when the Scotch knew that the Earl had sent away from him some part of the army, those who before had submitted to him attacked him, and when Earl Thorfinn perceived their treachery, he gathered together his men and met them, then the Scotch were slower to attack when they perceived the Earl was prepared. Earl Thorfinn immediately gave battle to the Scotch, when he met them, but they would not defend themselves, but fled immediately into deserts and woods, and when Earl Thorfinn had driven the fugitives away he gathers together his men, and says that he will have the whole district to burn, because he wanted thus to pay the Scotch their treachery; then the Earl's men went over hamlets and farms, and burnt everywhere, so that not a cot remained. They killed such men as they found, but women and old men crept away into deserts and woods with howling and whining—some they whipt before them and made captives.

After this Earl Thorfinn went north along Scotland to his ships, and subdued the country wherever he went. Then he went north to Caithness, and resided there during the winter, but every summer after that he fitted out an expedition, and made war during the summer with his army.

Earl Thorfinn held all his *rikis* till the day of his death, so that it was said that

he was the richest of all the Earls of Orkney. He was possessed of nine earldoms in Scotland, the whole of the Sudreys, and a large *riki* in Ireland. Earl Thorfinn was five winters old when Melkolf, King of Scotland, his mother's father, gave him the title of earl, and he was earl for seventy winters. He died in the reign of Harald Sigurdson, and was buried in Christkirk, in Birgisheradi, which he had caused to be built. He was much lamented in his own lands, but in those lands which he had subjected himself by conquest the natives were no longer content under his government; consequently many *rikis* which the earl had subjected fell off, and the inhabitants sought the protection of those native chiefs who were territorially born to rule over them; so that the loss arising from the death of Earl Thorfinn was quickly apparent.

The sons of Earl Thorfinn now took the *riki* after him. Paul was the eldest, and likewise the wisest. They did not divide the lands between them, but were content to possess them without division.

Ingibiorg, the mother of the earls (and widow of Earl Thorfinn), married Melkolf, King of Scotland, who was called Langhals. Their son was Dungad, King of Scotland, the father of William, who was a good man. His son was William the Noble, whom all the Scots wished to take for their king.

Earl Thorfinn, son of Sigurd, was the most distinguished of all the earls in the islands, and had the greatest *riki* of any Earl of Orkney; he possessed Shetland and the Orkneys, the Sudreys; he had likewise a great riki in Scotland and Ireland. Thorfinn was a great warrior. He took the earldom when five winters old, and remained in it sixty winters, and died in the latter days of Harald Sigurdson.

APPENDIX Q

(Page 367, Vol. I.)

THE RAGMAN ROLL

The term, "Ragman Roll," which has much mystified philologists, admits of the simplest explanation, having had its origin in good-humored banter, and, far from being intended in any way to wound Scottish susceptibility, was a merry allusion to what in the Middle Ages was a famous diversion of the ladies' bower.

Ragman, or King Rageman, was a game much affected in Anglo-Norman society in the thirteenth century. A numbers of characters, good, bad, and indifferent, were written in couplets consecutively on a sheet of parchment. To each character a string was attached, having a piece of wax or metal at the tip. This sheet when rolled up was called a Ragman roll; each person playing drew a character by pulling a string, which she or he maintained for the rest of the evening.

When the Scottish baronage swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick in 1291, their names were written down in French by Edward's Norman scribes, and the seals of such as had them were attached to the sheet by small strips of parchment. The rolls containing the signatures, when made up with a mass of seals dependent from them, had each much the appearance of a huge roll of this game of Ragman; and that name, having probably been given to it jokingly by some of the young courtiers in attendance, has stuck to this important state paper ever since.

By far the greater number of signatures to these rolls was obtained on the occasion of Edward's progress through Scotland in 1296. The nobles eagerly sought him for the privilege of doing homage. Those who could not visit

him in person sent messengers or letters. Edward marched through the disunited country, which, as Balliol says, he "conquered" in twenty-one weeks, and proceeded as far north as Elgin. The English king entered Scotland on March 27th, 1296, crossing the Tweed at Woldstream, and proceeding to Roxburgh Castle. Leaving that stronghold on Wednesday, May 23d, he set out on a rapid expedition into Liddesdale, stopping at Jedburgh [*Jedworth*] on that day; at "Wyel" on the night of Thursday, and at Castleton, in Liddesdale, on Friday; returning by the same route on Sunday and Monday. His subsequent progress was from the Border to Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Stirling. On Wednesday, June 4th, he crossed the Forth [*mer d'Escosse*] on the route to Perth [*Seint Johan de Perth*], where he arrived on the following day, having rested at Auchterarder [*Outreard*], nearly midway between Stirling and Perth.

Pressing onward, Edward crossed the Tay at the Royal castle of Kinclevin, proceeded next day to the royal castle of Clony, or Cluny, the extensive foundations of which may still be traced near the lake of that name. After remaining there for several days, he again set out on the 2d of July, and rested at the royal castle of Inverqueich, on the borders of Perthshire and Forfarshire [*Entrekoit*], of which the ruins are still extant. From thence he proceeded to the Castle of Forfar; to Fernwell, in the neighborhood of Montrose, and to Montrose, where he sojourned from Saturday, the 7th, until Wednesday, the 11th of July.

Pursuing his journey northward, he then advanced to Kincardine, into the Mearns, and on the two following days crossed the Grampian mountains by Glenberrie to a place written *Dunnes*, or *Durnes*, probably Durris, on the north bank of the river Dee. His subsequent progress was to Aberdeen, Kintore, Fyvie Castle, Banff, and Cullen, until he reached the district of the Enyie on the eastern bank of the Spey. Having crossed that river into the country of Moray on Wednesday, the 25th of July, he is stated to have rested at the manor of *Rapenache*, a name of which no trace can be found.

On the following day, Edward reached the extreme point of his northern expedition at Elgin, where he remained until Sunday, the 29th. On his return he stopped at Rothes, on the western bank of the Spey, and on Monday at Invercharrach, a small hamlet three miles north of the parish kirk of Cabrach On the following day he reached the castle Kildrummy, where he rested on Wednesday, the 1st of August; and on Thursday he arrived at the Hospital of Kincardine-O'Neil in Aberdeenshire. On the next day, Friday, the 3d, he probably reached Kincardine in the Mearns, and proceeded on Saturday, the 4th, to Brechen; thence to Aberbrothock, to Dundee, to Baligerny, the castle of Sir Robert Cameron, situated in the Carse of Gowry, and to Perth. He then proceeded through the county of Fife, along the northern banks of the Forth, and from Stirling towards Berwick.

INDEX NOMINUM—1291

John de Aberdon, Berwick.
Master Henry, bishop of Aberdeen.
Henry, abbot of Abirbrothok.
Robert de Alureton, St. John de Perth.
Gilbert, comes de Anegos [Angus]. See Gilbert de Umfrauville.
John Anker, St. John de Perth.
Master Henry de Anstrether, soldier.
Master Alexander de Ardern, soldier.
Adam de Athetle [Athole], St. John de Perth.
John comte de Atheles.
Henry Aurisaber, Berwick.
James Aurisaber, Berwick.
William Aurisaber, St. John de Perth.
Roger de Balligalli, St. John de Perth.
John de Balliolo, dominus Galwidie [John de Baliol, lord of Galloway] king of Scotland.
Master Alexander de Balliolo, camerarius of Scotland, master of Cadiou, sic in Rotulo, sed mendose, seignor de Caures.
Walter, magister domus de Balncrif.

Magisterate Roger Bartholomei, Berwick.
Adam de Barton, Berwick.
Robert de Barton, Berwick.
Thomas Bataile, Berwick.
Malcolm Belle, St. John de Perth.
John, clericus de Berewico, Berwick.
William, clericus de Berewico, Berwick.
Philip de Berkle, St. John de Perth.
Mistress Agnes de Bernham, prioress of Berwick.
Master Robert de Betune, soldier.
Nichols de Beverle (Beuerlaco), Berwick.
Thomas de Beverle, Berwick.
Edmund Bindington.
Peter Blakmantel, St. John de Perth.
Master Alexander de Bonkhille.
John le Botilier, soldier.
John, comes de Boughan (Boghan) See Comyn
Magistrate Robert de Boughan, St. John de Perth.
John de Bradeley.
Robert de Breghin, Berwick.
Frater Brianus See Milicie Templi.
Donald Brid, St. John de Perth.
William Brokour, Berwick.
Robert Brus, master of Annandale, lord of Annandale, comte de Carryk.
Master Walter Burdon, soldier.
John de Cambron, soldier.
John de Cantelou.
Thomas de Carc [Carz], St. John de Perth.
Robert Carpentarius, St. John de Perth.
Alanus, bishop Cathanensis, cancellarius regni per regem Anglie factus.
Duncan del Celer, ballivus St. John de Perth.
Nicholas Champion, Berwick.
William Chaucon [Chauzon], Berwick.
Laurencius Clericus, Berwick.
William Clericus, Berwick.
Gilbert Cokin, St. John de Perth.
Gregory de Coldingham, Berwick.
Frater Henry, prior of Coldingham.
Ingram de Colton, Berwick.
John Comyn, comte de Boghan [Buchan].
John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, custos regni.
Master William Comyn, soldier.
John de Cornbyr, Berwick.
Duncan Corry, St. John de Perth.
Matthew de Cotelier, Berwick.
Peter de Coventre, Berwick.
Master [Ralph], de Crawford, soldier.
William de Crophill, St. John de Perth.
Frater Andrew, abbot of Cupro.
Henry Cyrotecarius, St. John de Perth.
Walter Diaconus [Deacon], St. John de Perth.
Richard Dod, de Berwick.
Thomas de Donewyce, St. John de Perth.
Thomas parvus de Donewyce, St. John de Perth.
John Douce [Douze], St. John de Perth
Master William de Douglas.
John Dounan, St. John de Perth.
William, bishop of Dumblane.
Patrick de Dunbar, comes de la Marche [earl of March].
Adam de Dunbar, Berwick.
Robert de Dunbar, Berwick.
David de Dunde, Perth.
Radulfus [Ralph], Abbot of Dunfermline.
William Dunston, Perth.
Robert de Eboraco, Berwick.
Master John de Ergadia [Argyle], son of master Alexander de Ergadia.
Christian Flemeng, Perth.
Master William de Fenton.
Master Richard Frasel
Master Andrew Fraser, vicecomes de Fyf.
Master Symon Fraser.
Henry Fraunceys, Berwick.
Master Symon de Freschele.
Patrick Galightly, Perth.
Symon de Gaunter [Glover], Perth.
William de Gerndon, Berwick.
Richard Gibbe, Berwick.
Robert, bishop of Glasgow, custos regni.
Walter de Gosewyk, Berwick.
Master David de Graham, soldier.
Master Patrick Graham, soldier.
Adam Gretheued (Groseteste), Berwick.
William Gretheued, Berwick.
Alicai, prioress de Haddington.
Andi de Haingham, Perth.
John de Hastinges, master of Bergeueny.
Master Huga de la Haye [Haya], soldier.
Master John de la Haye, soldier.
Master William de Haye, vicecomes de Fyfe.
William de Herford, Berwick.
Florence, comes Holandie (Comte de Hoilande).
William de Holthale, Berwick.
Master Robert Horeth, soldier.
John de Houe, Berwick.
Master Radulfus [Ralph de Hoveden], de Houeden, soldier.
Robert del Inche, Perth.
Fergus de Insula Missarum, Perth.
Michael de Insula Missarum, Perth.
Malcolm de Janua, Perth.
David de Kenilworth, Berwick.
Symon de Keth, Perth.
Master Thomas Keyr, soldier.
John de Knapton, Berwick.
Peter, filius Robert Knight.

Abbot of Kynglos [Kynloz].
Master Aco [Azo] de Kynros, soldier.
Robert de Lamberton, Berwick.
Alanus de Langeton, Berwick.
Master William de Legheton, soldier.
John de Lenne, Perth.
Eustace Lespicer, Berwick.
Martin Lespicer, Berwick.
Roger Lespicer, Berwick.
Adam de Letham, Perth.
Malcolm, comes de Levenaux.
Master Constantine Loghore, vicecomes de Fyf.
William Lucifer, Perth.
John, abbot of the monastery of Lundors.
Maria, regina de Mann, et comitissa de Strahern.
Christina, prioress de Manuel
Dovenaldus [Donald], comes de Mar.
Adam de Mar, Berwick.
John, le Mareschal, Berwick.
Uthredus Mareschal, Perth.
Master William de Maul, soldier.
William May, Berwick.
Master Alexander, filius comes de Meneteth.
Walter, comes de Meneteth.
Richard de Menston, Berwick.
Stephen le Mercer, Berwick.
William de Mersington, Berwick.
Frater Brianus, Milicie Templi in Scocia preceptor.
Adam Moigne, Berwick.
John Monachus, Berwick.
Thomas Monsy, Berwick.
Alexander del Monthe, Perth.
Master William de Moravia de Tulibardin, soldier.
Master Andrew de Moravia, vicecomes de Fyf.
Master John de Moravia, soldier.
Master William de Moravia (dives, miles).
Peter de Morington.
Master Galfridus de Moubray [Geoffrey de Moubray].
Adam de Multref, Berwick.
John, abbot of Neubotle.
Richard de Nevile, Perth.
Robert Oliver, Berwick.
John Otre, Berwick.
Warinus de Pebles, Berwick.
Alexander Pelliparius [le Peleter], Berwick.
Michael Pelliparius, Perth.
John de Perth, Perth.
Radulphus Philippi [Ralph Phillips], Berwick.
Roger Philippi [Roger Phillips], Berwick.
Master Henry de Pinkeny, soldier.
Robert de Piscator [le Peschour], bailiuus de Perth.
Richard Pistor. Perth.
Robert Pistor, Perth.
Roger Pistor, Perth.
William de Polle, Perth.
William, filius Prepositi, Perth.
John Rakstra, Perth.
Master Thomas Randolf, soldier.
Thomas filius Randolf.
John filius Ricardi, Perth.
William de Ros, baro, comes de Ros.
Master Robert, bishop of Ross.
Master William of Rotheiuan.
Master Adam de Rotref, soldier.
John de Routhbyr, Berwick.
Robert Russell, Berwick.
Philip de Rydale, major ville de Berewico.
William, bishop of St. Andrews, custos regni.
John, prior of St. Andrews.
Master Adam, abbot of Sancte Crucis, Edinburgh.
Frater Alexander Sancti Johannis, Iere solimitani in Scocia prior.
Master Henry Sancto Claro, soldier.
Master William de Sancto Claro [William de St. Clair], soldier.
Magistrate William de Sancto Claro, Perth.
Robert de Scardeburgh, Perth.
Walter Schenker, Perth.
Frater Thomas, abbot of Scona.
Andrew Scorth, Perth.
Master Michael Scotus, soldier.
Symon le Sealer, Perth.
Adam de Seleby, Berwick.
Thomas de Selghkirk, Berwick.
Master John, Seneschal.
James, Senecallus Scocie, custos regni.
Marcus, bishop Sodorensis.
Radulphus [Ralph], magister hospitalis de Soltre.
Master John de Soules, soldier.
Nicholas de Soules, baro.
Master William de Soules, soldier.
Rossi de Southgate, Perth.
Wadinus [Wady] de Southgate, Perth.
John Southren, Perth.
Reginaldus Speldre, Perth.
Henry Spring, Berwick.
John Stag, Perth.
Malisius, comes de Strathern.
Comitissa de Strathern. See Regina de Mann.
Symon de Strathy, Perth.
Adam de Strivelin, Berwick.
John de Strivelin, Berwick.
Master Richard dictus Siward.
Adam le Taillour, Perth.
Philip Taket, Perth.
Radulphus Taket, Berwick.
Symon Takmore [Tobbemor], Perth.
William Talemor, Perth.
Richard Tannator (le Barker), Berwick.

Thomas le Tannour, Berwick.
Hugo Thorel, Perth.
Thomas Tod, Berwick.
Henry Tonsor (le Barber), Berwick.
Master David de Torthorald (Torthoraud) soldier.
Symon de Tridelton, Berwick.
Michael Troisdeners, Perth.
Adam le Trompour, Perth.
Radulphus Tundeman, Perth.
Gilbert de Umfrauville, comes de Anegos.
Master Ingeramus de Umfrauville, soldier.
Master John de Vaus [now written Vans, or Vance].
Thomas le Venour, Berwick.
John de Vescy, baro, pro suo patre, attornatus William de Vescy.
Warinus le Violer, Berwick.
John le Wainflet, Berwick.
John de Whiteby, Berwick.
Nicholas de Whiteby, Berwick.
Ranulphus de Whiteby, Berwick.
Robert de Whiteby, Berwick.
Thomas Wyles [Whyz], Perth.
Peter son of Wymark [Wyremark], Perth.
William Wynk, Perth.

INDEX NOMINUM, A.D., 1296.

Alexander de Abberdash, Kincardine in Mearns.
John de Abercromby, Fifeshire.
William de Abercromby, Fifeshire.
Fergus, Chanoigne de Aberden.
Brother Huwe, minister del ordre de la Trinite, de Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire.
Lès burgoys e la communants de la ville de Aberdeen.
Master Henry, bishop de Aberdeen.
Abergladyn, see Dabergladyn.
John de Aberkerthor, Banffshire.
Philip de Abernyd, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Frere Henry, abbot of Abirbrothok, et le couent de mesme le lieu.
Master Alexander de Abirnethy, soldier.
Alexander de Abirnethy, Perthshire.
Margaret qe fu la femme William de Abirnethy, Berwickshire.
Philip de Abirnethy, Linlescu.
William de Abirnethy, tenaunt le Roi, Berwickshire.
Nicol de Achtheleg, Ayrshire.
John fiz Adam, Monros.
John Adamson de Ourayton, Berwickshire.
John Adamson, Berwickshire.
John de Agdokeston, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Anegos de Aghenros.
Patrick de Aghlek, Lanarkshire.
Alexander Akeman, Lanarkshire.
Gilbert del Akenheued, Lanarkshire.
Huwe, le vicaire del Eglise de Aldcambus, Berwickshire.
William, persone del Eglise de Aldham, Edinburghshire.
Brian, fiz Aleyn, chevalier.
John, fiz Aleyn, Monros.
William Alight, Perth.
Patrick Alissone, Berwickshire.
Emme de Almere [Aylmer], Selkirkshire.
Rogier de Almere, Selkirkshire.
Aleyn, abbot of Alnewyk, Berwickshire.
Duncan Alpinson de Aughtulus, Dunbretan [Dumbartonshire].
Managh, fiz Alpyn [Monagh McAlpin], Perthshire.
William de Anaund, Forfarshire.
David, le fiuz Andreu [David Anderson], Peebles.
Duncan, fiz Andreu, Dumfries-shire.
Donald, le fiuz Anecol [McGonagle?], Dumbartonshire.
Eue de Anegos [Angus], Forfarshire.
John de Anesleye de Crucsut, Lanarkshire.
John, le fiuz John de Anesleye, Roxburghshire.
John de Annekombe, Roxburghshire.
Gilbert de Annethe [Hannay], Wigtonshire.
William de Apleton, Peeblesshire.
John de Araz, Peeblesshire.
Patrick le Archer, tenant le Roi, Ayrshire.
William, fiz Steven de Arde, Inverness.
Lorn de Ardebechy, Perth.
Ele de Ardros, Fifeshire.
Godefrey Ardrossan, Ayrshire.
Godefrey de Ardrossan.
Adam de Ardwykeston, Lanarkshire.
Argyle, see Ergayl.
Richard Arnald, Linlithgow.
William, le fiuz Arnald, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Morice de Arncappel, Dumbartonshire.
David Arnot, Fifeshire.
John de Arrat, Angusshire.
Henry de Arthurshull, Lanarkshire.
Robert de Askeby, Berwickshire.
Hector Askelot, Wigtonshire.
Fergus Askolo, Wigtonshire.
Christian Atteboche de Berewyk.
Alun, le fiuz Auleyn, Dumbartonshire.
Duncan, le fiuz Auleyn, chevalier, Dumbartonshire.
William Avenel, Edinburghshire.
Wautier le Ahmbler, Roxburghshire.
Huwe Ayer de Cauldon, Edinburghshire.
Aylmer, see Almere.

Symon de Ayneston, Lanarkshire.
Henry de Aynestrothere, Fifeshire.
John Ayr de Ayton, Berwickshire.
Henry de Ayton, Haddington.
William Bachiler, Haddington.
Adam de Badby de Lambreton, Berwickshire.
John de Badby, Berwickshire.
John de Badby, Peeblesshire.
Nicholas de Badby, Berwickshire.
John Baidard de Hoton, Roxburghshire.
Master Alexander Bailliol, chevalier.
Alexander de Bailliol, Roxburghshire.
Master William de Bailliol, rector ecclesie de Kirkpatrick.
William de Bailliol, Edinburghshire.
Adam de Bakepol, Roxburghshire.
Geoffry le Bakester[Baxter]de Lossithe, Forfarshire.
Walter de Balernagh, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Balkasky, Fifeshire.
Richard de Balmakumor, Fifeshire.
Andrew Balmalkyn, Fifeshire.
Master Nicholas de Balmyl, persone de Kaleder Comitis, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Balnehard, Linlithgow.
Matthew de Balran, Fifeshire.
Master Henry de Banf, chaunceler de Morref, Elginshire.
Margerie qe fu la femme Thomas Banysleue, tenaunte le Roi, Berwickshire.
Alyn le Barbour, Ayrshire.
Duncan Bard, Stirlingshire.
Fergus de Bard, Lanarkshire.
John Bard, Lanarkshire.
Nicholas Bard, Lanarkshire.
Patrick de Bardonan, Dumfriesshire.
Patrick de Bardonan, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas de Bardonan, Dumfriesshire.
William Baret, Peeblesshire.
Richard le Barker de Tyningham, tenant le Euesque de Seint Andreu, Edinburgshire.
Alexander le Barker, provost of Haddington.
William le Barker, Haddington.
Adam de Barton, Berwickshire.
Thomas de Barton, Ayrshire.
William, persone del Eglise de Barwe, Edinburghshire.
Walter del Bat, Lanarkshire.
William de Baudreston, Linlithgowshire.
Gilbert fiz Beatrice, Roxburghshire.
Patrick Beg, Ayrshire.
Alexander de Belgauen, Lanarkshire.
Adam Belle, Berwickshire.
Aleyn Belle, Berwickshire.
Richard Belle, Berwickshire.
Hughe de Belmenagh, Perthshire.
Nicholas de Benauty, Lanarkshire.
John Benoughtyn, Roxburghshire.
Geoffry de Berewyk, Roxburgh.
Brother Adam, ministre del ordre de la Trinite de Berewyk.
William, vicaire del Eglise de la Trinite, de Berewyk.
David de Berkele (Berkelee, Berkelegh, Berkeleye), Fifeshire.
Master Patrick de Berkeleye, chevalier.
Patrick de Berkele, chevalier, Lanarkshire.
Walter de Berkele, Edinburghshire.
Adam Bernak de Hilton, Berwickshire.
Adam Bernard de Hilton, Perthshire.
Alexander Bertelmeu, Edinburghshire.
John Bertram, Ennerkethin.
Andrew de Beton (Betton, Betun), Perthshire.
David de Beton, chevalier, Forfarshire.
Robert de Beton, Angusshire.
Robert de Betuyn, Forfarshire.
Walter de Beuauelyn, Edinburghshire.
Robert de Biddesden, Berwickshire.
Huwe de Bigge, Lanarkshire.
Eustice de Bikerton (Bykerton), Fifeshire.
Eustace de Bikerton, rector ecclesie de Hutremokedy.
John de Bikerton, Linlithgowshire.
Walter de Bikerton, Fifeshire.
William de Billingham, Berwickshire.
William de Birhop, Roxburghshire.
Walter Biset, Aberdeenshire.
Walter Biset, Edinburghshire.
Master William Bisset, Aberdeen.
William Biset, Edinburghshire.
Conande Bithweder, Perthshire.
Master Walter, dictus Blacwatre (decanus ecclesie Abredenensis).
Robert de Blakeburn, Berwickshire.
William de Blakelawe, Roxburghshire.
Thomas de Blanerne, Berwickshire.
David de Blare, Perthshire.
Huwe of the Blare, Ayrshire.
Patrick de Blauntyr, Stirlingshire.
Brother William, prior of Blauntyr.
Patrick de Blenkhanson, Roxburghshire.
Roger Blind, Peebles.
John le Blunt de Eskeby, Dumfriesshire.
William de Blythe, persone de Chirnessyde.
Huwe Body, Roxburghshire.
Thomas de Boghan, Edinburghshire.
Alexander de Bondington, chaplain, Berwickshire.
John de Bondington, clerk, Stirlingshire.
Agneys de Bonekel (Bonkhill, Bonkhille, Bonequil), Berwickshire.
Alexander de Bonekel, Edinburghshire.
John de Bonekel, Berwickshire.
Thomas Bonekel, Berwickshire.
William de Boseuill, Roxburgh.
William de Boseuill, Roxburghshire.
William de Boseuill, Berwickshire.

John de Botergast, tenaunt le Roi, Perth.
Austyn, le vicaire del Eglise de Boterothyn.
John le Botiler [Botillier] de Cramund, Edinburghshire.
John le Botiler, Perthshire.
Master John, dictus le Botiler, chevalier.
Patrick de Botle, Dumfriesshire.
Comes de Bouchan, see Comyn.
Malcolm de Bougheaunan [Buchanan], Stirlingshire.
Master Richard de Bouiden, persone del Eglise de Edalston, Peeblesshire.
William Boule, Ayrshire.
William fiz Geoffrey de Boulton, Edinburghshire.
Lawrence atte Boure, Peeblesshire.
Alexander de la Boutelerie, Ayrshire.
Humfrey de Boys, chevalier, Dumfriesshire.
Patrick, fiz John de Boys, Lanarkshire.
Thomas de Boys, Edinburghshire.
Robert Boyt, tenant le Roi, Ayrshire.
Eustace de Boyuile [Boyville], Dumfriesshire.
Richard de Boyuile, Ayrshire.
Robert de Boyville, Ayrshire.
Henry Braceour de Jeddeworth, Roxburghshire.
Henry de Brade, Edinburghshire.
William de Bradeleye, Roxburghshire.
Duncan Brecnagh, Fifeshire.
David de Breghin, Forfarshire.
Master John Breghinens, Ercedyakne, Forfarshire.
Eliz. Breton (Bretun, Briton), Berwickshire.
William Bretun, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
William Britain, Linlithgowshire.
Thomas le Brewester de la Foreste de Passeleye, Lanarkshire.
Dovenald Brid, Perth.
Philip de Briden, Roxburghshire.
Iue de Brinsholles, Fifeshire.
William Broun de Gamelsheles, Edinburghshire.
William le Broun de Laweder, Berwickshire.
Gunnyd Broun, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
John de Broun, Berwickshire.
Rauf [Ralph] Broun, Berwickshire.
Robert del Brunhous (Brunhus), tenant le Eusqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Huwe de Brutherstanes, Berwickshire.
John Bruyn de Eghelin, Linlithgowshire.
John Bruyn de Kilbride, Lanarkshire.
Philip Bruyn, Roxburghshire.
John de Bundeby, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas Buntyng, Peeblesshire.
Pieres de Burgh, Ayrshire.
Robert de Burgh, Lanarkshire.
Roger de Burghdon de Blakeder, Berwickshire.
Walter de Burghdon, Roxburghshire.
Gilbert de Buthernok, Stirlingshire.
Master Andreas de Byetoine, soldier.
Andreue de Byetoine, chevalier.
Patrick de Byly, Berwickshire.
William de Byskeby, Wigtonshire.
Adam de Cadiou, Lanarkshire.
Roger, le fiuz Richard de Cadrogh, tenant le Roi, Lanarkshire.
William Caffurlong, Berwickshire.
Master John de Calantyr [Callender], chevalier.
Geoffrey de Caldecote, Edinburghshire.
Master de Caldstreme, see Morton.
Isabel de Calrewode, Lanarkshire.
Richard Cambays, Roxburghshire.
Duncan Cambel del Illes, Fifeshire.
Arthur Campbell, Perthshire.
Sir Dovenal [Donal] Campbell, Dumbartonshire.
Dugal Campbell, Perthshire.
Duncan Campbell, Perthshire.
Master Neel Campbell, Ayrshire.
Nicholas Campbell, chevalier.
Thomas Campbell, tenant le Roi, Perthshire.
John de Cambo (Cambhou), Fifeshire.
Master John de Cambo, chevalier.
John de Cambok, Edinburghshire.
Anable de Cambos, Peeblesshire.
Connel persone del Eglise de Camboslanc, Berwickshire.
Master Robert Cambroun [Cameron], dominus de Balingernach, chevalier.
Robert Cambron de Balingrenagh, Perthshire.
Master Robert Cambron de Balnely, soldier, chevalier.
Robert Cameron de Balnely, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Robert Cambron de Balnely, Forfarshire.
Patrick, abbot of Cambuskenel, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Walter Cammays, clerk, Roxburghshire.
Nicholas de Camp, vicaire del Eglise de Grenlawe.
Peter de Campanya, rector ecclesie de Kinkel (Pieres de Champaigne, persone del Eglise de Kynkel).
Nicholas Campyon, Berwickshire.
Master Dovenald, fiz Can [Donald McCan], chevalier.
Donald, fiz Can, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas, Euesqe de Candide Casa. See Whiterne.
William, prior de Canonby.
John de Cantelu, chevalier.

Walter de Caran, Fifeshire.
Michael de Cardelnesse, Dumfriesshire.
Adam, prior de Cardoyl, Ayrshire.
David, fiz Cavan de Carduff, Lanarkshire.
Beatrice de Carleal, Dumfriesshire.
Duncan de Carleton, Ayrshire.
Cristi de Carnant, Edinburghshire.
Devergoyl qe fut femme Robert Carnot, Lanarkshire.
Pieres de Carnwedry, Lanarkshire.
Philip de Carriber, Linlithgowshire.
Adam de Carriz, tenant de Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Master Duncan de Carryk (Karrik), Berwickshire.
John, fiz Neel de Carryk, Ayrshire.
Morthak de Carsan, persone de la meyte del Eglise de Kircandres, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas de Catkon, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Catton, Perthshire.
Alexander, le fiuz Henry de Cauerton, Roxburghshire.
Alexander de Cauerton, Roxburghshire.
Duncan del Celer, Perth.
Henry le Chapelain, Roxburghshire.
Nicholas de Chapeleyn, gardein de la meson Dieu de Roxburghshire.
Andreas de Chartres.
Andreue de Chartres, Dumfriesshire.
Osbern Chartres, Peeblesshire.
Robert de Chartres, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas de Chartres, Roxburghshire.
William de Chartres, Roxburghshire.
Huwe del Chastel Bernard, persone del Eglise de Colbanston, Lanarkshire.
Adam de Chathou, Roxburghshire.
Robert de Chatton, Roxburghshire.
William de Chatton, vicaire del Eglise de Ederham, Berwickshire.
Robert de la Chaumbre [Chambers], Lanarkshire.
Symund de la Chaumbre, Dumfriesshire.
Walter de la Chaumbre, Berwickshire.
William de la Chaumbre, bailiff, Peebles.
William de la Chaumbre, Dumfriesshire.
William de la Chaumbre, Lanarksire.
Pieres de Chaumpaigne, Fifeshire.
Rauf [Ralph] de Chaumpaigne, Wigtonshire
William de Chaumpaigne, Wigtonshire.
Martin del Chaundel, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de la Chaundeil, Peeblesshire.
John Cheen, Edinburghshire.
Master Reginald le Cheen, soldier (Renaud le Cheen, chevalier).
John de Chesolm, Berwickshire.
Richard de Chesehelm, Roxburghshire.
Rose de Chilham, Roxburghshire.
Mark de Clapham, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Fifeshire.
Thomas de Clenel, Lanarkshire.
Adam le Clerk de Colyngton, Edinburghshire.
William le Clerk de Eyeton, Berwickshire.
William, le fiuz Alain le Clerk de Luoweder, Berwickshire.
Walter le Clerk, de Roxburghshire.
Guy le Clerk, burgoys de Jeddeworth.
John le Clerk, Ayrshire.
Pieres le Clerk, Edinburghshire.
Richard le Clerk, burgoys de Jeddeworth.
William le Clerk, Lanarkshire.
Osbern de Cliueland [Cleveland], Lanarkshire.
Adam de Cloggeston, Edinburghshire.
Reyner de Clonas Lombard, tenant le Roi, Roxburghshire.
Adam Cluny, Fifeshire.
Master William de Cluny, chevalier.
William de Cluny, chantour de Breghyn.
William de Cluny, Perthshire.
Robert Cochet, Stirlingshire.
Robert Cogan, Berwickshire.
Pieres de Cokeburn.
Thomas de Cokeburn, Roxburghshire.
Edmund de Colbanston, Lanarkshire.
Isabel de Colbenston, Lanarkshire.
Margarete de Colbanston, Lanarkshire.
Henry, prior de Coldingham, et couent de mesme le lu.
Richard de Coldingham, Berwickshire.
Thomas de Coleuill [Colville], Dumfriesshire.
Aleyn de Colilawe, Berwickshire.
Adam Collan, Berwickshire.
Thomas de Colly.
William de Colnehach.
Adam de Colwenne [Colvin], Dumfriesshire.
Patrick de Comenagh, Ayrshire.
Patrick de Comenok, Lanarkshire.
Master Alexander Comyn, soldier.
Ayelmer Comyn.
Eymer Comyn, Banffshire.
John Comyn, comes da Bouchan.
Master John Comyn de Badenoch, senior, soldier.
John Comyn de Scraefburgh, Roxburghshire.
Marjerie Comyn, dame de Gordon, Berwickshire.
Walter Comyn, Peeblesshire.
Master William Comyn, provost del Eglise de Seint Andreu.
John de Coneveth, persone del Eglise de Alencrom, Roxburgshire.
Mabel de Congelton, Edinburgshire.
Walter de Cungleton, Edinburgshire.
Duncan de Coningseburgh, Dumfriesshire.
Gilbert de Conyngburgh, Ayrshire.
William de Conyngburgh, Lanarkshire.

Robert de Coningham, Lanarkshire.
John de Contegarny, Perthshire.
Henry Cor.
Adam Corbet, Berwickshire.
John Corbet, Roxburghshire.
Roger Corbet, Roxburghshire.
Adam Corbrand, Roxburghshire.
Stevene de Cormanough, Lanarkshire.
William de Cornhal, Edinburghshire.
Nicholas Corour, Berwickshire.
Nicholas de Corry, Dumfriesshire.
Master Walter de Corry, chevalier.
John de Coteford, Lanarkshire.
Edward de Coverton, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
William de Coughhran, Lanarkshire.
Andrew, abbot de Coupre, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Symund Cupre, Berwickshire.
Agneys del Crag, Edinburgshire.
John de la Cragge, Lanarkshire.
Andrew de Crageston, Edinburghshire.
John Cragi, Linlithgowshire.
John de Cragyn, Linlithgowshire.
Thomas de Cregayn, Ayrshire.
Henry Crak, Dumfriesshire.
James de Crak, Selkirkshire.
John de Crak, Edinburghshire.
Master Harvey de Crambath, dean de Dunkeldin.
Laurence de Cramound, Forfarshire.
William de Cramund, clerk, Edinburghshire.
Huwe, vicaier del Eglise de Craneston, Edinburghshire.
John de Crauford, tenant le Roi (Ayrshire).
John de Crauford, Ayrshire.
Renaud (Reinaud, Reynaud) de Crauford, Ayrshire.
Roger de Crauford, Ayrshire.
William de Crauford, Ayrshire.
Randolf de Creges, Berwickshire.
Alexander de Creyghton, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Creghton, Berwickshire.
Richard Creleng, Lanarkshire.
William de Creling, tenaunt le Roi, Lanarkshire.
David de Cressuelle, Lanarkshire.
Symund de Cressewill, Roxburghshire.
Robert de Cribbes, Linlithgowshire.
Robert de Cribbes, Lanarkshire.
Huwe Croket de Kameslank, Lanarkshire.
William Croketa de Kylbride, Lanarkshire.
John Crokschank, burgois de Haddington.
Rowland de Cromkam, Lanarkshire.
Gilbert, fiz Gregory de Cronrotheryk, Lanarkshire.
Gotherik, fiz Matthew de Cronrotheryk, Lanarkshire.
Andrew de Croston, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Robert Cruk de Fingaldston, Lanarkshire.
Thomas Cuffok, burgois de Monros.
William Culte de Strathawan, Lanarkshire.
Walter Curry, Dumfriesshire.
John Curryk, Perthshire.
Richard Cuyot, Fifeshire.
Thomas Dabergladyn (de Abergladyn), Ayrshire.
Thomas de Daliell [Dalzell], Lanarkshire.
Renaud, vicaire del Eglise de Dalielle, Lanarkshire.
Alexander de Dalmahoy, Edinburghshire.
Henry de Dalmahoy, Linlithgowshire.
John Dammeson, burgoys e aldreman de Jeddeworth.
Huwe de Danielston, chevalier, Lanarkshire.
Gilbert Darel, Peeblesshire.
John de Daventry, Edinburghshire.
Adam, fiz David [Adam Davidson], Forfarshire.
John, le fiuz of David [John Davidson], Berwickshire.
William de Dederik, burgois e aldreman de Edenburgh.
Rauf [Ralph] Deghlyn de Haddington, tenaunt le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Demester. See Emester.
Robert de Dene, persone del Eglise de Wilton.
Gwy de Denum, Roxburghshire.
Thomas Derchstre, Berwickshire.
Brice, abbot de Dere, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Huwe de Deresdere, Linlithgowshire.
John de Derlington, persone del Eglise de Dunlopy, Forfarshire.
Walter de Dernington, persone de Parton, Dumfriesshire.
John Derok, burgois de Haddington.
Randulf de Derum, Roxburghshire.
Henry de la Despense, Perthshire.
Nicholas de la Despense, Berwickshire.
Nicholas le Despenser, Berwickshire.
Devergoyl, see Carnot.
Peres de Dewere, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Dewere, Edinburghshire.
Robert Dirland, Stirlingshire.
Thomas Dirlaund, Roxburghshire.
William Dobervill, Fifeshire.
William Dod, burgois de Ennerkethin.
Walter de Doghterloueny [Auchterloney], Fifeshire.
Reynaud de Dolfineston, Roxburghshire.
Adam de Donan, Lanarkshire.
Arthur de Donon, Ayrshire.

John de Dordof, Dumfriesshire.
John, abbot de Doucquer, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Freskyn de Douglas, Linlithgowshire.
Master William de Duglas, chevalier.
William de Douglas, Lanarkshire.
William, fiz Andrew de Douglas, Linlithgowshire.
Huwe de Dounom, persone del Eglise de Liberton, Lanarkshire.
Robert de Douns, Berwickshire.
Adam de Nowan, Lanarkshire.
Robert, fiz Adam, de Drelton, Edinburgshire.
William, abbot de Drieburgh, et le couent mesme le lu.
John de Drilawe, burgois de Stirling.
John de Drilowe, tenant le Roi du counte de Striuelyn [Stirlingshire].
William de Drilawe, Edinburghshire.
William de Drilawe, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Alexander de Droghkil, Peeblesshire.
Gilbert de Dromund, Dumbartonshire.
Robert de Drusquem, Dumfriesshire.
Eleyne de Duddynggeston, Edinburghshire.
Alexander Dudyn, Peebles-shire.
Master Henry, deen de Dukeldyn, Perthshire.
Dukeldyn. See Dunkel.
Neel, fiz Robert de Dullop, Ayrshire.
Alice de Dunbar, Berwickshire.
Robert de Dunbar, Berwickshire.
Laurence de Dunblan, burgois de Striuelin [Stirling].
John de Dunbretan, persone del Eglise de Nig, Rossshire.
Nicholas, le fiuz Adam de Dunbretan.
Robert de Dunbretan, Dumfriesshire.
Ewyn, fiz Duncan [Ewen Duncanson].
Saer de Dundas, Linlithgowshire.
Serle de Dundas, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Michel de Dunde, persone del Eglise de Stubbehok, Peeblesshire.
Rauf [Ralph] de Dunde, Forfarshire.
Master William de Dunde, persone del Eglise de Aluyth, Aberdeenshire.
Henry de Dundemer, Fifeshire.
Patrick de Dundemor, Fifeshire.
Walter, abbot of Dundreinan, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Robert Dunduf, Fifeshire.
Rauf, abbot of Dunfermelin, et le couent de mesme le lu.
William Dungalsone, Lanarkshire.
Donald, vicaire de Dunkel, see also Dukeldyn.
Gilbert de Dunmanyn, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
William, vicaire del Eglise de Dunmayn, Edinburghshire.
Marjorie de Dunsier, Berwickshire.
Aleyn Dunwythye [Dunwoody, Dinwiddie, etc.], Berwickshire.
Walter Durant, Dumfriesshire.
Richard, prior de Dureme, et le couent de mesme de lu.
John de Eccles, Berwickshire.
La commune de Edenburgh.
James de Edenburgh, burgois de Edenburgh.
John, vicaire del Eglise de Edenham, Roxburghshire.
Robert de Edenham, Roxburghshire.
Baldewyn de Edmerston, Lanarkshire.
Duncan, fiz Gilmor Edward, Ayrshire.
Gilmor, fiz Edward, Ayrshire.
Rauf [Ralph] de Egerhop, Berwickshire.
Master Patrick de Eggiluine, soldier (Patrick de Eggiluyne, chevalier).
Gyles, persone del Eglise de Egglesseyan, Dumfriesshire.
Bartholomew de Egglesham, chapelyn, gardein de Nouel leu de Seneware, Dumfriesshire.
Rauf [Ralph] Eghlyn, Edinburghshire.
Robert de Eghlyn, tenaunt le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Eghlyn. See Deghlyn.
Radulphus de Eglinton.
Rauf de Egynton, Ayrshire.
Richard, le fiuz Geoffrey de Ekford [Richard Jefferson de Ekford], Roxburghshire.
Hughe, fiz Geoffrey de Elbotle [Hugh Jefferson de Elbotle]. Edinburghshire.
Iue [Hugh] de Elbotle, Edinburghshire.
Alain de Elfinston [Elphinstone], Berwickshire.
John de Elfingeston, Edinburghshire.
John de Elfingiston.
William de Elgeryk, Lanarkshire.
Les burgois e la communaute de la ville de Elgyn en Morref.
Henry de Ellom, Berwickshire.
Robert de Elmeley, Aberdeenshire.
Roger Elyssone, Berwickshire.
Haldan de Emester, Perthshire.
Michael de Enderkelyn, Edinburghshire.
John le Engleis, Berwickshire.
Margarete le Engleys, Perthshire.
Malcolm le Engleis, Perthshire.
Philip le Engleis, Lanarkshire.
Richard le Engleis, Lanarkshire.
Walter le Engleis, Lanarkshire.
La communaute de Ennerkethin.
David de Enrepessre, Angusshire.
Pieres, prior de Ercattan, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Malcolm Erchebaudessone, Peeblesshire.
Master Alexander de Ergayl, chevalier.

Alexander de Ergayel, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Malcolm de Argoyl, brother to Sir Alexander, Argyleshire.
Rauf [Ralph] de Erington, Dumfriesshire.
Henry, le fiuz Ernaud, Selkirkshire.
William, fiz Ernaud, burgois de Linlescu.
Alexander de Erth.
Marie, qe fu la femme Huwe de Erthe, Stirlingshire.
Richard de Erth, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
William de Erth, Peeblesshire.
Gilbert de Estnesbyt, Berwickshire.
John, le fiuz Adam de Estnesbyt.
Alexander, fiz William Estrevill, Edinburghshire.
Morice de Esttubbille, Dumfriesshire.
Gyles del Estwode, Lanarkshire.
John de Ethereston, Roxburghshire.
William, le fiuz Eue [Hugh], burgois de Ennerkethin.
Adam de Eurewyk, burgois de Rokesburgh.
Thomas le Ewer, Edinburghshire.
John Ewynsone, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Steven Eyr de Eyton, Berwickshire.
John Eyr de Mespennon, Peeblesshire.
David Eyr de Stychehull, Roxburghshire.
William, le fiuz Renaud de Eyton, Berwickshire
William de Eyton, Berwickshire.
Rauf [Ralph] Faireye, Ayrshire.
Margerie de Fairhalugh, Linlithgowshire
William de Farningdon, Edinburghshire.
William de Fasington, Edinburghshire.
John, fiz William de Fastfurlong, Roxburghshire.
Robert le Fauconer, Kincardineshire in Mearns.
Robert de Faudon, Edinburghshire.
Roger de Faughside, Dumfriesshire.
Nicholas Fausy, Roxburghshire.
Robert del Fausyde, Edinburghshire.
William de Fausyde, Roxburghshire.
William, le fiuz William de Federed, Elginshire in Moray.
Walter de Fenton, Berwickshire.
William de Fenton, Edinburghshire.
Adam le Fitz Fermin, burgois de Haddington.
Master Duncan de Ferndragh, chevalier.
Duncan de Fernyndraugh, chevalier, Aberdeenshire.
Eue, qe fut la femme Malcolm de Fernyndrogh, Aberdeenshire.
Henry le Ferrer de Gravernen, Edinburghshire.
Aleyn de Ferur.
Aleyn le Ferur de Kellawe, Berwickshire.
Henry del Ferye, Roxburghshire.
Adam le Feure de Erseldoun, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
William le Feure, Berwickshire.
William Fin, Lanarkshire.
Brice Finlausone, Stirlingshire.
William le Fleming de Seton, Edinburghshire.
Aleyn de Fleming, Ayrshire.
John Fleming, Peeblesshire.
Master John Fleming, chevalier.
Michael le Fleming, Kincardineshire in Mearns.
Patrick Fleming, Dumbartonshire.
Walter le Fleming, Lanarkshire.
William le Fleming, Dumbartonshire.
William le Fleming, chevalier, Lanarkshire.
Richard de Flex, Roxburghshire.
Laurence de Flisk, Perthshire.
Thomas Floriessone, Berwickshire.
Hughe de Foderingeye, Perthshire.
Roger de Foderingeye, vicaire del Eglise del Kilmor, Ross-shire.
David, le vicaire del Eglise de Foghou, Berwickshire.
Robert Foreman, Edinburghshire.
John le Forester, Berwickshire.
Walter, vicaire de Forgrunt, Fifeshire.
Richard Fossard de Jeddeworth, tenant le Roi, Roxburghshire.
Alexander Fossart de Tyningham, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Fergus Fostresone, Ayrshire.
Thomas de Foughelton, Lanarkshire.
Robert Fouk, burgois de Seint Johan de Perth.
Adam de Fouldon de Horton, Edinburghshire.
Adam, le persone de Foweldon, Roxburghshire.
Richard Fourbour, Roxburghshire.
Alexander de Foward, Lanarkshire.
Ade de Fraser, prioress de Eccles, Berwickshire.
Andrew Fraser, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Fifeshire.
Sire Richard Fraser, Dumfriesshire.
Richard Fraser, chevalier, Stirlingshire.
Robert Fraser, Dumfriesshire.
William Fraser, filius quondam de Alexander Fraser (le fiz jadis Alex.).
William Fraser, Peeblesshire.
John Fraunceis de Beneston, Edinburghshire.
John Fraunceys de Longanevton, Roxburghshire.
Aleyn Fraunceis, Roxburghshire.
Symund Fraunceis, Roxburghshire.

Master William Fraunceis, chevalier.
William le Fraunceis, Edinburghshire.
William Fraunceis, Fifeshire.
Jacob Freman, Peeblesshire.
Robert Fremansone, burgoys de Jeddeworth.
Adam Frere, Berwickshire.
Alexander Fresel, chevalier.
Andrew Freysel, Fifeshire.
Bernard Frisel, Edinburghshire.
John Fresel, Fifeshire.
Laurence Frysel, Peeblesshire.
Sarah, la fielle Thomas Fresel, Berwickshire.
William Fresel, Edinburghshire.
Henry de Fresseleye, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
William de Fresseleye, Fifeshire.
William Frisith, Peeblesshire.
Aleyn, son of Thomas de Fulton, Lanarkshire.
Henry de Foulton, Lanarkshire.
Nicholas de Fulton, Lanarkshire.
Thomas de Fulton, vicaire del Eglise de Irnnewyk [Inuerwyk?], Edinburgshire.
Alexander Furblur, Roxburghshire.
Richard le Furblur, burgois de Roxburgh.
Richard de Furdal, Perthshire.
Philip de Fyndon, Kincardineshire.
Ele de Fyf, Fifeshire.
Andrew, persone del Eglise de Fylorth, Aberdeenshire.
Donal Galbrath de Kilbride, Dumbartonshire.
Arthur de Galbrath, Wigtonshire.
Thomas Galfagy, Ayrshire.
Henry Galightly de Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire.
Aleyn de la Garderobe, Edinburghshire.
Andrew de la Garderobe, Roxburghshire.
David de la Garderobe, Fifeshire.
William de Gardin.
William Gardeyn, Forfarshire.
William du Gardino, Edinburghshire.
Umfrey de Gardin, Dumfriesshire.
Iwyn de Garghill, Stirlingshire.
Thomas, le fiuz Malcolm de Garthgeuerton, Stirlingshire.
John, vicaire del Eglise de Garuan.
Adam de Garuiagh, Edinburghshire.
Andrew de Garuyagh, Aberdeenshire.
John de Garuyagh, Aberdeenshire.
Master John de Garuiagh, chevalier.
William, vicaire del Eglise de Garuok, Mearnsshire.
Pieres, le fiuz Geoffrey, burgois de Peebles.
Symund, le fiuz Geoffrey [Symund Jefferson?], burgois de Peebles.
William, le fiuz Geoffrey, burgois de Hadington.
Thomas de Gelghagi, Ayrshire.
Robert Gerlaund, Perthshire.
Robert Gerauld, Fifeshire.
William, fiz Gerveyse, Ayrshire.
John de Geveleston, Dumfriesshire.
Adam de Gibeloteston, Fifeshire.
Adam de Gibeloteston, Edinburghshire.
Huwe de Giffard, Berwickshire.
James Giffard, Berwickshire.
John Giffard, chevalier, Edinburghshire.
John Gilberdessone, Peeblesshire.
Donald, le fiz Gilbert, Ayrshire.
Keschen Gilcrist, Perthshire.
Mac Gilcrist, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Patrick Gilcristessone, Stirlingshire.
Rauf de Gilgirgesten, tenant le Roi, Perthshire.
——Gillehomedy, Lanarkshire.
Henry de Gillonby, Dumfriesshire.
John del Glan, Lanarkshire.
Aleyn, vicaire de Glasgow, Lanarkshire.
Robert, bishop of Glasgow.
Roger de Glassord, Lanarkshire.
Aleyn de Glasfreth, Lanarkshire.
Aleyn, son of Roger de Glasrithe, Lanarkshire.
Herbert de Gledstan, Lanarkshire.
Malcolm de Glendeghrad, Perthshire.
Malcolm de Glendughred, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Patrick de Glyndoghred, Perthshire.
Marie de Glengeuel, Lanarkshire.
Master Gilbert de Glenkerny, chevalier.
Sire Gilbert de Glenkerny, Elginshire.
John de Glennesk, Forfarshire.
Master John de Glennesk, chevalier.
Morgund de Glennysk, Forfarshire.
Esteuene Glenwhym, Peeblesshire.
Symon de Glover, burgois de Seint Johan de Perth.
Gilberd de Glymcarmy, Ivernessshire.
William de Gobynsekegh, Ayrshire.
William Godeslyme, Berwickshire,
Adam Gold, bailiff de Monros.
Edith de Goldingham, Berwickshire.
Mariot de Golyn, Edinburghshire.
William Goscelyn, Selkirkshire.
Master William de Goseford, persone de Castelmilke, Dumfriesshire.
Dougal Gotheriksone, Wigtonshire.
Dougal, son of Gothrik, Dumfriesshire.
William de Gourlay (Gourley, Gurle, Gurlegh, Gurleye) de Bagally, Forfarshire.
Adam de Gourley, Roxburghshire.
Huwe de Gourley, Edinburghshire.
John Gourley, Berwickshire.
Matthew Gourley, Edinburghshire.
Patrick de Gourley, persone del Eglise de Loghorward, Edinburghshire.
Roger Gourley, Edinburghshire.
William de Gourley, Edinburghshire.

Anable, qe fu la femme Patrick de Graham.
Henry de Graham, Dumfriesshire.
John de Graham, Edinburghshire.
Marjorie de Graham, Perthshire.
Sir Nicholas de Graham, Linlithgowshire.
Piers de Graham, Dumfriesshire.
Pieres de Graham, Edinburghshire.
Robert de la Graunge, Roxburghshire.
Robert de Graunt, Fifeshire.
Dugald Gregyns.
Roger del Grene, Roxburghshire.
Christian de Greneheueh, Sekirkshire.
William del Grenerig, Lanarkshire.
Matthew de Grenlawe, son of William de Grenlawe, Berwickshire.
William de Grenlawe, Edinburghshire.
Hugh de Grenok, Lanarkshire.
John, le fiuz Walter Gretheued, burgois de Peebles.
John Greue (Greyue) de Haytone, Berwickshire.
John de Greue, Berwickshire.
Henry Grey, Fifeshire.
Huwe Grey, Berwickshire.
Walter de Greydon, Berwickshire.
John de Greyley, chevalier, Aberdeenshire.
Adam, fiz Grimbald, tenant le Roi, Ayrshire.
Robert Grimbaud, Berwickshire.
John de Grimmeslawe, Roxburghshire.
John Grithman, Berwickshire.
Robert Grundi de Neicton, Roxburghshire.
Walter, fiz Walter de Gummeston, Dumfriesshire.
Master Adam Gurdoun, chevalier.
Adam Gurdon, Stirlingshire.
Aleyn Gurney, Roxburgshire.
Patrick del Gyle, Peeblesshire.
Anneys la Gynnere, Berwickshire.
La commune de Haddington.
David de Haddington, Fifeshire.
John de Haddington, Fifeshire.
Eve, la prioress de Haddington, et le couent du mesme le lu, tenante le Roi du counte de Edeneburgh.
John del Hage, Berwickshire.
Henry de Hakely, burgois de Monros.
Andrew de Haldanston, Edinburghshire.
Michael de Hale, Edinburghshire.
Alice, qe fu la femme Philip de Haliburton, tenaunt le Roi du counte de Berewyk.
Henry de Haliburton, tenaunt le Roi, Berwickshire.
Henry de Haliburton.
Marjorie, prioress de Haliston, Berwickshire.
Patrick de Halton, Edinburghshire.
Walter, fiz Gilbert de Hameldon, Lanarkshire.
William de Hamstede, Elginshire.
John de Hanewort, Edinburghshire.
Gilberd de Hangindeschawe, Roxburghshire.
Gilbert de Hannethe [Hannay], Wigtonshire. See Annethe.
Robert de Hanwyk, Roxburghshire
Reinaud Hardegrepes, burgois de Peebles.
John de Harden, Roxburghshire.
William Hardy, Lanarkshire.
Alexander de Harkars, Fifeshire.
Marjerie de Harcars, Berwickshire.
Roger de Harecarres, Berwickshire.
Thomas de Harkars, Berwickshire.
Erchebald de Harpenfeud, Lanarkshire.
Roger le Harpur de Hum, Berwickshire.
William le Harpur de la Lawe, Edinburghshire.
John le Harpur, Berwickshire.
Robert le Harpur, Ayrshire.
Witing le Harpur, Lanarkshire.
Eadmund de Hastinges, Fifeshire.
Robert de Hastinges, Peeblesshire.
John de Hatal, Peeblesshire.
Alexander de Hately.
John de Haucworth, Edinburghshire.
Ayelmer de Hauden, Edinburghshire.
Bernard de Hauden, Roxburghshire.
Eymer de Hauden, Edinburghshire.
Rauf [Ralph] de Hauden, persone del Eglise de Whitesum.
John Haughenros, Elginshire.
John de Haukerston, Edinburghshire.
Gilbert Haunches, Roxburghshire.
Thomas de Haunches, Roxburghshire.
John Haunsfard, Forfarshire.
Matthew de Hauthornden, Edinburghshire.
William de la Haye de Drumranagh, Fifeshire.
Edmund de la Haye, Perthshire.
Master Gilbert de la Haye, chevalier.
Gilbert de la Haye, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Master Hugo de la Haye, chevalier.
Huwe de la Haye, Fifeshire.
Master John de la Haye, chevalier.
John de la Haye, Fifeshire.
Jone de la Haye, Forfarshire.
Master Nicholas de la Haye, chevalier.
Nicholas de la Haye, Perthshire.
Nicholas de la Heye, persone del Eglise de Erol, Perthshire.
Thomas de la Haye, Perthshire.
William de la Haye, chevalier.
John de Hayton, gardein del Hospital Seint Leonard de Torrens, Lanarkshire.
John de Hayton, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas de Hayton, vicaire del Eglise de Combosneythan, Lanarkshire.
John de Hedlam, fuchauntour del Eglise de Ros.

Robert de Hedleye, Edinburghshire.
Hewe Heir, Roxburghshire.
Steven, le fiuz John Heyr, Berwickshire.
William de Hellebeck, Dumfriesshire.
Adam de Hep [Hepburn?], Roxburghshire.
William de Heriz, Dumfriesshire.
Walter Herok, deen de Morref, Elginshire.
Aleyn de Herteshede, Berwickshire.
William de Hessewell, Roxburghshire.
John de Heton, Roxburghshire.
Huwe de Hextildespeth, Roxburghshire.
Gilbert de Hildeclive, burgois de Linlithgow.
Gilbert de Hildeclyve, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Hill, see O'the Hill.
Huwe, le fiuz Adam de Hilton, Berwickshire.
John de Hylton, Berwickshire.
David, persone del Eglise de Hilton, Berwickshire.
Thomas de Hinkerstan, Berwickshire.
Michael Hipperehson, Edinburghshire.
Alexander de Hirdemaneston, Roxburghshire.
John de Hirmaneston, Berwickshire.
Patrick Hirdemaneston, Edinburghshire.
Adam de Hodolm, Dumfriesshire.
Robert de Hodolm, Roxburghshire.
Henry Hog, Roxburghshire.
John Hogge, burgois de Edinburgh.
Alexander de Hoggeston.
Richard de Holaston, Edinburghshire.
Walter de Holcote, Roxburghshire.
Symund de Holden, Roxburghshire.
Robert, abbot de Holmcoltram, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Adam de Home, Ayrshire.
Geoffrey de Hom, Lanarkshire.
Henry de Hommes, Roxburghshire.
John Hope, Peeblesshire.
William de Hopkeliogh, Peeblesshire.
Adam de Hord, burgois de Peebles.
Adam de Horde, Peeblesshire.
Eusemme, qe fu la femme William de Horneden, Wigtonshire.
John de Horreden, Lanarkshire.
Pieres de Horton, Edinburghshire.
Richard de Horseleye, Lanarkshire.
Robert del Hospital, Berwickshire.
Thomas, persone del Eglise de Hoton, Berwickshire.
Rauf [Ralph] de Hoveden, persone del Eglise de Whytousne, Berwickshire.
Robert de Hovenden, Berwickshire.
Hull, see On the Hull.
Thomas de Hunsingoure, persone del Eglise de Aldhamstok, Berwickshire.
Robert de Huntlegh, Roxburghshire.
Aylmere le Huntere, Ayrshire.
John Hunter, de la Foreste de Passely, Lanarkshire.
Huwe le Hunter de Stragrif, Lanarkshire.
Richard le Hunter de Stragrif, Lanarkshire.
Finlau de Huston, chevalier, Lanarkshire,
Frere John, master del Hospital de la Seinte Trinite de Huweston, Edinburghshire.
Richard del Idle, Edinburghshire.
Alexander del Ile, Perthshire.
John del Ille, Berwickshire.
John del Ile, burgois de Ennerkethin.
William de Inays.
Frere Thomas, abbot of Inchaufrau.
Muriele de Inchebecky.
Gregory de Inredouet, Fifeshire.
Gilbert de Inrelauran, Dumbartonshire.
Adam de Inrepessre, Forfarshire.
Ireland, see Dirland.
John de Irskyn, Lanarkshire.
Geoffrey de Isabelsone, Berwickshire.
Roger de Jar [Jarum], Lanarkshire.
Thomas de Jar, provendrer del Eglise de Ros.
William de Jar, Roxburghshire. See Jarum.
Pieres de Jarum, persone de Kelles, Dumfriesshire. See Jar.
John, abbot of Jeddeworth, et le couent de mesme le lu.
La communaute de Jeddeworth.
Robert de Jeddeworth, persone del Eglise de Kermighel, Lanarkshire.
Bride, fiz John [Johnson?], Fifeshire.
William, le fiuz John, burgois de Ennerkethin.
Gilberd de Joneston, Dumfriesshire.
John de Joneston, chevalier, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas de Johanneston, Roxburghshire.
Walter de Jonesone, Berwickshire.
Andrew le Jugger.
Malcolm, fiz Juneyr, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Thomas Kair [Kayter], Fifeshire.
Geoffrey Kaland, bailiff e burgois de Ennerkethin.
Alewyn de Kalentyr, Stirlingshire. See Calantyr.
Lambard, vicaire de Karal, Fifeshire.
Thomas de Karibre, tenant le Roi du counte de Linlescu [Linlithgow].
Gilbert de Karlel, Dumfriesshire. See Carleal.
William de Kathkerk, Ayrshire.
Randulf de Kelor, Forfarshire.
John de Kelput, tenant le Roi [Linlithgowshire].

Richard, abbot de Kelshou, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Huwe de Kelshou, Ayrshire.
Isaac de Keluini [Kelwiny], Perthshire.
Master Alexander Kenedy, canon de Glasgow.
Huwe Kenedy, chevalier, Lanarkshire.
Robert de Kent, Lanarkshire.
Pieres Kenyn, Lanarkshire.
Andrew del Ker, Stirlingshire.
Henry Ker, Edinburghshire.
Nicholas Kerre, Peeblesshire.
William Ker, Ayrshire.
John de Kerdernesse, Dumfriesshire.
Aleyn de Keres, Ayrshire.
Walter de Kergill, Perthshire.
Walter de Keryngton, persone del Eglise de Dunnoter, Kincardineshire in Mearns.
Alexander de Keth, persone del Eglise de Hodolm, Dumfriesshire.
William le Keu de Knoll, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Lanarkshire.
Master Richard le Keu, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Druwet de Kilbrid, Ayrshire.
William le Keu, tenant Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Druwet de Kilbrid, Ayrshire.
Gilbert de Kilbride, Lanarkshire.
Gilbert, persone del Eglise de Kildekauena [Kildehavena], Perthshire.
Bartholomew de Kildhunham, Fifeshire.
Reynaud de Kilmeronn, Ayrshire.
William de Kilmoneth, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Stevene de Kilpatrik, Dumfriesshire.
Gilbert, abbot de Kilros, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Homfrey de Kilwhon, chevalier, Dumbartonshire.
Bernard, abbot of Kilwynin, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Matthew de Kinglas, burgois de Linlithgow.
John de Kinburn, Berwickshire.
Walter, master del Hospital de Kincardin sur Neele.
William de Kindellough, Fifeshire.
Kinros, see Kynros.
Constance de Kiphop, Edinburghshire.
Alexander de Kircomtolagh, Lanarkshire.
Thomas de Kirconnel, Dumfriesshire.
William de Kircuthbright, master de Hospital de Turryth, Banffshire.
Adam de Kirkeby, Berwickshire.
John de Kirkpatrick, Dumfriesshire.
Roger de Kirke Patrick, chevalier, Dumfriesshire.
Adam de Kirketon, Berwickshire.
Adam de Kirketon, Edinburghshire.
Thomas Kithehilt, Wigtonshire.
William de Knere [Kuere], Fifeshire. See Kuere.
William Knighteson de Eglesham, Lanarkshire.
Nicholas de Knighton, Edinburghshire.
William de Knohyntynonn, Iverness-shire.
John de Knoudolyan, Ayrshire.
Adam Knout, burgois de Rokesburgh.
Isabel Knout, Roxburghshire.
John Knout, burgois de Rokesburgh.
John Knout, Roxburghshire.
John de Kuere, Fifeshire. See Knere.
John de Kymbrigham, Berwickshire.
John, le fiuz Walter de Kymbergan, Berwickshire.
Robert de Kynbriggeham, Berwickshire.
Gilbert de Kymmok, Fifeshire.
Malcolm de Kynbuk, Perthshire.
John de Kynemore, Stirlingshire.
Thomas de Kyngarth, Perthshire.
Richard de Kyngessyde, Berwickshire.
Magistrate William de Kynghorn, rector Ecclesie de Liston, Linlithgowshire.
William de Kingorn, persone del Eglise de Kiltyerne, Inverness-shire.
Eude de Kynmunth, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Fifeshire.
William de Kenemunth, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
William de Kynmuth, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Rauf de Kynnard (Kinnard, Kynard), tenant le Roi du counte de Perth.
Richard de Kynnard, Fifeshire.
Ace de Kynros, Perthshire.
John de Kenros, Forfarshire.
Master John, fiz Master John de Kinros, soldier.
Robert de Kinros, Forfarshire.
Malcolm de Kinspinedy, Fifeshire.
Malcolm de Kynspinedi, tenant le Eusqe de Seint Andreu, Fifeshire.
John de Kyntowar, Perthshire.
Walter de Kyntowhar, Perthshire.
Walter de Lagenheueh, Aberdeenshire.
William de Laghmanoueny, Fifeshire.
Adam Lamb, persone del Eglise de Foulesworth, Berwickshire.
Nicholas Lamb, Berwickshire.
Adam de Lamberton (Lambreton), Berwickshire.
Master Alexander de Lambreton, chevalier.
Alexander de Lambreton, Forfarshire.
John de Lambreton, tenant le Roi du counte de Striuelyn [Stirlingshire].
John de Lamberton, Edinburghshire.
Robert de Lamberton, vicaire del Walleston, Lanarkshire.
Walter de Lamberton, Berwickshire.
William de Lamberton, Berwickshire.

William de Lamberton, Fifeshire.
Master William de Lamberton, chaunceler del Eglise de Glascu [Glasgow], Lanarkshire.
William, vicaire del Eglise de Laneta, gardeyn de la prioraute de Northberewyk.
William Lang, Berwickshire.
Elice de la Langmore, Edinburghshire.
John de Langemor, Ayrshire.
John, fiz John de Langemor, Ayrshire.
Robert de Longmore, Edinburghshire.
Aleyn de Langeton, Berwickshire.
John, vicaire de Langeton, Berwickshire.
Gerveys de Langhild, Linlithgowshire.
John de Lany, Edinburghshire.
John de Lanyn, Perthshire.
Walter Larblaster [le Arblaster], burgois de Edinburgh.
Henry de Larder, Edinburghshire.
Michael de Lardiner, burgoys de Linlescu [Linlithgow].
Michael de Lardiner, tenant le Roi du counte de Linlescu.
William de Lardiner, burgois de Stirling.
John de Lasceles, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Fifeshire.
Rauf de Lasceles, Edinburghshire.
Richard de Lasceles, Fifeshire.
William de Lasceles, Fifeshire.
William de Laskeresk, Fifeshire.
Adam, persone del Eglise de Lastalrigg, Edinburghshire.
John de Lastalrigg, Edinburghshire.
John Laumansone, Perthshire.
Freskums [Freskinus?] de Laundeles Roxburghshire.
Jone de Laundeles, Roxburghshire.
Henry, vicaire del Eglise de Laurineton, Dumfriesshire.
Rauf [Ralph], master del Hospital de Lawedre, Berwickshire.
Richard Lawesone de Bykre, Lanarkshire.
Master Norman de Lechleyn, chevalier. See Leffelyn.
William de Lecton [Letton], Fifeshire.
Master Edmund de Ledham, Roxburghshire.
Thomas de Ledyorde [Ledyard], Peeblesshire.
Matthew de Legh, Dumfriesshire.
John Legun de Rothegle, Lanarkshire.
Laurence de Lekathy, Forfarshire.
Henry de Lematon, persone del Eglise de Douns, Perthshire.
Eleanor, prioress de Lencludan, Dumfries-shire.
Gilbert de Leppeine, Lanarkshire.
Ralph Lespecier, burgois de Jeddeworth [Jedburgh].
Normande Lesselyn, [Leslie], chevalier, Aberdeenshire. See Lechelyn.
Nicholas, vicaire del Eglise de Lessewade, Edinburghshire.
John Lesquier de Whyop, Edinburghshire.
W. de Lessuvade, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
John de Letham, Berwickshire.
Richard de Lethindy, Aberdeenshire.
Malcolm, comte de Leuenaux [Lennox], Fifeshire.
Andreu de Levingston, Lanarkshire.
Sir Archibald de Levingeston, Edinburghshire.
Master Archibald de Levingston, chevalier.
William de Leycestre, Edinburghshire.
John de la Leye, Dumfriesshire.
Philip de la Leye, chevalier.
Aleyn de Liberton, Edinburghshire.
Aleyn de Lyberton, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
David de Liberton, tenant de Roi, Edinburghshire.
Nicholas de Licheardeswode, chapelein, gardeyn del Hospital de Lichardeswode, Berwickshire.
Symund de Licheardeswode, Berwickshire.
Walter, vicaire del Eglise de Licheardeswode, Berwickshire.
John de Lillesclif, Roxburghshire.
John de Lillesclyue, Peeblesshire.
Thomas Lillok, tenaunt le Roi du counte [de Peeblesshire].
Thomas Lillock, Peeblesshire.
Walter Lillok, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
Alexander de Lindeseye, chevalier.
Sir Alexander de Lindeseye, Roxburghshire.
Hewe de Lindeseye, burgoys de Jeddeworth.
James de Lindeseye, Roxburghshire.
John de Lindeseye, Lanarkshire.
John de Lindeseye, Roxburghshire.
Philip de Lindeseye, chevalier.
Walter de Lindeseye, Berwickshire.
Sir Walter de Lindeseye, Edinburghshire.
La commune de Linlescu [Linlithgow].
Adam de Linton, Edinburghshire.
Adam de Linton (Lynton), le jouiene, Edinburghshire.
Bernard de Linton, persone del Eglise de Mordington, Berwickshire.
John de Linton, Roxburghshire.
Philip de Linton, Berwickshire.
Loel de Liolleston, Berwickshire.
Henry de Lisours, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Pieres de Lisours, Edinburghshire.
Aleyn de Litester, Edinburghshire.
Pieres de Littestere, Berwickshire.
John Lock, Roxburghshire.

Christian Lockard, Peeblesshire.
Malcolm Lockare, Ayrshire.
John de Lodham, Berwickshire.
Andrew de Logan, Wigtonshire.
Philip de Logan, burgois de Monros.
Thurbrand de Logyn, Dumfriesshire.
Walter Logan, Lanarkshire.
Radulf de Loghdon, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Walter de Loghdon, tenant le Roi du comte de Edinburghshire.
Eugene, fitz Loghlane, Perthshire.
Walter Loghy, Fifeshire.
Huwe de Loghore, Fifeshire.
Alexander, persone del Eglise de Loghy, Forfarshire.
Gerveys de Longhill [Loughill], Linlithgowshire.
Ralf de Longton, Edinburghshire.
Walter de Longton, Edinburghshire.
William, fitz Lorence, Ayrshire.
Agneys, qe fu la femme Henry Louel, Roxburghshire.
Morice Louel, persone del Eglise de Petyt Cares, Roxburghshire.
Adam Louely (Louvely), Peeblesshire.
Thomas de Louerd, Peeblesshire.
Adam de Lumbyny, Fifeshire.
Adam de Lummesden, Berwickshire.
Roger de Lummesden, Berwickshire.
Thomas, abbot de Lundors, et le couent, de mesme le lu.
Margarete, qe fu la femme Pieres Lundy, Fifeshire.
John de Luuecot [Lunetot], Ayrshire.
Walter de Lynne, Ayrshire.
John Lyp [Lyppe], Aberdeenshire.
Symund de Lyston, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Linlithgowshire.
Gilbert MacCoignache, Dumfriesshire.
Malcolm MacCuffok, Stirlingshire.
Dougal MacDowyl, Wigtonshire.
Fergus MacDowylt, Wigtonshire.
Gilmyhel Mac Eth, Dumfriesshire.
Roland MacGahen, Wigtonshire.
Robert le Machun de Strathafan, Lanarkshire.
Rouland fiz Aleyn Mac Rotherik, Inverness-shire.
Morice Mac Falny, Dumfriesshire.
Michael Maculagh, Wigtonshire.
Thomas Mac Ulagh, Wigtonshire.
William Mac Ulagh, Wigtonshire.
Duncan Maggadelf de Cambroun, Stirlingshire.
Patrick de Maghan, Lanarkshire.
William de Maghan, Lanarkshire.
Donal Makachelson, Dumbartonshire.
Cuthbert Makelemwyn, Dumfriesshire.
John Makelmothan, Dumbartonshire.
Gilberd Makenaght, Dumfriesshire.
Angus Makerath.
Master Herbert de Makeswelle, chevalier.
Sir Herbert de Maxwell, Dumfriesshire.
Master John de Makeswell, chevalier.
John de Makeswell, Perthshire.
John de Makeswell, Lanarkshire.
John de Makeswelle, chevalier, le fiuz Sire Herbert de Makeswelle.
Nicholas Makewhesshapp.
Duncan Makilcrist [MacGilchrist] de Leuenaghes, Dumbartonshire.
Gillemoie Makilyn, Perthshire.
Gilbert Maklurk, Ayrshire.
Simon Malcomessone, Berwickshire.
John de Malere, tenaunt le Roi du counte de Perth.
Gilbert Malherbe, Stirlingshire.
Gregory de Maleuill, [Melville], Edinburghshire.
James de Maleuil, Aberdeenshire.
Master John de Maleuille, chevalier.
Patrick de Maleuill, tenant le Roi, Peeblesshire.
Reynaud de Maleuill, burgois de Stirling.
Richard de Maleuill, Fifeshire.
Robert de Maleuill, Roxburghshire.
Robert de Maleuill, Roxburghshire.
William de Maleuill, Peeblesshire.
William de Malleuill, Roxburghshire.
William de Maleuill, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
William de Maleuill, Seigneur de Retreuyn, Roxburghshire.
John de Malkarreston, Roxburghshire.
Marie, la Reyne de Man [queen of the island of Man], Perthshire.
Henry de Manspeth, Lanarkshire.
John Manuel, Ayrshire.
John Manuel, Stirlingshire.
Alice, prioress de Manuel, et le couent de mesme le lu.
John Manypeny, Fifeshire.
Donald, comte de Mar.
Christyn de Mar, la femme Duncan de Mar, Inverness-shire.
Duncan, fitz le comte de Mar, Perthshire.
Gilbert de Mar, Fifeshire.
James de Mar, Aberdeenshire.
John de Mar, bailiff de Linlithgow.
Syuan le Mare, Perthshire.
Thomas le Mareschal de Corstorphyn, Edinburghshire.
William le Mareschal de Morthington, Berwickshire.
Adam le Mareschal, burgois de Ennerkethin.
David le Mareschal, Dumfriesshire.
Fergus le Mareschal, Dumfriesshire.
John le Mareschal, Roxburghshire.
John le Mareschal, Lanarkshire.
John le Mareschal, de Tosketon, chevalier, Wigtonshire.
Patrick le fitz John de Mareschal, Linlithgowshire.

Philip le Mareschal, Edinburghshire.
Robert le Mareschal, burgois de Jedburgh.
Roger le Mareschal, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
Rouland le Mareschal, Dumfriesshire.
Stevene le Mareschal, burgoys de Jedburgh.
Thomas le Mareschal, Roxburghshire.
William le Mareschal, Edinburghshire.
Walter fiz Martin, del burk de Edeneburgh.
Aleyn fiz Maucolum, Berwickshire.
Huwe le fiz Maukelom, burgois de Monros.
Maucolum fiz Maucolum, Perthshire.
Huwe Mauleurer, Dumfriesshire.
Ralf Mauleurer, Lanarkshire.
Robert Mautalent, Berwickshire.
Adam de Maxpoffle, Roxburghshire.
Alexander de Maxton, Roxburghshire.
Maxwell. See Makeswell.
William de Meistreton, Fifeshire.
John de Meldon, Peeblesshire.
David de Melkedrum, Fifeshire.
William de Melkedrom, Aberdeenshire.
Master Alexander, comes de Meneteth.
Austin le Mercer, burgois de Roxburgh.
Bernard le Mercer, burgois de Seint John de Perth.
Walter le Mercer, burgois de Monros.
Walter Merlegh, Roxburghshire.
Robert Merley, persone del Eglise de Westerker, Roxburghshire.
Roger de Merly, Lanarkshire.
Walter Merpym, Roxburghshire.
Master Nicholas de Merton, persone del Eglise de Kynathes, Forfarshire.
Gilbert le Messager, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Iue le Messager, Dumfriesshire.
Michael le Messager, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Ralf le Messager, Berwickshire.
Roger de Methfenn, Perthshire.
Meuros. See Monros.
John de Meynreah, Wigtonshire.
Symon, persone del Eglise de Middeby, Roxburghshire.
Roger de Midelburgh, Roxburghshire.
Humfrey de Midelton, Kincardineshire in Mearns.
Roger de Miggel, Perthshire.
Adam de Mindrom, Roxburghshire.
Adam de Moderual, Lanarkshire.
Robert de Moffet, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas Moffet, Dumfriesshire.
Bernard de Mohaut, Peeblesshire.
Michael de Mouhaut, chevalier, Ayrshire.
Roger de Mohaut, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
Master William de Mouhaut, chevalier.
Walter le Moigne, Berwickshire.
Macrath ap Molegan, Dumfriesshire.
Malis de Moliofard, Perthshire.
Anneys de Mollesworth, Berwickshire.
Eliz de Molyn, Berwickshire.
John de Moncref, soldier.
John de Monncref, Perthshire.
William de Muncref, Angusshire.
William de Mongale, Ayrshire.
Henry de Monimel, Fifeshire.
Henry, persone del Eglise de Munimel, Fifeshire.
Patrick, abbot de Monros, et le couent le mesme le lu.
La commune de Munros.
Master Matthew de Meuros, clerk, Perthshire.
Andrew de Montcour, chevalier.
John de Montfort, Edinburghshire.
John de Montford [Mountfort, Mounfort, Munfort].
Peres de Moltfort, Aberdeenshire.
Robert de Monte Forti, Kincardineshire in Mearns.
John de Montgomery [Mountgomery, Muntgomery], Lanarkshire.
Murdoch de Montgomery, Ayrshire.
Thomas de Montgomery, Stirlingshire.
Reynaud More de Cragg, Lanarkshire.
Donal le fiz Michael More de Leuenaghes, Dumbartonshire.
Symon de la Mor de Thaugarston, Lanarkshire.
Adam de la More, Ayrshire.
Gilchrist More, Ayrshire.
Renaud de la More, Ayrshire.
John de Morhalle, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Perthshire.
Thomas de Morham, pusne, Stirlingshire.
Sir William de Morhaut, Roxburghshire.
Eude le fitz Morice, Stirlingshire.
Patrick de Morington, Lanarkshire.
William de Morref [Moravia, Murref, Murreue], seigneur de Botheuill.
William de Morref de Rumsirgard, Lanarkshire.
William de Morref de Tulybardy, Perthshire.
Aleyn de Morref, Foreysshire.
Austyn de Morref, Edinburghshire.
David de Morref, persone del Eglise de Botheuille, Lanarkshire.
Archibald de Morref, Peeblesshire.
Hughe de Morreue, Edinburghshire.
John de Morref, Fifeshire.
Master John de Morref, chevalier.
Laurence de Morref, Berwickshire.
Master William de Morreue, chevalier.
Roger de Mortimer, Perthshire.
Walter, persone del Eglise de Morton, e mestre de Caldestreme, Dumfriesshire.

Gilbert Mosyn, Roxburghshire.
Maut de Mounceaus, Roxburghshire.
Adam Mounlaud [Mounland], Berwickshire.
Thomas le Muller, Berwickshire.
Henry de Mundeuill [Mandeville], Dumfriesshire.
John de Mundeuill, persone de Moffat, Wigtonshire.
Murray. See Morref.
John Murthoc [Murdoch], Dumfriesshire.
Robert de Muscamp, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Muschaump, Lanarkshire.
Robert de Muschance.
David Muschet, Angusshire.
Richard Muschet, Angusshire.
Matthew le Naper de Aghelek, Forfarshire.
John le Naper, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
John le Naper, Dumbartonshire.
Duncan le fiz Nelgos, Dumbartonshire.
Jone de Nesbyt, Berwickshire.
Thomas de Nesbyt, Berwickshire.
William de Nesebyt, Berwickshire.
John, abbot od Neubotle, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Richard de Neuill [Neville] de Perth, burgois de Seint Johan de Perth.
Angus de Neutober, Forfarshire.
Richard de Neutober, Forfarshire. See Newecobyr.
Huwe de Neuton, Edinburghshire.
James de Neuton, Edinburghshire.
Patrick fiz John Nevyn, Lanarkshire.
Richard de Newecobyr. See Neutober.
Henry de Neythanthern, Berwickshire.
Lamb fiz Austyn de Nibreim, tenant le Euesqe de Sient Andreu, Fifeshire.
Adam fiz Nicholas, Berwickshire.
Aleyn le fiz Nicholas, Lanarkshire.
Malcolm fiz Nicholas.
Patrick le Noble, Edinburghshire.
Thomas le Noble, Edinburghshire.
Ralf le fiz Norman, burgois de Ennerkethin.
John de Normanuill, Dumfriesshire.
Robert de Normanuyle, Stirlingshire.
Robert de Normanuyle, tenant le Roi, Stirlingshire.
Master Robert de Normanuill, chevalier.
John Normaunt, Roxburghshire.
Richard Norreys, Berwickshire.
Walter de Northberewyk, Edinburghshire.
Nicholas de Northincheton, burgois de Peebles.
Eliz fiz Robert de Nouelchastel, Berwickshire.
Elys de O Brinkel, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Walter le fitz Roger de Odeston, Lanarkshire.
Hughe of the Leigger, Peeblesshire.
Patrick de Oggeluill [Ogilvie], Forfarshire.
Robert de Oghtergeuen, Perthshire. See Ostregauen.
Oghterloney. See Doghterloueny.
Henry del Orchard, Edinburghshire.
Jordan del Orchard, tenant le Roi du counte de Linlithgow.
Roger le Orfeure de Berewyk, Lanarkshire.
Walter le Orfeure de Rokesburgh, burgois e aldreman de Rokesburgh.
Elys de Orky, Fifeshire.
Alice de Ormeston, Edinburghshire.
Alice qe fu la femme Aleyn de Ormeston, tenaunte le Roi Edinburghshire.
Henry de Ormeston, Edinburghshire.
John de Ormeston, Roxburghshire.
Huwe de Orre, Dumfriesshire.
Robert de Orrok, Fifeshire.
Symund de Orrok, Fifeshire.
William Osterebure [Oscherebure], Roxburghshire.
Robert de Ostregauen, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire. See Oghtergeuen.
William O' the Hill, Berwickshire.
William O' the Hulle, burgoys de Linlithgow.
William On the Hull, tenant le Roi du counte de Linlithgow.
John Otre, Berwickshire.
Malcolm de Ouree, Aberdeenshire.
William de Ouer Eyton, Berwickshire.
Eleyne Papede, Berwickshire.
John de Paris, Ayrshire.
John del Park, chevalier, Berwickshire.
William le Parker, persone de Killom [Kilmon], Perthshire.
Patrick fiz Matthew de Parton, Dumfriesshire.
Walter, abbot of Passelay, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Richard de Passenandeshull, Edinburghshire.
Roger Patre nostre.
Kircrist fitz Patrick, Roxburghshire.
Alexander de Paunton, Lanarkshire.
Nicholas de Paxton, Berwickshire.
Robert de Paxton, Berwickshire.
La communaute de Peebles.
Frere Thomas, master de la meson de la Seinte Croice de Peebles, Peeblesshire.
John, visaire del Eglise de Peebles.
Patrick de Pedglassy, Fifeshire.
John de Pedgrogeny, Perthshire.
David de Pencatlond, Haddingtonshire.
Adam de Pendenan, Peeblesshire.

Hughe de Penicok, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Margarete de Penicok, Edinburghshire.
William Perel, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
Nicholas Perre de Bonekel, Berwickshire.
Robert de Perressar [Perrefax], Dumfriesshire.
Richard de Perth de Rokesburgh, Roxburghshire.
John de Perth, burgoys e aldreman de Seint Johan de Perth.
John fiz Richard de Perth, burgois de Seint Johan de Perth.
Wadyn de Perth, burgois de Seint Johan de Perth.
William fiz John, burgois de Seint Johan de Perth.
Philip de Perthay, Lanarkshire.
Richard Pesshun de Striuelin, Stirlingshire.
William Pessoun de Tynyngham, tenaunt le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Peres de Petcarne, Fifeshire.
Thomas Petikreu, Lanarkshire.
William de Petkery, Fifeshire.
Pieres de Petrauy, burgois de Ennerkethin.
John le fiuz Randolph de Petscotyn.
Adam de Petyclank, Fifeshire.
Laurence de Petyn, Lanarkshire.
John Petyt de Miernes, Lanarkshire.
Ralf Phelipp de Berewyk, Berwickshire.
Henry fiz Philipp, Lanarkshire.
Robert de Picton, Ayrshire.
Theobaud Pictot, tenaunt le Roi, Perthshire.
Walter Pierrssone, Berwickshire.
John Pigaz de Lynton, Edinburghshire.
Aleyn de Pilmor, Berwickshire.
William de Pokeby, Edinburghshire.
Patrick de Pollewe, Fifeshire.
John Pollok, Forfarshire.
Pieres de Pollok, Lanarkshire.
William Polmalot, Wigtonshire.
William Porneys, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
John le Porter de Linlescu, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Helys le Porter del Rugan, teant le Roi, Lanarkshire.
John le Porter, burgois de Linlithgow.
William le Porter, Lanarkshire.
Ralf del Pount de Pebbles, tenaunt le Roi, Peeblesshire.
William Poureys, Berwickshire.
John Prat, Elginshire.
William Prat, Fifeshire.
Henry le fiz Thomas de Prendregast, Berwickshire.
Henry de Prendregast, Berwickshire.
John de Prendegest, Berwickshire.
Pieres de Prendelgast, tenaunt le Roi, Berwickshire.
William de Prendrelath, Roxburghshire.
Henry de Preston, Edinburghshire.
Nicholas de Preston, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Preston, chanoigne del Eglise de Dunkeldyn, Perthshire.
William le Preston, Edinburghshire.
Edward fiz Richard le Prestre, Berwickshire.
Richard Prestre, burgois de Stirling.
John Pryde, Lanarkshire.
Alexander de Purdeuyn, Linlithgowshire.
Thomas Purdeuyn, Stirlingshire.
Robert de Pylmor, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Pylmor, Berwickshire.
William de Pylemor, Edinburghshire.
Nicholas de Pynkerton, Haddingtonshire.
John Rabuk, bailiff de Linlithgow.
Roger de Rainaldeston, Roxburghshire.
Adam de Rammeseye, Fifeshire.
Andreu de Rammeseye, Argyleshire.
Duncan de Rammeseye, persone de Eglise de Loghore.
John de Rammeseye, Fifeshire.
John fiz Nece de Rammeseye, Fifeshire.
Margarete de Rammeseye, Berwickshire.
Robert de Rammeseye, Berwickshire.
Thomas de Rammeseye, Angusshire.
William de Rammeseye, Edinburghshire.
William de Rammeseye, Fifeshire.
Sir William de Rammeseye, Edinburghshire.
John fitz Randolf de Fediche, Fifeshire.
John fiz Randolph, Roxburghshire.
John de Randoleuston, Fifeshire.
Andreu de Rat, chevalier, Invernaryshire.
Master Gervays de Rate, chevalier.
Gervays de Rat, del counte de Invernarn.
Roger de Rath, Ayrshire.
Master William de Ratheuen, chevalier.
Robert de Rauenesgraf, Lanarkshire.
Henry Rauesmaugh [Ranesmaugh], burgois de Peebles.
William Rauessone, Berwickshire.
Robert fiz Ralf, persone del Eglise de Seint Cuthbert de Ewytsdale, Ayrshire.
Thomas de Raulfeston, Lanarkshire.
Richard, persone del Eglise de Rattheu, Edinburghshire.
Robert de Redebogh, Ayrshire.

William de Redepeth, Berwickshire.
Adam de Reinfru, Edinburghshire.
Symund de Renyngton, burgoys de Jedburgh.
Randulf de Rereys, Fifeshire.
Adam le fiz Richard, burgois de Stirling.
William fiz Richard, Peeblesshire.
Margerie de Richardeston, Edinburghshire.
Stevene le Riche, Stirlingshire.
Thomas de Rillewod, Roxburghshire.
Walter de Ripon, Edinburghshire.
Stevene de Roberton, Lanarkshire.
William de la Roche de Corstorsyn, Edinburghshire.
Waldef de la Roche, burgois de Edinburgh.
Aleyn de Rossa, Dumfriesshire.
La commune de Rokesburgh.
Adam, persone del Eglise de Chastel de Rokesburg.
Thomas le pestour de Rokesburgh.
Gilascop fiz Roland, Perthshire.
Gilbert fiz Rouland, Ayrshire.
John fiz Rouland, Ayrshire.
Andrew le fiuz Godfrey de Ros, Ayrshire.
James le fiuz Godfrey de Ros, senior.
James le fiuz Godfrey de Ros, junior.
James de Ros, Ayrshire.
Robert de Ros, Ayrshire.
Walter de Ros, Ayrshire.
William de Ros, Edinburghshire.
Malcolm de Rosky, Perthshire.
Elizabeth de Rossenenth, Aberdeenshire.
Walter de Rossy, burgois de Monros.
Robert, prior de Rosthinnot, et le chanoines de mesme le lu, Forfarshire.
Sir William de Rothenan, Edinburghshire.
Angus de Rothenayk, deen de Morref, Elginshire.
William de Rothnayk, Elginshire.
Patrick de Rothnayk, tenant le Roi, Perthshire.
Aymer de Rotherford, Roxburghshire.
Margarete la fielle Nicholas de Rotherford, Berwickshire.
Master Nicholas de Rotherford, chevalier.
William de Rothesford, persone del Eglise de Lillesclyue.
Adam de Roule, Roxburghshire.
Aleyn, persone del Eglise de Roule, Roxburghshire.
Thomas de Roule, Roxburghshire.
William de Rouley, Roxburghshire.
Duncan le Rous, burgois de Haddington.
Gille Folan le Rous, Stirlingshire.
Morice le Rous, burgois de Stirling.
William de Rucastel, Roxburghshire.
Adam fiz Matthew de Rugan, Lanarkshire.
Adam de Rukelton, Roxburghshire.
Robert Russel, Berwickshire.
Walter de Russy.
Hughe Rydel, tenant le Roi, Edinburghshire.
Master Hughe Rydel, chevalier.
Huwe Rydel, Edinburghshire.
William de Rydale, burgois de Ennerkethin.
Henry de Rydelowe, Edinburghshire.
Adam de Rykeldon, Roxburghshire.
John Rymour, Berwickshire.
Oliver de Ryston, Berwickshire.
Adam Sammok de Trebrun, Berwickshire.
Aleyn Sammoksone, Berwickshire.
Alexander le Sanser de Innerkethyn, Forfarshire.
Alexander le Sauser, bailif e burgois de Ennerkethin.
Frere John de Sautre, master de la chivalrie del Temple en Scotland.
Richard de Scadaghy, Fifeshire.
Symund de la Scalerik, Edinburghshire.
Fergus del Schawe, Lanarkshire.
Symund del Shawe, Lanarkshire.
William de Schawe, Lanarkshire.
William Schelle, Edinburghshire.
William Scheles, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Walter de Scherwinglawe, chevalier.
John de Schutlynton, chevalier, Edinburghshire.
John, Scocie rex.
Edward, son of John king of Scotland.
Thomas, abbot de Scone, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Thomas de Scon, Roxburghshire.
Henry de Scorton, Roxburghshire.
Laurenz de Scorton, Roxburghshire.
Richard le Scot de Murthoxton, Lanarkshire.
Alexander Scot de Pertheyk, Lanarkshire.
Henry le Scot, burgois de Edinburgh.
Isabel Scot, Fifeshire.
John les Scot, burgois de Haddington.
Michael Scot, Linlithgowshire.
Patrick le Scot, (Berwickshire).
Walter le Scot, Peeblesshire.
William Scot, Roxburghshire.
John de Scouneslegh, Roxburghshire.
Andrew le Sealeer, Peeblesshire.
Michael le Seeler, burgois de Roxburgh.
Frere William Seggeden, master de la meson de Seint Augustyn [Austyn], Berwickshire.
John, prior de Seint Andreu, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Dungald, abbot de Seint Boiz, et le couent de mesme le lu.

Ade, prioress de Seint Boythan, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Master John Seint Cler de Hirdemanston, Berwickshire.
Gregory de Seint Cler, Berwickshire.
Adam, prior del Idle de Seint Colmoth, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Brice, abbot de Seint Columb, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Adam, abbot de Seint Croiz de Edeneburgh, et le couent de mesme le lu.
William, abbot de Seint Edward de Balmurinagh, et le couent de mesme le lu.
William fiz Gode de Seinte foy, Lanarkshire.
Bartholomew, master de la meson de Seint Germeyn, Edinburghshire.
La communaute de la ville de Seint Johan de Perth.
—— prioress de Seinte Leonard, juxte la vile de Seinte Johan de Perth.
Master John de Seint Michael, chevalier.
John de Seint Michael, Roxburghshire.
Sir John de Seint Michael, Roxburghshire.
Renaud de Seint Michael, clerk.
Adam de Sel de Ryston, Berwickshire.
Thomas de Selkyrk, Berwickshire.
Richard, vicaire del Eglise de Selkyrk, Perthshire.
Patrick de Seluenland, Lanarkshire.
Uchtred Seman, Lanarkshire.
Christian Semlaund de Cadiou, Lanarkshire.
John, seneschal frere Mon sire James, seneschal of Scotland.
Master James, seneschal of Scotland.
John le seneschal de Jeddeworth, Roxburghshire.
John le Seneschal, chevalier, Lanarkshire.
William le Senetour, Stirlingshire.
Andrew le Serjaunt, burgoys de Linlithgow.
Nicholas le Serjaunt, burgoys de Linlithgow.
Nicholas le Serjaunt, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
John Serle de Perth, burgois de Seint Johan de Perth.
William Seruatour, burgois de Stirling.
Alexander Seruys, Roxburghshire.
Alexander de Seton, vallet, Edinburghshire.
John de Seton, Dumfriesshire.
Richard de Seton, Dumfriesshire.
John de Sharperton, Edinburghshire.
Shaw (see Schawe).
Sir Walter de Sherwynclawe, Roxburghshire.
Huwe de Shetton [Shotton], Roxburghshire.
David Sibbald de Augansauche, Lanarkshire.
Margerie de Sideserf, Edinburghshire.
William de Sydeserf, Edinburghshire.
William de Silkesworth.
John Silvestre, persone de Dolfinston, Lanarkshire.
John de Skene, Aberdeenshire.
John de Skene, Edinburghshire.
Patrick de Skene, Aberdeenshire.
Adam del Skrogges, burgois de Haddington.
William del Skrogges [Skegges], Peeblesshire.
Nicholas de Slaues, tenant le Roi, Ayrshire.
Henry de Smytheton, Edinburghshire.
Frere Thomas Soltre, master de la meson de la Trinite, Edinburghshire.
Master Thomas de Somervill, chevalier.
Thomas de Someruille, Lanarkshire.
Adam de Sostlawe, Roxburghshire.
Aylmer de Sostlawe, persone del Eglise de Douglas, Lanarkshire.
Simon de la Souche, Lanarkshire.
Master Nicholas de Soules, chevalier.
Nicholas de Soules, Fifeshire.
Master Thomas de Soules, chevalier.
Thomas de Soules, Roxburghshire.
Agneys, prioress de South Berewyk, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Gilbert de Southayk, Dumfriesshire.
Thomas de Southayk, Dumfriesshire.
William, comte de Southirland.
Symund de Spalding, persone del Eglise de Ogheltre, Ayrshire.
Emme Spendelove, Lanarkshire.
Adam Spollard, Berwickshire.
Eliz de Spot, Edinburghshire.
Huwe le fiz Moyses de Spot, tenaunt le Roi, Berwickshire.
Robert de Spotteswod, Berwickshire.
Water Spreul, Lanarkshire.
Walter Sproul, Dumbartonshire.
Estevene de Stevenston, Peeblesshire.
John de Stevenston, Lanarkshire.
Richard Stiward de Craneston, Edinburghshire.
Isabel qe fu la femme Thimas Styward, Edinburghshire.
Philip Stiward, Roxburghshire.
William le fiz le Stoward, Berwickshire.
John de Stowe, persone del Eglise de Glenkerny, Kincardineshire in Mearns.
Pieres fiz Gerard de Stragrif, Lanarkshire.
William fiz Nicholas de Stragrif, Lanarkshire.
Walter de Strathawan, Lanarkshire.

William fiz Pieres de Strahaueyn, Lanarkshire.
William fiz Roger de Strathafayn, Lanarkshire.
Malisius, comte de Strahern.
John de Stratherne, Forfarshire.
Malcolm de Strathern, clerk, Perthshire.
Robert de Strathern, Perthshire.
Ego de Strathhach, Perthshire.
Alexander de Stratton, Edinburghshire.
James de Stratton, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Stratton, Edinburghshire.
John de Striuelin [Stirling] de Cars.
Master John de Stirling de Morauia, chevalier.
Alexander de Stirling, Lanarkshire.
Andrew de Stirling, burgois de Ennerkethin.
La communaute de Stirling.
Master Henry de Stirling, Stirlingshire.
Henry de Stirling, persone del Eglise de Upsetelyngton, Berwickshire.
Master John de Stirling, chevalier.
William de Stirling, Wigtonshire.
William Strong, burgois de Monros.
Robert de Stychehull, Berwickshire.
Adam de Stywerdeston, Perthshire.
William de Sulby, Lanarkshire.
John de Suthlinton, Berwickshire.
Aleyn de Suthstanes, Edinburghshire.
Mariot de Sutton, Dumfriesshire.
Nicholas de Swafham, persone de Graunt Dalton, Wigtonshire.
Henry de Swenton, Berwickshire.
William de Swenton, vicaire del Eglise de Swynton.
John de Swineburn, Ayrshire.
Adam Swyn de Ryston, Berwickshire.
Marie de Synton, Roxburghshire.
William le Taillur de Balshamwell, Forfarshire.
Adam le Taillur de Cesseworth, Roxburghshire.
Adam le Taillur de Coningham, Ayrshire.
Adam le Taillur, Lanarkshire.
Isabel qe fut la femme David le Taillur, Forfarshire.
Robert le Taillur, Stirlingshire.
Symund le Taillur, burgoys de Jedburgh.
Thomas le Taillur, burgoys de Jedburgh.
William le Taillur, burgois de Edinburgh.
William le Taillur, Lanarkshire.
William le Taillur, Dumfriesshire.
Gilbert Taket [Teketer], burgois de Stirling.
Philip Teket, burgois de Seint John de Perth.
Henry de Tareuth, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Fifeshire.
William de Tattnel.
Master Gilbert de Templeton, Ayrshire.
William, tenant de Croston, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
John de Thornton, burgois de Monros.
John de Thorneton, Kincardineshire in Mearns.
Gilbert de Thoruk, Perthshire.
Robert de Threpeland, Peeblesshire.
Morice de Tiry, Perthshire.
Ingram de Toftes, Roxburghshire.
Robert de Toftes, Roxburghshire.
William de Toftes, Roxburghshire.
William Tornal, gardein del Hospital de Seint Cuthbert de Balnecrif, Edinburghshire.
Richard, persone del Eglise de Torry, Fifeshire.
Adam fiz Henry de Totherigg, Berwickshire.
James de Torthorald, Dumfriesshire.
Master Thomas de Thorthorald, chevalier.
Thomas de Torthorald, Wigtonshire.
Thomas de la Tour, Ayrshire.
Aleyn de Trebrun, Berwickshire.
Ralf de Trebrun, Berwickshire.
William le fitz William de Trebrun, Berwickshire.
Robert de Trembleye, Kincardineshire. in Means.
John Tressor, burgois de Perth.
Nicholas de Tripponeye, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
John Trot, burgois de Monros.
Hamund de Troup, Lanarkshire.
Ralf Tundeman, burgois de Seint John de Perth.
Alexander, abbot de Tungeland, et le couent de mesme le lu.
Thomas Tutte de Stratherne, Perthshire.
Fynlay de Twydyn, Lanarkshire.
Walter de Twynham, Dumfriesshire.
Walter fiz Richard de Twynham, Dumfriesshire.
Agneys de Twysle, Berwickshire.
Master Pieres Tylliol, persone de Cultre, Lanarkshire.
Master William Tylliol, chanoigne del Eglise de Dunkeldyn, Perthshire.
David de Tymerham, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Robert de Tyndale, persone del Eglise de Grant Dalton, Dumfriesshire.
Gilbert fitz Henry de Tyningham, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Morice de Ughterardogh, del counte de Ughterardoure.

Ingram de Umframuille, Ayrshire.
Moric Unthank, Lanarkshire.
Hughe de Urre, Dumfriesshire.
Huwe Urry, Ayrshire.
John, vicaire de Urres, Dumfriesshire.
Master Thomas le Ussher, chevalier.
Thomas le Ussher, Angusshire.
William le Vache, Peeblesshire.
Robert du Val de Esk, Roxburghshire.
Adam de Valoynes, Fifeshire.
William de Valoynes, Fifeshire.
John de Vaus [Vans, or Vance], Edinburghshire.
Geoffrey de Venaly.
Aliue [Aline] Veupont, Edinburghshire.
Henry de Veepount, chevalier, Dumbartonshire.
Nicholas de Veupount de Tyndale.
Peronel de Vypount, Berwickshire.
Robert de Vypunt, Edinburghshire.
James Victie, persone del Eglise de Edenyn, Forfarshire.
Richard Vigrus, burgois de Roxburgh.
Stevene le Wafrer, Lanarkshire.
William de Wafrer, Lanarkshire.
John le Waleys [Wallace] de Ouer Eton, Berwickshire.
Adam le Waleys, Ayrshire.
Aleyn Waleys, tenant le Roi, Ayrshire.
John le Waleys, fiz Thomas le Waleys, Fifeshire.
Nicholas le Waleys, Ayrshire.
David de Walgh, Lanarkshire.
Robert Walghop, Fifeshire.
Thomas Walghope, tenant le Euesqe de Seint Andreu, Edinburghshire.
Wallace. See Waleys.
Master Walram, persone del Eglise de Yetham, Ayrshire.
Geoffrey le fitz Walter, Roxburghshire.
Richard, fiz Walter [Richard Watterson] de Edenburgh, burgois de Edenburgh.
Symond le frere Walter, burgois de Peebles.
Thomas Walugh [Waugh?], Peeblesshire.
Robert de Walughton, persone de la Chapele de Walughton, Edinburghshire.
Henry de Wanewyk, Lanarkshire.
Richard de Warewyk, Ayrshire.
Huwe de Watton, burgoys de Jedburgh.
Robert Waugh de Hep, Roxburghshire.
Laurence de Weddale, Roxburghshire.
Edward, vicaire del Eglise de Wedale, Edinburghshire.
Walter de Wederburn, Edinburghshire.
Frere Alexander de Welles, gardeyn del Hospital de Seint John de Jerusalem in Scotland.
Welsh. See Waleys.
Richard Wer, Lanarkshire.
Roger de Westlommesden, Berwickshire.
William de Weston, Wigtonshire.
Master Michael de Weues [Wemes?], chevalier.
White. See Wight.
Adam de Whiteburn, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Gilchrist de Whiteburn, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Waryn de Whiteby, burgois de Seint John de Perth.
John de Whitelowe, Edinburghshire.
Morice, prior de Whiterne, et le couent de mesme le lu. See Candida Casa.
Edward de Whitewell, Edinburghshire.
John Wiggemere de Edinburgh, burgois de Edinburgh.
John Wight, Lanarkshire.
Thomas Whight, burgois de Seint John de Perth.
Henry de Wincestre, Lanarkshire.
John de Wyncestre, Lanarkshire.
Thomas de Wincestre, tenant le Roi, Ayrshire.
John Wischard del Miernes.
Gilbert Wichard, Forfarshire.
John Wischard, Kincardineshire in Mearns.
Master John Wischard, chevalier.
Jone qe fu la femme Randulf Wyschard, Berwickshire.
William Wiseman, Elginshire.
Adam de Witton, Selkirkshire.
Michael de Wytton, Selkirkshire.
Richard de Witton, persone del Eglise de Hawyk.
Robert de Wodeford, Roxburghshire.
Ralf le Wright, burgois de Stirling.
Thomas le Wright de la Blakehalle, Lanarkshire.
Henry del Wro, tenant le Roi, Linlithgowshire.
Henry del Wro, burgois de Linlithgow.
Malcolm Wyet, Angusshire.
David de Wymes, Fifeshire.
Michael de Wymes.
Sir Michael de Wymes, Fifeshire. See Weues.
William Wymundesone, Peeblesshire.
Aleyn de Wynton, Edinburghshire.
Aleyn de Wynton, Ayrshire.
Gode de Wynton, Edinburghshire.
Thomas de Wynton, Ayrshire.
Coleman Wyrok, Berwickshire.
William, vicaire del Eglise de Wyston, Lanarkshire.
William Wythirhirde, Berwickshire.
William Yetham, Roxburghshire.

APPENDIX R

THE SCOTTISH MARTYRS

(Page 113, Vol. I.)

The following calendar of some Scottish martyrdoms is taken from a book first printed in 1714, of which the full title is: *A Cloud of Witnesses, for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ; or, the Last Speeches and Testimonies of Those Who Have Suffered for the Truth in Scotland, Since the year 1680. With an Appendix, Containing the Queensferry Paper; Torwood Excommunication; a Relation concerning Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. Donald Cargil, and Henry Hall; and an Account of those who were killed without process of law, and banished to foreign lands: with a short view of some of the Oppressive Exactions. Fifteenth Edition, Enlarged and Corrected, With the Testimonies of John Nesbit, younger, John Nesbit of Hardhill, Robert Miller, Thomas Harkness, &c. A letter of John Semple's and of Archibald Stewart's. The paper found upon Mr. Cameron at Airsmoss, and an Acrostic upon his name. The Testimony of John Finlay in Kilmarnock. The Epitaphs upon the grave-stones of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. John Welwood, and the noble patriots who fell at Pentland-hills, &c.*

A more complete work on the subject is that of Robert Wodrow, entitled, *A History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, first published at Edinburgh in 1721.

A CLOUD OF WITNESSES—PREFACE

Christian Reader,

. . . Various heresies in England, growing popery in Ireland, public resolutions for advancing malignants to places of power and trust in Scotland, like so many inundations breaking in upon the church of Christ, laid all her pleasant things waste. And no sooner was Charles II. advanced to the exercise of the royal authority, but drowning the sense of all sacred obligations with a glut of sensual pleasures, he authorized a malignant crew of statesmen to persecute and destroy the people of God for their adherence to the covenants, which he himself had entered into as the fundamental stipulation of government, and to that reformation which he had sworn to maintain and practise; and for their bearing witness against the grand principle and foundation upon which he built his power of overthrowing religion, and setting up a new frame thereof in Britain, namely, the blasphemous headship of ecclesiastical supremacy.

Hence it is evident to a demonstration, that the grand state of the quarrel, upon which the martyrs laid down their lives during the late tyrannical reigns, was really one and the same with that for which the zealous and faithful ministers suffered such hardships in the time of King James VI. and afterwards. This being the precise foundation upon which all the other acts and oaths were built, which the enemies made a handle of, to involve honest people into the crime of treason and rebellion against the state, as it was then determined by their iniquitous laws. For as it was still the principal question put to them, Own ye the king's authority? and the chief article of their indictment, if they either answered in the negative or kept silence; so it is evident, that by this question they really meant, not his civil authority only, but also his pretended claim to

supreme headship over the church; . . . the true sense of that authority, which they would have their private thoughts about was really, as the martyrs understood it, his ecclesiastic supremacy, and that no less than a recognition hereof would serve their turn: and though some of the martyrs offered a distinction between the two, profession to own his civil authority abstract from the ecclesiastical (as, for instance, Mr. John Dick), yet they were not absolved, because they would not own his authority in gross.

The rest of the questions put to them, and made causes of their indictment, were all but so many branches from this root, and rivulets from this spring. The chief was that about defensive arms, which their law had declared rebellion; which all the martyrs, without the least jar or discord, did steadfastly maintain, as being a thing so very consonant, not only to the positive commands of God in his word, but also the very law of nature stamped on the heart, and to the laws and practices of all kingdoms; and undertaken upon so necessary grounds as the defence of the gospel, and the lives of the innocent, in consequence of their covenant engagements, which, however, these wicked persecutors had declared void and null, and the adhering to them capital, yet all such as had any love for God, and zeal for his cause, believed to be perpetually obligatory upon them and the nation, and therefore adhered to them with a steadfastness, and courage invincible, against the most bloody opposition.

Wherefore, when this alone was not like to effectuate their designs, these persecutors betook themselves to another stratagem, and fell upon more mild, but more successful measures, of giving out indemnities and indulgencies, so restricted and limited, as the acceptors should be gained to a peaceable compliance with, and submission to their impious laws, and taken off from their zeal in maintaining the work of reformation, and divided from their covenanted brethren: by this means, they weakened the remnant that had not complied with Prelacy, set them at variance one against another, allured the one to sit quietly still, till they had made an end of their brethren; and in short, rent and almost quite ruined the poor Presbyterian church of Scotland.

Afterwards, when the persecution became sore and violent against the remnant that refused these deceitful baits, and stood to their covenanted religion and liberty, and that both by the open violence of the enemies, and false slanders and calumnies of pretended friends, they were obliged to emit several declarations of their principles, and to defend themselves from these unjust slanders and calumnies; which declarations, as soon as the persecutors got into their hands, thinking they had got a good handle therein, for taking away the lives of all such as should adhere to them, in regard that therein they had more explicitly and fully cast off the authority of the tyrant Charles II. and specified the reasons why they could not own his authority, they never failed on all occasions, to make that a part of their examinations, Own ye the Sanquhar Declaration, the papers found at Queensferry? &c. And many were indicted upon their adherence to these declarations, and other papers. I conceive it is not necessary to swell this preface with a particular defence of these declarations, that being so well done by themselves in the Informatory Vindication, which the reader may have recourse to; and as to the paper found upon Mr. Hall of Haughhead, when he was murdered at Queensferry, the reader shall see it, with a short relation, concerning that worthy gentleman's death, in the appendix to this book.*

Another question commonly put to sufferers was, whether they owned the

* See vol. i. pp. 113–17.

excommunication at the Torwood? which they did with much freedom, as a necessary duty and lawfully performed, so far as that broken state of the church would permit, and upon most weighty and sufficient grounds. The form and order of which excommunication is also added by way of appendix to this book.

But their finest topic, wherein they insulted and gloried most, was the death of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, which they reckoned a cruel murder, and therefore hoped, that if the sufferers should approve of the same, they would have a colour to destroy them, as being men of assassinating and bloody principles, deserving to be exterminated out of any well governed commonwealth; and therefore it was still one of their questions, Was the bishop's death murder; to which question some answered directly, That it was a just and lawful execution of God's law upon him for his perjurious treachery, and bloody cruelty, others were silent, or refused to answer anything directly to the point, as conceiving that it being no deed of theirs, they were not obligated by any law, divine or human, to give their judgment thereupon, especially when they could not exactly know the circumstances of the matter of fact, and saw that the question was proposed with a design to ensnare them, or take away their life. Yet was their very silence or refusal to give their opinion, made a cause of their indictment, and ground of their sentence, and some were put to torture to make them give their sentiments anent it. If any would be farther satisfied on this head, let them see *Hind Let Loose*, head vi., page 633.

The reader having thus briefly seen the causes upon which they laid down their lives, it were necessary to proceed to a short delineation, both of the cruelty of the persecutors inflicting, and of the courage, patience and cheerfulness of the martyrs, suffering these severities: but as for the former, what tongue can express, what pen can describe the barbarous cruelty and hellish rage of the sons of wickedness? One might write a volume upon their cruelties, and after all fall far short of drawing them to the life, or giving any just idea of them, they were so extremely inhuman and brutish. At first, they began with noblemen, gentlemen and ministers, who had been eminent for the cause of God; beheading some, and placing their heads upon the ports of Edinburgh, in token of the highest contempt, banishing others, ejecting all from their charges, but such as would subject to Prelacy and the blasphemous supremacy; and vitiating all the springs and seminaries of learning. Next, they fell to compel the common people to hear curates, by vast and exorbitant fines, extorted by troops of soldiers, plundering, quartering, beating, wounding, binding men like beasts, chasing them away from their houses, compelling them, though sick, to go to church, consuming and wasting their provision with dogs, and promiscuously abusing, as well those that conformed, as them that refused; and if any testified their resentment at these vermin of ignorant and scandalous curates, or refused to give them their tithes, they were imprisoned, scourged, stigmatized, and banished to Barbadoes, or other foreign parts. Any that were hearing their own ministers in private houses, were, seized, dragged to prisons, and close kept there in great hardship, and that of every age and sex.

These were their tender mercies, and but the beginnings of sorrows; for after the defeat at Pentland-hills, beside what were killed upon the spot, such as surrendered upon quarter and upon solemn parole to have their life, were, contrary to the laws of nature and nations, treacherously and bloodily murdered, to the number of forty; one of them, a much reverenced young minister, had his legs squeezed to pieces in the boots, and was afterwards hanged, though he was not in the fight, but had only a sword about him.

Soldiers were ordered to take free quarters in the country, to examine men by tortures, to compel women and children to discover their husbands and fathers, by threatening death, wounding, striping, torturing by fire matches, &c. Crowded into prisons so thick, that they could scarce stand together, in cold, hunger, and nakedness; and all this, because they would not, or could not discover who were at that expedition. Likewise many insnaring bonds, oaths, and tests were framed, and imposed with rigour and horrid severity; people obliged to have passes, declaring they had taken them, or to swear before common soldiers, under pain of being presently shot dead. Severe laws were made against ministers that came to Edinburgh for shelter, they and their wives were searched for, by public search, crowded into prisons, sent to foreign plantations to be sold as slaves. Dragoons were sent to pursue people that attended field-preachings, to search them out in mosses, muirs, mountains and dens of the earth. Savage hosts of Highlanders were sent down to depopulate the western shires, to the number of ten or eleven thousand, who acted most outrageous barbarities, even almost to the laying some countries desolate.

After the overthrow of the Lord's people at Bothwell, they doubled these severities, issued out more soldiers, imposed cess, localities, and other new exactions, forced people to swear *super inquirendis*, and delate upon oath all that went to field-preachings, set up extraordinary circuit courts, enlarged their Porteous rolls, pressed bonds of compearance to keep the peace, to attend the church, refrain from field-meetings, &c., examining country people upon several questions which they had no occasion to understand, as concerning the death of King Charles I. and the Archbishop of St. Andrews; and condemning them to death for not answering, quartering some alive, cropping their ears, cutting off the hands of some, and then hanging them, cutting their bodies in pieces after they were dead, and fixing them upon poles in chains, and upon steeples and ports of cities, beating drums at their executions, that they might not be heard speak, detaining others long in prison, loaded with chains and fetters of iron, and exposed to greater tortures than death itself, and after all sent to be sold as slaves, to empty the prisons; exercising all these bloody deaths and cruelties upon poor country people, which had no influence to do hurt to their government, though they had been willing; yea, upon women of tender age, whom they hanged and drowned, for refusing their oaths and bonds, and resetting the Lord's suffering people.

It would be endless to enumerate all their barbarities exercised upon particular persons. Only for a swatch, take these inflicted on that excellent gentleman David Hackstoun of Rathillet. He was taken out from the place of judgment to his execution, and his body, which was already wounded, was tortured while he was alive, by the cutting off both his hands, which was done upon a high scaffold prepared for the purpose; thereafter being drawn up by a pulley to the top of the high gallows, by the rope which was about his neck, and suffered to fall down a very considerable way upon the lower scaffold three times, with his whole weight; then he was fixed at the top of the gallows, and the executioner with a big knife cutting open his breast, pulled out his heart, while he was yet alive, as appeared both by the body's contracting itself, when it was pulled out, and by the violent motion of the heart when it dropped upon the scaffold, which the executioner taking upon the knife, shewed it to the people upon the several corners of the stage, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor," and then threw it into a fire prepared for the purpose upon the stage, together also with his other inwards and noble parts; and having quartered his body, fixed his head and

hands on a port at Edinburgh, and the other quarters at Leith, Coupar of Fife, and other places. Such was the size and proportion of their persecutions, while yet they pretended to bring them to the knowledge of assizes and colour of law.

But being now weary with these persecutions, according to the tenor of their own laws; the counsellors, to rid themselves of this trouble, gave out an edict for killing them, wherever they might be found, immediately upon the spot, unless they would take the oaths, and shew their pass, which they behoved to swear, that it was not forged; and if they found any arms or ammunition upon them of any sort. By means of which edict, many were suddenly surprised and shot dead, by the brutish and merciless soldiers, who were either peaceably living at home, following their lawful employments, or wandering in mountains, to hide themselves from their bloody enemies, not being allowed time to recommend their souls to God; and the country was engaged by oath to raise the hue and cry against them, in order to deliver them up to the hands of these burriors. The chief contrivers and framers of this horrid murdering edict, were the Earl of Perth, chancellor, Duke of Queensberry, Marquis of Athol, and particularly the Viscount of Tarbet, now Earl of Cromarty, who invented this murdering device, wherein yet he carried so cunningly, that he procured the dispatch of the act of the king with such suddenness, that he found a way to shift his own subscribing it; and though he wants power now to practice such bloody mischief, yet it is evident, he has not repented thereof, but is, as yet, a contriver of the present encroachments made upon the established church, by the late mischievous acts of parliament.

But I must not launch any further into the relation of these cruelties, the true history of which would commence into a volume. I own indeed, that a fuller narration of these things, with pertinent observations thereupon, would have been proper enough for the intended work; but hoping that the Lord may yet raise up some of better abilities for such an undertaking, to set these sufferings in a true light, and to give an impartial recital thereof, this short hint, together with some account of these cold blood murderers, in the appendix, may suffice at present.

Let us next view a little, with some attention and concern, with what undaunted courage, holy resolution, and greatness of mind; with what unshaken steadfastness and constancy those worthy sufferers underwent all these bloody severities. Those disciples of Jesus had been so trained up in his school, and learned the great Christian doctrines of bearing the cross, mortifying the flesh, and contemning the world; they had been so thoroughly instructed by this great Master of assemblies, who teaches to profit, "and leads the blind in a way they know not," to discern the exceeding preciousness of truth, and excellency of the knowledge of Christ, that they were made willing to forego riches, honours, pleasures, liberty, and life itself, when they came in competition with a steady adherence to the truth, and honour of their lovely Lord. Love to Jesus Christ was the great spring which set all the wheels of their affections in motion, to do and suffer for him, whatever he called them to. Every one of them could say to their persecutors, what Chrysostom said to the Empress Eudoxia, who sent him a threatening message, *Nil nisi peccatum timeo*, I fear nothing but sin. . . .

I know, it is objected by some, that they much wanted that virtue which is the greatest ornament of Christians, and truest character of martyrs, namely, a forgiving disposition; because they lay their blood at the door of the principal contrivers and executors of their death, which the objectors suppose not to have been done by any of the former sufferers for Christ. But to this one I oppone,

1st, Granting for argument sake, that they had expressed themselves with some more fervency on that head than others formerly have done, and that this was a piece of their infirmity; it will not follow that we should presently admit the invidious inference, that therefore they were not martyrs for Christ: for as neither the many gross failings of the Old Testament saints, nor the mistakes of the primitive christians, about the truths for which they suffered, could deprive either of the honour of saintship or martyrdom, so neither ought any infirmity of theirs to be improven against them for that end. Solomon tells us, that "oppression makes a wise man mad"; and they met with it in the highest degree, and that not from the hands of Pagans, Turks or Papists, but of those who had been their covenanted brethren by profession. . . .

But, 2dly, more directly, I am bold to deny the charge; for they everywhere distinguish betwixt the injuries done to them, considered simply in themselves, and the injuries done to Christ, and to his image in them: the former they declare they forgive, as they desire forgiveness themselves: the latter they leave to God's sovereign disposal, withal wishing that God might give them repentance; nor is the thing unprecedented: for beside the example of Jeremiah, who laid his innocent blood at the door of the princes, if they should take his life, there might be several more recent parallels adduced. It shall suffice to instance one of our own nation, imprisoned for bearing witness to the same truth, namely, worthy Mr. John Welch, who, in his letter to Lady Fleming, hath these express words, "The guilt of our blood shall lie upon bishops, counsellors, and commissioners, who have stirred up our prince against us; and so upon the rest of our brethren, who either by silence approve, or by crying peace, peace, strengthen the arm of the wicked, they cannot return; and, in the meantime, make the heart of the righteous sad. Next, upon all them that sat in council, and did not bear plain testimony of Jesus Christ and his truth, for which we suffer; and next, upon those that should have come, and made open testimony of Christ faithfully, although it had been to the hazard of their lives. Finally, all these that counsel, command, consent, and allow, are guilty in the sight of God." Sure I am, this is as full as anything they have on this head, and proves, that what they did, was consistent with a christian and forgiving temper of spirit. . . .

Having thus briefly ushered thee into the following sheets, Christian and candid reader, I shall detain thee no longer from perusing them, save only by the way to take notice of these few advertisements.

1. It is not pretended, that here are all the Speeches and Testimonies of those that suffered in Scotland since the year 1680; for many of them, which, no doubt, are extant, have not come into the hands of the publishers of this collection, and some of them that were in their hands, did so far coincide with others in matter and phrase, that they left them unpublished, with some remark upon them, to keep up the memory of these honourable sufferers, being desirous that the book should not swell to such a bulk, as might make it less useful to country people, who have not much money to buy, or leisure to read bulky volumes. And if encouragement be found in this attempt, there may more of them come to be published afterwards. Only, this the collectors of these testimonies can say, that they have left out none, which were in their hands, that they conceived might be for the benefit of the public, upon any sinister view or account; and, if any shall find any alteration in any of them from their own manuscripts, (except it be in the grammar, wherein they took some little freedom, where necessity required it) they are to impute it to the variety of copies, whereof they had several, and chose that which they conceived the most genuine.

2. As for the Testimonies of the banished, they being much the same, as to all material points, with those of the dying witnesses, they are omitted, and a list of their names added in the appendix.

3. The last speeches of those, who suffered on account of the Earl of Argyle's attempt, in the year 1685, are advisedly pretermitted, both because some of them are already published in a book entitled, the *Western Martyrology;* and likewise, because it is the opinion of the encouragers of this work, that their testimony was not so directly concert, according to the true state of the quarrel, for the covenanted interest of the Church of Christ in Scotland, as it ought to have been, though they intend not hereby to rob them of the glory of martyrdom for the Protestant religion. Nor can this be any prejudice to others, who may incline more fully to publish the transactions of these times.

May the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who enabled his people to witness so good a confession for his truth and cause, make these dying Speeches useful, to animate all the lovers of the reformed religion, with the like Christian magnanimity and resolution, to stand up for its defence, against a Popish, Prelatic, and Jacobitish faction, endeavouring its overthrow. May He unite us in the way of truth and duty, to strive together for the valuable interests of our Religion and Liberty.

A DISMAL ACCOUNT OF THE FORM OF BURNING THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND NATIONAL COVENANT, WITH GOD AND ONE ANOTHER, AT LINLITHGOW, MAY 29, 1661, BEING THE BIRTH-DAY OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND

Divine Service being ended, the streets were so filled with bonfires on every side, that it was not without hazard to go along them: the magistrates about four o'clock in the afternoon, went to the Earl of Linlithgow's lodging, inviting his lordship to honour them with his presence at the solemnity of the day; so he came with the magistrates, accompanied with many gentlemen to the market-place, where a table was covered with confections; then the curate met them, and prayed, and sang a psalm, and so eating some of the confections, they threw the rest among the people. The fountain all the time running French and Spanish wine of divers colours, and continued running three or four hours. The Earl, the magistrates and gentlemen, did drink the King and Queen's good health, and all royal healths, not forgetting his majesty's commissioner's health, Lord Middleton, and breaking several baskets full of glasses.

At the market-place was erected an arch standing upon four pillars, on the one side whereof, was placed a statue, in form of an old hag, having the covenant in her hands, with this superscription: A Glorious Reformation. On the other side was placed a statue in a Whigmuir's habit, having the Remonstrance in his hand, with this superscription: No Association with Malignants; within the arch, on the right hand, was drawn a committee of estates, with this inscription: An Act for Delivering up the King. Upon the left hand, was drawn the commission of the kirk, with this superscription: A Commission of the Kirk and Committee of Estates, and Act of the West-Kirk of Edinburgh; and upon the top of the arch stood the Devil, as an angel of light, with this superscription; Stand to the Cause; and on the top of the arch hung a table with this litany;

From Covenanters with uplifted hands,
From Remonstrators with associate bands,
From such committees as govern'd this nation,
From kirk commissions, and their protestation,
Good Lord deliver us.

On the pillar of the arch, beneath the covenant, were drawn kirk-stools, rock and reels; upon the pillar beneath the Remonstrance, were drawn brechams, cogs and spoons; on the back of the arch, was drawn the picture of rebellion in a religious habit, with turned up eyes, and with a fanatic gesture, and in its right hand holding *Lex Rex*, that infamous (rather famous) book, maintaining defensive arms, and in the left hand, holding that pitiful pamphlet (rather excellent paper), The causes of God's wrath, and about its waist, were all the acts of parliament, committees of estates, and acts of general assemblies and commission of the kirk, their protestations and declarations, during these twenty-two years of rebellion, (so they called the time of reformation) and above, was this superscription: Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft. Then at the drinking of the King's health, fire was put to the frame, which gave many fine reports, and soon burnt all to ashes; which being consumed, there suddenly appeared a table, supported by two angles, carrying this superscription,

Great Britain's monarch on this day was born,
And to his kingdoms happily restor'd:
The Queen 's arriv'd, the mitre now is worn,
Let us rejoice, this day is from the Lord.
Fly hence, all traitors, who did mar our peace,
Fly hence, schismatics, who our church did rent,
Fly, covenanting, remonstrating race;
Let us rejoice, that God this day hath sent.

Then the magistrates accompanied the noble Earl to his Palace, where the said Earl had a bonfire, very magnificent. Then the Earl and magistrates, and all the rest, did drink the King and Queen, and all royal healths. Then the magistrates made procession, through the burgh, and saluted every man of account, and so they spent the day, rejoicing in their labour.

CALENDAR OF "THE LAST SPEECHES AND TESTIMONIES OF THE SUFFERERS FOR THE TRUTH IN SCOTLAND, SINCE THE YEAR 1680"

The Testimony of that valiant and worthy gentleman, David Hackstoun of Rathillet, who suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 30, 1680.

His Interrogations and Answers before the Privy Council, Saturday, July 24, 1680.

1st. Whether or not had you any hand in the murdering of the late bishop of St. Andrews? Answered, He was not obliged to answer that question, nor be his own accuser. 2d. What he would declare as to the king's authority? Answered, That authority that disowns the interest of God, and states itself in opposition to Jesus Christ, is no more to be owned; but so it is, the king's authority is now such, therefore it ought not to be owned. 3d. Whether the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrews was murder, yea, or not? Answered, That he thought it no sin to dispatch a bloody monster. 4th. If he owned the new covenant taken at the Queensferry, from Mr. Cargil, one of their preachers? Answered, That he did own it in every particular thereof, and would fain see the man that in conscience and reason would debate the contrary. 5th. If he were at liberty, and had the power to kill any of the king's council, and murder them as he did the bishop of St. Andrews, whether he would do it, yea, or not? Answered, That he had no spare time to answer such frivolous and childish questions.

The dying Testimony of Archibald Alison, who lived in the parish of Evan-

dale in Clydesdale, and suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, August 13, 1680. . . .

The dying Testimony of John Malcolm, weaver in the parish of Dalry, in the sheriffdom of Galloway, who suffered martyrdom at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, August 13, 1680. . . .

The last Testimony of Mr. James Skeen, brother to the Laird of Skeen, who suffered at Edinburgh, December 1, 1680. . . .

The Testimony of Archibald Stewart, who lived at Borrowstounness, and suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, December 1, 1680. . . .

The Testimony of John Potter, a farmer who lived in the Parish of Uphall, in West Lothian, and suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, December 1, 1680. . . .

The last Speech and Testimony of Isabel Alison, who lived at Perth, and suffered at Edinburgh, January 26, 1681.

The Interrogations of Isabel Alison before the Privy Council.

When I was brought before the council, they asked me, where did ye live, at St. Johnstoun? Answer, yes. What was your occupation? to which I did not answer. The bishop asked, if I conversed with Mr. Donald Cargil? I answered, sir, you seem to be a man whom I have no clearness to speak to. He desired another to ask the same question: I answered, I have seen him, and I wish that I had seen him oftener. They asked, if I owned what he had done against the civil magistrate; I answered, I did own it. They asked, if I could read the Bible? I answered, yes. They asked, if I knew the duty we owe to the civil magistrate? I answered, when the magistrate carrieth the sword for God, according to what the Scripture calls for, we owe him all due reverence; but when they overturn the work of God, and set themselves in opposition to him, it is the duty of his servants to execute his laws, and ordinances on them. They asked, if I owned the Sanquhar Declaration? I answered, I did own it. They asked, if I owned the papers taken at the Queensferry on Henry Hall? I answered, you need not question that. They asked, if I knew Mr. Skeen? I answered, I never saw him. They asked, if I conversed with rebels? I answered, I never conversed with rebels. They asked, if I did converse with David Hackstoun? I answered, I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him, for I never saw ought in him but a godly pious youth. They asked, if the killing of the bishop of St. Andrews was a pious act? I answered, I never heard him say, that he killed him; but if God moved any, and put it upon them to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to say to that. They asked me, when saw ye John Balfour that pious youth? I answered, I have seen him. They asked, when? I answered, those are frivolous questions, I am not bound to answer them. They said, I thought not that a testimony. They asked, what think ye of that in the Confession of Faith, that magistrates should be owned though they were heathens? I answered, it was another matter, than when these who seemed to own the truth, have now overturned it, and made themselves avowed enemies to it. They asked, who should be judge of these things? I answered, the Scriptures of truth, and the Spirit of God, and not men that have overturned the work themselves. They asked, if I knew the two Hendersons that murdered the lord St. Andrews? I answered, I never knew any lord St. Andrews. They said, Mr. James Sharp, if ye call him so. I said, I never thought it murder; but if God moved and stirred them up to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I have nothing to say to that. They asked, whether or not I would own all that I had said? for, said they, you will be put to own it in the Grass-market; and they bemoaned me, in putting my life in such a hazard in

such a quarrel. I answered, I think my life little enough in the quarrel of owning my Lord and Master's sweet truths, for He hath freed me from everlasting wrath and redeemed me; and as for my body, it is at His disposal. They said, I did not follow the Lord's practice, in that anent Pilate. I answered, Christ owned His kingly office, when He was questioned on it, and He told them, He was a King, and for that end He was born. And it is for that, that we are called in question this day, the owning of His kingly government. The bishop said, we own it. I answered, we have found the sad consequence of the contrary. The bishop said, he pitied me for the loss of my life. I told him, he had done me much more hurt than the loss of my life, or all the lives they had taken; for it had much more affected me, that many souls were killed by their doctrine. The bishop said, wherein is our doctrine erroneous? I said, that was better debated already than a poor lass could debate it. They said, your ministers do not approve of these things; and ye have said more than some of your ministers; for your ministers have brought you on to these opinions, and left you there. I said, they had cast in baits among the ministers, and harled them aside; and although ministers say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, we are not obliged to follow them in that. Then they said, they pitied me, for (said they) we find reason and a quick wit in you; and they desired me to take it to advisement. I told them, I had been advising on it these seven years, and I hoped not to change now. They inquired mockingly, if I lectured any? I answered, Quakers used to do so. They asked, if I did own Presbyterian principles? I answered, that I did. They asked, if I was distempered? I told them, I was always solid in the wit that God had given me. Lastly, they asked my name. I told them, if they had staged me, they might remember my name, for I had told them already, and would not always be telling them. One of them said, may ye not tell your name? Then another of themselves told it.

The dying Testimony of Marion Harvie, who suffered at Edinburgh, January 26, 1681. . . .

The joint Testimony of William Gouger, Christopher Miller, and Robert Sangster, who lived in the shire of Stirling, and suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, March 11, 1681. Directed to the shire of Stirling. . . .

The dying Testimony of Laurence Hay, weaver, who lived in Fife, and suffered at Edinburgh, July 13, 1681. . . .

The Testimony of Andrew Pittilloch, land-labourer in the parish of Largo in Fife, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, July 13, 1681. . . .

The last speech and testimony of the Reverend Mr. Donald Cargil, sometime Minister of the Gospel, in the Barony Parish of Glasgow, delivered by him in writing, before his execution at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681. . . .

The dying Testimony and last Words of Mr. Walter Smith, Student of Theology, who suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681. . . .

The last Testimony of Mr. James Boig, Student of Theology, who suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681, written in a letter to his brother. . . .

The Testimony of William Thomson, who lived in the shire of Fife, and suffered at Edinburgh, July 27, 1681. . . .

The last Testimony of William Cuthil, seaman in Borrowstounness, who suffered at Edinburgh, July 27, 1681. . . .

The dying Testimony of Robert Garnock, hammerman in Stirling, who suffered at the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, October 10, 1681. . . .

The last Testimony of Patrick Forman, who lived in Alloa, and suffered at the Gallowlee, October 10, 1681. . . .

The last Testimony of David Farrie, who suffered at the Gallowlee, Edinburgh, October 10, 1681. . . .

The last Speech and Testimony of James Stewart, who suffered at the Gallowlee, Edinburgh, October 10, 1681. . . .

The last Testimony of Robert Gray in Northumberland, who suffered for the truth, in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, May 19, 1682. . . .

The last Testimony of James Robertson, who lived in the parish of Stonehouse, and suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, December 15, 1682.

His Interrogations before the Council.

Question 1. Is the king your lawful prince, yea, or not? Answer, Since you have made your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to deliberate upon them: but seeing I am put to it, I answer, as he is a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well, he is, or is not. Q. 2. Were Pentland and Bothwell acts of traitory? A. They being in their own defence, and the defence of the gospel, they are not acts of traitory or rebellion; self-defence being always lawful, which I prove by the Confession of Faith, in that article whereon ye ground yourselves; which is, that subjects may resist unjust violence and tyranny. Q. 3. But wherein lies his tyranny? A. If robbing the privileges of the church be not an act of tyranny, I refer it to be judged. Q. 4. Is the king a tyrant? A. I refer it to his obligation in the coronation oath, and his present actings and practices, in robbing the privileges of the gospel, with the usurpation of the church's liberties, and the prerogatives royal of Jesus Christ, the anointed of the Father, in making himself supreme: and I refer it to persons at home, and nations abroad. Q. 5. Was you at Both-well bridge? A. Ye count it an act of traitory, and also rebellion, which is criminal: bear witness of it and so make it evident. Q. 6. They said, purge yourself by oath, and so we offer to set you at liberty. I answered, I will say no more of it, for when I told the truth to some of you, I was not believed. One of them said, now I will try if ye be a man of parts. Q. 7. There was an act of parliament, when the Confession of Faith was made, declaring, that the king was supreme, and it was owned by the Presbyterians of that time. A. How could that be owned, seeing the Confession was owned. And I called for the act, but it was not brought. Q. 8. Was the bishop's death murder? A. When I am judge set on the bench, I shall pass sentence thereupon. Being questioned further anent it, I said, I have answered that already, I will say no more to it. Q. 9. Own you Lanerk and Sanquhar declarations? A. I cannot own anything, till I see and consider it. Q. 10. Keep you your parish kirk? A. If the minister have ought to challenge me with, he may do it. Q. 11. Now as a test of your loyalty, will you say, God save the king? A. Prayer ought to be gone about with composure and deliberation, and I am not in a composure for it. Q. 12. Would ye not seek a blessing if at meat? A. If ye were present ye would see. One of them said, these principles will condemn you. I answered, if I be absolved of God, it is the less matter though men condemn me.

The last Speech and Testimony of John Finlay, who lived in the Muirside, in the parish of Kilmarnock, and suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, December 15, 1682.

Shewing you that I am condemned unjustly by a generation of bloody men, who is thirsting after the blood of the saints of God, and upon no other account, but for my being found in the way of my duty in the sight of God; glory to his holy name for it, though gone about with many failings, much imperfections, for adhering to Christ and all his offices, as Prophet, Priest, and King; and for

my following him in all his persecuted gospel truths. The articles of my indictment were for, 1st, My keeping company with the persecuted people of God, ministers and others, for which, with my whole soul, I bless him that ever he honoured me with such company; and in token of his countenance he hath kept me in that company. 2d, For my being in company and converse with Mr. Donald Cargil; (for which, with my whole soul, I desire to bless and magnify the riches of his grace, that ever he conferred such company upon such a sinful wretch) and Mr. King, Mr. Richard Cameron, Mr. Kid, in particular. 3d, My refusing to call the bishop's death murder, which I durst not do, it being God's righteous judgment upon him. 4th, My not calling Bothwell-bridge rebellion; it being in defence of themselves and the gospel, which is lawful in God's sight; and therefore I durst not call it rebellion. 5th, My giving meat, drink, and comfort to the persecuted people of God; which I did willingly and with my whole heart; and herein I have sweet peace this day. . . . 6th, For my being commanded to say, God save the king, which I durst not do for my very soul; their bidding us to do it in the test of our loyalty, to save him in his person and government, and authority, which is a perfect owning of him in all that he hath done, in his usurpation upon Christ's prerogatives and privileges, they have made him supreme head in all matters and causes, civil and ecclesiastic; which if I had done, it had been a flat denying of Christ, and a joining with him and them, I mean Charles Stuart, in all that they have done in overturning of the glorious work of reformation in these lands, and all the wrongs done to the gospel and people of God in this day, which would have made me odious in the sight of God, and before the world; for which I bless him, he hath kept me from. . . . 7th, Being asked, if I would not pray for the King? I said, yes. Do it then. I said, according to the Scripture. They said, he will pray for him as he is a man, but not as he is a king, which is high treason and rebellion. Now, my friends, I being conscientious to myself that my owning him as my king, was a casting off Christ Jesus who is head and King in Zion, and taking on with him, and so would have incurred the wrath of God, and homologate all the bloodshed, and all the horrid bloody abominations they have committed in the land, with avowed defying of the great God. O who dare join with such avowed enemies of our God, and so cast off the society of the saints, and give the hand of fellowship to such bloody and mansworn wretches, that is making it their whole work to root out godliness out of this covenanted land, that the name of Israel shall no more be made mention of: but they will be all beguiled, for Christ will reign till all his enemies be made his footstool.

1st, I give my testimony to the sure word of God, which is the Scriptures of truth. 2d, I give my testimony to the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, and that by his satisfaction. 3d, I bear my testimony to the work of reformation, as it was reformed from Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and other errors, as it is contained in the Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms. 4th, I give my testimony to the covenants, National and Solemn League, and Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Worship; and to the causes of God's Wrath, drawn up by the general assembly of the church, after their meeting with the rotten-hearted malignant, Charles Stuart. 5th, I bear my testimony to the faithful actings of the remonstrators, against the malignant interest, that is the very thing contended for by the true Presbyterians of the church of Scotland. 6th, I give my testimony, not to go further back, seeing it homologates the rest, to that notable testimony given at Lanerk against that tyrant, and the test, intimated by that

late parliament, which I could not but look upon it in the time of carrying on of it, and yet doth, that the remnant was owned of the Lord. 7th, I bear my testimony to all the faithful testimonies of the martyrs, that have gone before us, whether on scaffolds, or on the fields, or in the seas. 8th, I bear my testimony to all appearances in arms, for defence of the gospel. 9th, I bear my testimony to the faithful preaching of the gospel that hath been in the fields by the faithful and sent messengers of Jesus Christ, according to his own mission, preaching days, communion days, and fast days, by Messrs. Cargil, King, Kid, Cameron, and Douglas. 10th, and lastly, I bear my testimony to the fellowship-meetings of the Lord's people, particular and general: my soul hath been many a time refreshed with his presence in company with them.

Likewise I bear my testimony, 1st, Against the public resolutioners for taking in the malignant interest, for which this poor church is smarting for this day, and feeling the weight of the tyrant's hand, for such eager lusting after the king. 2d, I bear my testimony against the Hamilton declaration, which is one and the same with the resolutioners, for taking in the foresaid interest, contrary to the land's engagements in covenant. 3d, For corrupting the army and other things, such as the excommunicate tyrant's interest, cess and all other impositions of that nature, for the down-bearing of Christ's interests, doing it against a holy God. 4th, I bear my testimony against indulged ministers, for their not coming in by the door, but by the mission of men. . . . They being entered by the tyrant and not by the door, they are become men-servants, and not servants to Jesus Christ, and so is become an Erastian party, which hath wronged our Lord and King more than the bloody prelatic party hath done these twenty years bygone, by their rending the church's bowels, and for dividing many a bosom-friend, to the great hurt of the gospel. 5th, I leave my testimony against all corrupt ministers, sheltering themselves under their wings, strengthening the stakes of that plantation, and for their dark and ambiguous preaching in not declaring the whole counsel of God. 6th, I leave my testimony against all the enemies and wrongers of my Lord's glorious privileges and prerogatives, all in general. I leave my testimony against that bloody murderer John Reid, who murdered a woman in the town of New-milns, and now is carrying arms against Christ and his followers; who took me, and confest to me that he had not an order for it. And against that party that carried me to Edinburgh; and especially Alexander Gemmil, my neighbour, for he vexed me more than all that party, for he said I married folk and baptized children, and mocked me most dreadfully.

A line of advice to two or three sorts of folk. To you that are old professors and covenanters in the west of Scotland, and especially in Kilmarnock parish, what are ye doing? Where are ye now, when ye swore the covenant, and swore against Popery, Prelacy and all that faction, side and party? How are ye prosecuting the ends of that covenant, now in the sight of God, and the oath of God, that ye swore with hands lifted up to the Most High, and before heaven and earth, sun and moon? O my soul trembles to think what bad example ye are to the young generation, ye who should have been as the he-goats before the flock, to train them up in the way of God, and the way of holiness and righteousness, and now ye are leading them just the contrary. Should ye not have been more tender of the blood of the souls of the young generation, as to turn your back upon your profession, and turn in with the men of these abominations in all things? O fear the wrath of that God who has said, Shall any break the covenant and be delivered? Now therefore, I desire, as ye tender your own souls, that ye would turn again to your first husband, for it was better

with you than it is now. Next, you that are the young generation, men and women, what are ye doing? are ye following the footsteps of your fathers in their courses of defection, joining in hearing these perjured curates, answering at their courts, joining in their worship with them, in their abominable and soul destroying courses, contrary to the word of God, our solemn Covenants, and Confession of Faith, and Shorter Catechisms, the order of the Church of Scotland, in discipline, worship and government; as they, ye and I, are sworn, with hands lifted up to the Most High God, which no power on earth is able to loose nor undo, nor free from no man nor woman baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. O therefore take heed how ye think to answer before the great sin-avenging God, before whom I am to appear within a little space, and before whom I and all the world will stand and be judged with righteous judgment.

And likewise seeing that I dare not but show you my mind anent some persons and their carriage in this day of Jacob's trouble, when Zion is laying waste and ploughing like a field. 1st, I give my testimony against these men called elders in my own parish, because of their complying with every course of defection and abomination that comes alongst through the country. 1st, They being thought to be faithful elders in the time of the Presbyterian government, and then turned elders to the curate Carnagie, and then turned elders to Mr. Wadderburn, that indulged minister, and now are sessioners to this curate. And seeing this is true that they have shewed themselves to be men of no principles, and the spirit of God saying expressly, Meddle not with them that are given to change; who can blame me to disown them.

I give my testimony against John Boyd, called bailie of Kilmarnock, for his bloody courses in many things, and especially in his uplifting of the cess and bloody fines, and in oppressing the poor in their consciences, and laying on of dragoons upon them most cruelly, which he did upon me four times; I wish God may forgive him for what he has done in that matter. . . .

The last Testimony of William Cochran, who lived in the parish of Evandale, and suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, December 15, 1682. . . .

The last Speech and Testimony of Andrew Guilline, weaver, who lived in the shire of Fife, and suffered at the Gallowlee, Edinburgh, July, 1683. . . .

The last Testimony of John Cochran, who lived in the parish of Lesmahego, and suffered at the Cross of Edinburgh, upon the 30th of November, 1683. . . .

A Letter from John Wharry, who suffered at the market-cross of Glasgow, June 11, 1683: written during his imprisonment, to his mother and other relations. . . .

A Letter written by James Smith, who suffered for the truth at the market-cross of Glasgow, June 11, 1683, to his father and mother. . . .

The Interrogations proposed to John Nisbet, younger, who lived in the parish of Loudon, and suffered at Kilmarnock, April 4, 1683. Sent by him in a letter to some friends.

The manner of my examination (as I remember it) was this: First Q. When saw ye John Nisbet? A. I did not see him this good while. Q. But when did you see him, and where did you see him? A. Although I could, I would not answer, to discover my neighbours. The Major said, he would make me tell, or he would make me sit three hours in hell. A. I answered, that was not in his power. Q. Are ye under an oath that ye will not tell of the rest of you? A. I am under no oath but what the Covenant binds us to. Q. Took ye ever the communion? A. No. Q. Did ye ever preach, or expound the Scriptures?

A. I could never read the Rudiments. Yet (said they) there were men who did preach, that were not learned. I told them I knew none but the Quakers, whose principles I disown. Then said they, say God save the king. I answered, it was not in my power to save, or condemn him. Q. Would you not say, God save your beast, if it were fallen into a hole? A. No; because it is a taking of his name in vain. Q. Was you at Bothwell, at the rebellion? A. Seeing you count it rebellion, it is criminal, witness of it. Q. Is the bishop's death murder? A. I am not a judge to cognosce upon it. And being asked again my opinion of it, I answered, I had said all that I could say of it already. Q. Was Bothwell rebellion? I answered, it was self-defence, which was lawful. Q. How prove ye that? A. By that Confession which ye build your Test upon. Then they said jeeringly, I was a grammarian. Q. Own ye a law? A. Yes. Q. Own ye the law as it is now established? A. Since ye make your questions matters of life and death, ye ought to give time to consider upon them. Q. Own ye the king in all matters, civil and ecclesiastic, and to be head of the church? A. I will acknowledge none to be head of the church but Christ. Q. Who is lawgiver? A. Christ. Q. Is the king the king, or not? A. He was once a covenanted king. Q. Is he the king now? A I refer it to his obligations in his coronation oath, to be considered. Q. Is he your king, or not? I told them, I would not answer any more such questions at this time. This is all that passed for the most part, except a number of senseless questions. No more at present, but have my love remembered to all friends in Christ. I am very well borne through, blessed be the Lord for it.

The Testimony of John Wilson, writer in Lanerk, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, May 16, 1683. . . .

The last Testimony of George Martin, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, upon the 22d of February, 1684. . . .

The last Testimony of John Main, who lived in the parish of West Monkland, and suffered at the Cross of Glasgow, March 19, 1684. . . .

The copy of a Letter written by the forementioned Archibald Stewart, who suffered martyrdom at the Cross of Glasgow, March 19, 1684, to his Christian acquaintances. . . .

The last Testimony of Captain John Paton, who lived in the parish of Finwick, and suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, May 9, 1684. . . .

The last Testimony of James Nisbet, who lived in the parish of Loudon, and suffered at the Howgate-head of Glasgow, June 5, 1684. . . .

The last Testimony of Arthur Taket, tailor in Hamilton, who suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, Aug. 1, 1684. . . .

The last Speech and Testimony of Thomas Robertson, who lived at Newcastle, and was put in prison there, for refusing the oath of allegiance, and having made his escape thence to Edinburgh, was taken at a public search there, Nov. 29, 1684, and suffered at the Gallowlee, the 9th day of December thereafter. . . .

The Testimony of James Nicol, merchant, burgess of Peebles, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, August 27, 1684. . . .

The joint Testimony of Thomas Harkness, in Locherbane, Andrew Clark, in Leadhills, in Crawford parish, and Samuel M'Euen, in Glencairn parish; who were sentenced, and suffered at Edinburgh, August 15, 1684. . . .

The joint Testimony of James Lawson and Alexander Wood, who suffered at Glasgow, Oct. 24, 1684. . . .

The interrogations of George Jackson, tenant to Pollock, who was apprehended at Glasgow, and suffered at the Gallowlee, December 9, 1684. . . .

A copy of a Letter written by John Semple in Craigthorn, while in prison. Directed to his mother and sister, who were then in prison. . . .

The last Testimony of James Graham, tailor in Corsmichael, in the Stewarty of Galloway, who suffered at the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, Dec. 9, 1684. . . .

The last Speech and Testimony of Robert Pollock, cordiner in Kilbride, who was taken at Glasgow, and suffered at the Gallowlee, January 23, 1685, betwixt eight and nine of the clock in the morning. . . .

The last Testimony of Robert Millar, mason, who lived in the parish of Ruthergien, and suffered for the truth, at the Gallowlee of Edinburgh, upon the 23d of January, betwixt six and seven in the morning, 1685. . . .

The last Testimony of Thomas Stoddart, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, August 12, 1685. . . .

The last Testimony of Edward Marshal of Kaemuir, in the parish of Morvenside, who suffered at the Grass-market of Edinburgh, December 4, 1685. . . .

The last and dying Testimony of John Nisbet of Hardhill, which he delivered to a friend in the iron-house, when he was taken out to the scaffold in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, where he died, Friday, December 4, 1685. . . .

The last Speech and Testimony of the Rev. Mr. James Renwick, minister of the gospel, who suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, February 17, 1688. Emitted from his own hand, the day before his suffering. . . .

A LIST OF THE BANISHED

To speak nothing of those whom the cruelty of the perescutors forced to a voluntary exile, of whom there can be no particular account had, besides the six or seven ministers that were banished and went to Holland, and seven or eight country people to France, several others to Barbadoes, before the year 1666; after the year 1678, there were banished to be sold for slaves, for the same cause for which others suffered death at home, of men and women about 1700, viz. anno 1678, to Virginia 60, whereof three or four were ministers, who were all by the mercy of God delivered at London. Item, anno 1679, of the prisoners taken at Bothwell, were banished to America 250; who were taken away by —— Paterson merchant at Leith, who transacted for them with Provost Milns, laird of Barnton, the man that first burnt the covenant; whereof 200 were drowned by shipwreck at a place called the Mulehead of Darness near Orkney, being shut up by the said Paterson's order beneath the hatches, 50 escaped; whereof the names, so many of them as could be had, follow: those who escaped are printed in italic characters, for distinction's sake. Out of the shire of Clydesdale and city of Glasgow, Francis Wodrow, Walter M'Kechnie, Alexander Pirie, William Miller. Out of the parish of Govan, Andrew Snadgrass. Out of the parish of Kilbride, Robert Auld, John Struthers, James Clark, John Clark, William Rodger. Out of the parish of Shots, Peter Lermont, Robert Russel, John Aitkin, Robert Chalmers, *John Thomson*, John Killen, Alexander Walker. Out of the parish of Cambusnethen, *William Scular*. Out of the Monklands, *William Waddel*, William Grinlaw, Thomas Mathie, William Miller, John Wynet, James Waddel, *John Gardner*, Thomas Barton. Out of the parish of Bothwell, —— *More*, William Breakenrig. Out of the parish of Evandale, John Cairnduff, John Cochran, Robert Alison, Andrew Torrence, Thomas Brownlee, John Watson, William Alison, Andrew Aiton. Out of the parish of Calder, *William Fram*. Out of the parish of Glasfoord, John Miller, John Craig. Out of the parish of

Carnwath, Thomas Crichton, James Couper. Out of the parish of Quathquan, *James Penman*, James Thomson, Thomas Wilson. Out of the parish of Carstairs, *Thomas Swan*. Out of the parish of Biggar, John Rankin. Out of the parish of Lesmahego, George Weir, Robert Weir, *George Draffin*. Out of the shire of Air and parish of Finnick, James Gray, Andrew Buckle, David Currie, David Bitchet, Robert Tod, John White, *Robert Wallace*, John Wylie, William Bitchet. Out of the parish of Loudon, Thomas Wylie. Out of the parish of Damellington, Hugh Simpson, Walter Humper, *Walter Humper, younger, Hugh Cameron, Quintin MacAdam*. Out of the parish of Cumluck, John Gemil, James Mirrie. Out of the parish of Ochiltree, Andrew Welsh. Out of the parish of Auchinleck, Andrew Richmond. Out of Dindonald, *Andrew Thomson*. Out of Mauchlin, William Reid, William Drips. Out of the parish of Moorkirk, John Campbel, Alexander Paterson. Out of the parish of Digen, James Bouston. Out of the parish of Gauston, James Young, George Campbel. Out of the parish of Kilmarnock, Thomas Finlay, John Cuthbertson, William Brown, *Patrick Watt*, Robert Anderson, James Anderson. Out of the parish of Stewarton, Thomas Wylie, Andrew Wylie, Robert Wylie. Out of the parish of Bar, Alexander Burden. Out of the parish of Colmonel, Thomas M'Lurg, John M'Cronock, John M'Clellen. Out of the parish of Girvan, William Caldwel. Out of the parish of Dalry, David M'Cubin, William M'Culloch. Out of the parish of Maybole, William Rodger, Mungo Eccles, John M'Whirter, Thomas Horn, Robert M'Garron, John M'Harie. Out of the parish of Craigie, *George Dunbar*. Out of the parish of Straiton, James M'Murrie, Alexander Lamb, George Hutcheson. Out of the parish of Kirkmichael, John Brice, Robert Ramsay, John Douglass, John M'Tire, James McConnel. Out of the parish of Kirkosel, John White, Thomas Germon. Out of the shire of Fife and parish of Newburn, James Beal. Out of the parish of Largo and Kilconquhar, Andrew Prie, James Kirk. Out of the parish of Ceres, John Kirk, *Thomas Miller*. Out of the parish of Stramiglo, Robert Bog. Out of the town of Kinross, James Lilburn. Out of the parish of Orwel, *Robert Kirk, Robert Sands*. Out of the shire of Perth, and parish of Kilmadock, John Christison. Out of the parish of Kincardine, Patrick Keir, John Donaldson. Out of the parish of Glendovan, John Murie, Andrew Murie. Out of the shire of Renfrew and parish of Eastwood, James Cunningham. Out of the parish of Neilston, John Govan. Out of Paisley, William Buchan, William Auchinclose. Out of the shire of Lennox and parish of New Kilpatrick, James Finlayson. Out of the shire of Stirling and parish of Drummond, Daniel Cunningham. Out of the parish of Kippen, James Galbraith. Out of Gargunnock, Thomas Miller, Patrick Gilchrist, *James Sands*, Thomas Brown, James Buchanan. Out of the parish of St. Ninians, *Thomas Thomson, Andrew Thomson*, John Neilson, John M'Nure. Out of the parish of Denny, James M'Kie. Out of the parish of Airth, Andrew Young, John Morison, Robert Hendrie. Out is the parish of Falkirk, *Hugh Montgomerie*. Out of Morrenside, Thomas Phalp. Out of the shire of West-Lothian, in the parish of Torphican, John Allan, John Thomson, *John Pender*, James Easton, *John Easton*, Andrew Easton, John Addie, Alexander Bishop. Out of Dalmannie, John Thomson. Out of Livingstoun, Thomas Ingles, Patrick Hamilton, John Bell, Patrick Wilson, William Younger, William Henderson, John Steven. Out of the parish of Kirkliston, John Govan. Out of Bathgate, David Ralton. Out of the parish of Abercorn, John Gib, James Gib. Out of the parish of Linlithgow, Thomas Barthwick. Out of the parish of Kinneil, Andrew Murdoch. Out of the shire of Mid-Lothian and parish of Calder, James Steel, Thomas Gilchrist, James Graze, John Russel. Out of

Mid-Calder, John Brown, Alexander Mutray. East-Calder, *David Samuel*, Alexander Bissit. Out of the parish of Stow, Thomas Pringle. Out of the parish of Temple, James Tinto. Out of the parish of Liberton, *Thomas M'Kenzie*. Out of the parish of Crichtoun, James Fork. Out of the parish of Cranstoun, Thomas Williamson. Out of the town of Musselburgh, William Reid.

Out of the shire of East-Lothian and parish of Dunbar, James Tod. Out of the shire of Nithsdale and parish of Glencairn, David Makervail, John Ferguson, Robert Milligan, *John Milligan*, *John Murdoch*, *John Smith*, *William Ferguson*, James Colvil, Thomas Rosper. Out of the parish of Closeburn, Thomas Milligan, John Kennedy. Out of the shire of Galloway, and parish of Kirkcudbright, James Corsan, *Andrew Macpuhan*, *John Macbratney*, *John Macgie*. Out of the parish of Balmaghie, *Robert Caldow*, James Houstoun. Out of the parish of Kelton, James Donaldson. Out of the parish of Kilmackbrick, Robert Brown, Samuel Beck, Samuel Hannay. Out of the parish of Penningham, John Mactagart, *Alexander Murray*. Out of the parish of Borgue, Andrew Sprot, Robert Bryce, *John Richardson*, *John Martin*, John Bryce, William Thomson. Out of the parish of Girthon, Andrew Donaldson. Out of the parish of Dalry, *John Smith*, *John Malcolm*. Out of Irongray, Andrew Wallet. Out of Balmaclellen, *John Edgar*. Out of Lochrutan, *Andrew Clark*. Out of Etrick or Forrest, John Scot. Out of the parish of Gallashiells, *Robert Macgill*, Robert Young. Out of the shires of Merse and Teviotdale, and parish of Nethen, Samuel Nisbet, John Deans, *James Atchison*. Out of the parish of Cavers, *James Leidon*, *John Glasgow*, *William Glasgow*, John Greenshields, Richard Young, Samuel Douglas, *James Young*, James Hobkirk. Out of the town of Kelso, William Hardie. Out of the town of Jedburgh, John Mather. Out of the parish of Ancrum, George Rutherford. Out of the parish of Sprouston, Walter Waddel and Thomas Cairns. Out of the parish of Melross, John Young and Andrew Cook. Out of the parish of Castletoun, William Scot, John Pringle, Alexander Waddel, and John Unnes. Out of the parish of Askirk, William Herd. Out of the parish of Bandon, Andrew Newbigging. Out of the parish of Sudon, James Couston, *William Swanston*, John Elliot. Out of the parish of Hobkirk, John Oliver.

These seven following were sentenced and banished to West Flanders, who departed the kingdom, March 4, 1684. Thomas Jackson, George Jackson, James Forrest, elder, James Forrest, younger, John Coline, James Gourlay, —— Gillies.

Afterwards were banished to Carolina thirty, who were transported in James Gibson's ship, called sometime Bailie Gibson in Glasgow, of whom it is observable, that in God's righteous judgment he was cast away in Carolina bay, when he commanded in the "Rising Sun." They received their sentence, June 17, 1684. The names of such as subscribed the joint testimony are these: Matthew Machan, James M'Clintoch, John Gibson, Gavin Black, John Paton, William Ingles, John Young, John Galt, John Edwards, Thomas Marshal, George Smith, William Smith, Robert Urie, John Buchanan, Thomas Bryce, John Symon, Hugh Symon, William Symon, Archibald Cunningham, John Alexander, John Marshal.

Thereafter in July 19, 1684, John Mathison, John Crichton, James M'Gachen, John M'Chesnie, James Baird, were banished to New Jersey in America. Thereafter were taken away in banishment by one Robert Malloch, fourteen men, whose names are not recorded—Anno 1685. In the time of Queensberry's parliament, of men and women were sent to Jamaica two hundred. And the same year, one [Scot of] Pitlochie transported to new Jersey one hundred, whereof twenty-four were women. And in the same year, thirteen more were sent to Barbadoes: their names are not in the hands of the publishers, if they be at all recorded.

Anno 1687, one and twenty men and women were sent to Barbadoes, whose names that subscribed the joint testimony are as follows: John Ford, Walter MacMin, Adam Hood, John MacGhie, Peter Russel, Thomas Jackson, Charles Dougal, James Griston, John Harvie, James Forsyth, George Johnston, John Steven, Robert Young, John Gilfillan, Andrew Paterson, John Kincaid, Robert Main, James Muirhead, George Muir, John Henderson, Anaple Jackson, Anaple Gordon, Jean Moffat. Anno 1687, March 30, were banished to Barbadoes, John Stewart, James Douglas, John Russel, James Hamilton, William Hannay, George White, Gilbert M'Culloch, Thomas Brown, John Brown, William Hay, John Wright, John Richard, Alexander Baillie, Marion Weir, Bessy Weir, Isabel Steel, Isabel Cassils, Agnes Keir.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THOSE WHO WERE KILLED IN THE OPEN FIELDS, WITHOUT TRIAL, CONVICTION, OR ANY PROCESS OF LAW, BY THE EXECUTIONERS OF THE COUNCIL'S MURDERING EDICT, WHOSE NAMES ARE HERE SPECIFIED*

To give an account of the many hundreds, who either died or contracted their deaths in prison, by the severities they met with of cold, hunger, thirst, want of room and air, fetters, tortures, stigmatizing, whipping, &c., would be a work of immense labour, nor can any full account thereof be had, considering both the vast numbers of such, and the neglect of writing memoirs of these things, or their being seized by the persecutors, who were industrious to suppress such accounts of their own villanies from the view of posterity. The number of such as suffered under colour of law, and judicial trial, from Mr. James Guthrie the first, to Mr. James Renwick the last, has been computed to amount to about 140. But the counselors, willing to ease themselves of that lingering way of doing business, not content with Popery's gradual advancement, were for doing their work all at once; and accordingly authorised captains, lieutenants, serjeants, and single soldiers to shoot all suspected persons wherever they could catch them, without further trial of their pretended crimes. And accordingly betwixt the years of 1682 and 1688, when a revolution of affairs put a stop to their career of bloodshed, there were murdered in the open fields, the following persons besides others that no certain list has been got of, as they are enumerated in a print, entitled, *A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances of the Presbyterians in Scotland.* Printed in the year 1690. Which is as follows:—

John Graham of Claverhouse, viscount of Dundee, in the year 1682, with a party of his troop, pursued William Graham in the parish of —— in Galloway, making his escape from his mother's house and overtaking him, instantly shot him dead. *Item*, the said Claverhouse, together with the earl of Dumbarton, lieutenant-general Douglas, caused Peter Gillies, John Bryce, Thomas Young, (who were taken by the laird of Lee) William Fiddison, and John Buiening to be put to death upon a gibbet, without legal trial or sentence, suffering them neither to have a bible nor to pray before they died, at Mauchlin, 1684. *Item*, the said Claverhouse coming to Galloway, in answer to the viscount of Kenmure's letter, with a small party surprised Robert Stewart, John Grier, Robert Ferguson and James MacMichael, and instantly shot them dead at the water of Dee in Galloway, December, 1683. Their corpses being buried, were at his command raised again. *Item*, the said Claverhouse, in May, 1685, apprehended John Brown in Priesthill, in the parish of Moorkirk, in the shire of Air, being at

* For the names of some 1800 who were outlawed by the King's Council in 1684, see Wodrow, Book 3, ch. vii.

his work, about his own house, and shot him dead before his own door, in presence of his wife. *Item*, the said Claverhouse authorised his troops to kill Matthew Micklewrath, without any examination, in the parish of Colmonel in Carrick Anno 1685. Colonel James Douglas, brother to the duke of Queensberry, together with lieutenant John Livingston, and a party with them, surprised five men in a cave at Ingleston, in the parish of Glencairn, being betrayed by Andrew Watson: their names were John Gibson, Robert Grierson, Robert Mitchel, James Bennoch and John Edgar, all which were at the command of the said colonel Douglas brought forth, and immediately shot dead, without giving them so much time as to recommend their souls to God. One John Ferguson, sometime a professed friend, thrust one of them through, supposing he was not dead: this was done in the year 1685. *Item*, the said colonel James Douglas and his party shot to death John Hunter, for no other alleged cause, but the running out from the house at Corehead, the same year, 1685. *Item*, the said colonel or lieutenant-general James Douglas, with lieutenant Livingston and coronet James Douglas, surprised six men at prayer at the Calduns in the parish of Minigaf; viz. James Dun, Robert Dun, Andrew Mackale, Thomas Stevenson, John MacCloud and John Stevenson, in January, 1685. *Item*, the said colonel or lieutenant-general James Douglas, caused take Andrew Macquhan out of his bed, sick of a fever, and carry him to Newtown of Galloway, and the next day shot him dead, the foresaid year, 1685. *Item*, the said Colonel or lieutenant-general Douglas, commanded Thomas Richard, an old man of seventy years, to be shot in time of prayer; (he was betrayed and taken by Peter Inglis) Anno 1685, at Cumnock, in Kyle. Captain Douglas finding one —— Mowaw, a tailor, merely because he had some pieces of lead belonging to his trade, took him, and without any further trial shot him dead, between Fleet and Dee in Galloway. *Item*, said captain Douglas and his men finding one —— Achenleck, a deaf man, for not making answer, through defect of his hearing, instantly shot him dead off horseback, near Carlinwork, Anno 1685. Sir Robert Dalziel and lieutenant Straton, having apprehended Daniel M'Michael, not able to flee by reason of his being sick, and detained him twenty-four hours prisoner, took him out and shot him at Dalveen, in the parish of Durisdeer, in Nithsdale, January, 1685. *Item*, the said captain Dalziel, and lieutenant Straton, with their men, found William Adam hiding in a bush, and instantly killed him at the Walwood in Kyle, Feb. 1685. Captain Bruce, captain of Dragoons, apprehended James Kirko, at the intelligence of one James Wright, carried him to Dumfries, detained him prisoner one night, next day brought him forth to the water sands, and without any process shot him dead. The dying man desired a little time to make his peace with God: the captain answered oftener than once or twice, "Devil a peace ye get more made up." Some gentlewomen coming to beg his life, were hindered by one John Craig of Stewarton. The aforesaid Dalziel's second son was one of them that shot him, though without command, June, 1685. *Item*, the said captain Bruce surprised at Lochenkithil, in the parish of Kirkpatrick, in Galloway, six men, and instantly killed dead four of them, viz. John Gordan, William Stewart, William Heron and John Wallace; and carried the other two, Edward Gordan and Alexander MacUbine prisoners, and the next day he and monstrous Lagg, without any trial, caused hang upon a growing tree, near the kirk of Irongray, and left them there hanging, February, 1685. *Item*, the said captain Bruce and his men took out of his bed William MacHaffie, sick of a fever, and shot him instantly, in the parish of Straton, in Carrick, January, 1685. *Item*, James Douglas, coronet of Dragoons, commanded

to shoot John Semple, essaying to escape out of a window, in the parish of Dellie, Anno 1685. Kilkerron shot him. *Item*, the said coronet Douglas apprehended Edward Mackeen, and by search, finding a flint stone upon him, presently shot him without any further trial, February, 1685. Lieutenant-general Drummond commanded, without any process of trial, John Murchie and Donald Miklewrock to be instantly shot after they were taken, in the parish of Colmonel, in Carrick, Anno 1685. At the same time his soldiers did shoot dead Alexander Lin.

Captain Ingles and his dragoons pursued and killed James Smith, at the burn of Ann in Kyle, 1684. Peter Ingles, his son, killed one John Smith, in Cunningham, 1685. *Item*, the said Peter or Patrick Ingles killed one James White, struck off his head with an axe, brought it to Newmilns, and played at the foot ball with it, he killed him at Little Blackwood, the foresaid year, 1685. *Item*, the said Peter Ingles shot John Burrie, with his pass in his hand, in Evandale, April, 1685. Major Balfour, together with captain Maitland and their party, apprehended at their work, Robert Tom, John Urie, and Thomas Cook, and instantly shot them at Pomadee, near Glasgow, May, 1685. Colonel Buchan, with the Laird of Lee and their men, shot John Smith in the parish of Lesmahego, February, 1685. Lieutenant Lauder shot to death William Shillilaw, at the Woodhead, on the water of Air, Anno 1685. Lieutenant Nisbet and his party shot to death John Ferguson, George Whiteburn, and Patrick Gemmil in the parish of Fennick, in the said year. Lieutenant Murray and his party shot one John Brown, after quarters given at Blackwood, in Clydesdale, March, 1685. Lieutenant Crichton did most barbarously after quarter, shoot David Steel, in the parish of Lesmahego, December, 1686.

The laird of Stenhouse, Sir Robert Laurie of Maxwelton, and John Craig of Stewarton, did instigate and urge coronet Bailie's party of dragoons to shoot William Smith in Hill, after he had been prisoner one night, (it was the day of Maxwelton's daughter's marriage) who also refused to let him be buried in the church-yard. This Douglas of Stenhouse, being a laird of mean estate, was advanced for such services as this, and his excessive harassing, spoiling and fining of the people of God, and because he was a Papist, to the honour of being secretary for Scotland to James VII. But the wicked's honour is short lived; his name is extinct, having neither root nor branch, male nor female, nor any remembrance left unto him. The said Laurie of Maxwelton's steward reported, that a cup of wine, delivered that day into his hand, turned into congealed blood: but be that as it will, himself died by a fall from his horse some years after. Sir James Johnston of Westerhall, caused apprehend Andrew Hyslop, in the parish of Hutton, in Annandale, and delivered him up to Claverhouse, and never rested until he got him shot by Claverhouse's troops; Claverhouse would have delayed it, but Westerhall was so urgent, that Claverhouse was heard to say, "This man's blood shall be upon Westerhall." At length, upon his urgency, Claverhouse ordered a Highland captain, who was there to do it, but he refused; and drawing off his Highlanders to a convenient distance, swore, "That he nain-sell would fight Claverhouse and all his dragoons first." Whereupon he caused three of his own dragoons to do it, May, 1685. It is observable of this Westerhall, that he was once a great professor, and one who had sworn the covenant; and when the test was framed, he bragged that he was an actual covenanter, and scorned the test; but when he had the trial, he embraced it and became a bitter enemy to the work and people of God: and this man having been taken in his ground, he would have him shot, to give proof of his loyalty. He died

about the revolution, in great torture of body, by the gavel, and horror and anguish of conscience, insomuch that his cries were heard a great distance from the house, as a warning to all such apostates. Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, having the command of a party of Claverhouse's troop, and Strachan's dragoons, surprised John Bell of Whiteside, David Halliday, portioner of Mayfield, Andrew M'Crabit, James Clement, and Robert Lenox of Irlintoun, and barbarously killed them after quarter, without time allowed to pray. When John Bell of Whiteside begged a little time to pray, Lagg answered, "What devil have ye been doing? Have ye not prayed enough these many years in the hills?" and so shot him presently in the parish of Tongland, in Galloway, February, 1685. *Item*, the said laird of Lagg, with the earl of Annandale, having command of some troops of heritors, pursued another David Halliday, and George Short, and apprehended and shot them under cloud of night, in the parish of Twynhame, in Galloway, Anno 1680. The laird of Lagg, who was so wicked an oppressor and destroyer of the people of God in Galloway and Nithsdale, is now a justice of the peace, notwithstanding his being excommunicate for his adultery and impenitent obstinacy.

The laird of Colzean, for that time captain of a troop of militia and heritors, killed William M'Kergue, at Blairquhanmiln, Anno 1685. *Item*, the laird of Colzean, with the laird of Ballochmiln, shot Gilbert MacAdam in the parish of Kirkmichal, July, 1685. A party of Highlanders, killed Joseph Wilson, David Dun, Simeon Paterson, and other two, near the water of Kyle, in a moss in Kyle, Anno 1685. The laird of Ardenkeple commanding a party of Highlandmen, killed Robert Lockart and Gabriel Thompson, about that time also. Likewise, William Paterson was shot at Strevan, uncertain by whom, 1685. Also, John M'Clorgan was killed at Drummellian's house, in the night time, not known by whom. John Reid, belonging sometimes to Craigie's troop, did, under cloud of night, kill by a shot, one George Wood, about 16 years old, without asking one question at him, in Tinkhornhill, in Kyle, June, 1688. In sum, their number amounts to seventy-eight.

Besides these cold-blood murders, there were many killed at several skirmishes at Pentland, Bothwell, Airsmoss, &c., while fighting in their own defence, and the defence of the field meetings, the number whereof amounts to about 400, and some odds.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE OPPRESSIVE EXACTIONS

Excepting that others who have the particular informations of matters of fact by them, will be concerned to publish a more full account of these illegal fines and robberies, it shall suffice at present to transcribe only the general account of some of them, out of the forementioned Memorial of Grievances. Which runs thus:—

For fines, and other exorbitant and illegal exactions of money, the particular sums cannot be here enumerated; but their vastness, when together calculate, may be easily collected by the scraps already gathered off some poor families of farmers, cottars, servants, &c., and many of these omitted or not known (which would very considerably augment the sum) in some few shires, viz. Clydesdale, Renfrew, Air, Galloway, Nithsdale and Annandale, only but for a few years, viz. since Bothwell-bridge insurrection, amounting to above £288,000 Scots. Besides the many honest families, which have been cast out of their houses, harassed and spoiled of their all; some of their houses being

thrown down, some burnt, some shut up, their goods and moveables seized upon, their crop and cattle also disposed of, at the will of their persecutors, in the forementioned shires, amounting to above £200.

The immediate authors, actors and instruments of these oppressions, were principally the curates, instigating the privy council, which empowered the forces, and noblemen and gentlemen of the country to prey upon the poor people. All cannot be here expressed, but some of the most noted in the western shires shall be named, who were the greatest persecutors and oppressors, by fining, and other exactions. Of officers of the forces, Colonel Douglas, brother to the duke of Queensberry, exacted above 2000£. Scots money, in Galloway, Nithsdale, shire of Air, and other places. Lieutenant-general Drummond, besides the forfaultures of gentlemen, did also exact monies of the poor in the shire of Air. The earl of Linlithgow, and his soldiers, spoiled much in Galloway. The earl of Airley and his troop, in the same shire. The Lord Balcarras, a great oppressor in Galloway, besides all the robberies he committed in Fife. John Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards viscount of Dundee, with his brother, and subaltern officers in Galloway, Nithsdale, and Annandale, exacted by fines and otherwise, above 13,500£. Scots money. Colonel Buchan, a most violent persecutor in Galloway and shire of Air, by robberies took from the people upwards of 4,000£. Scots. Major Cockburn, a great oppressor in Galloway, Major White of Clydesdale, and shire of Air, exacted by fines, and otherwise above 2,508£. Scots. Major Balfour, a great oppressor and persecutor in Clydesdale, Captain Strachan in Galloway, Inglis in Galloway, Air and Clydesdale; Douglas in Galloway, Dalziel in Annandale, and Bruce in Clydesdale, oppressed and spoiled the people much. —— Meldrum in Clydesdale, took from poor families upwards of 2,800£. and vast sums in Merse and Teviotdale, with the earl of Hume, and Ker of Grandoun, with the laird of Hayning and Blindle, and in Tweedale, with the laird of Possa. Lieutenants Winram and Barns were very vigilant persecutors in Galloway, and took much spoil. Lieutenant Lauder in Air, Bonshaw, a highwayman, and Duncan Grant, a cripple with a tree leg, in Clydesdale, oppressed the people excessively; this last exacted in Clydesdale, 1500£. The chief of the oppressors among noblemen and gentlemen, were in Clydesdale, Summervail of Spittel, who exacted from the poor people above 1200£. Halyards more than 5800£. Bonytoun and Symme, were also great and violent exactors. In the city of Glasgow, Provost Johnstoun and Varns; Balies Anderson, Zuil, Graham, and Stirling, exacted above 20,000£. In Renfrew, the earl of Glencairn exacted above 2400£. Likewise Semple, a Papist, Alexander Hume of Egleshome, and Ezekiel Montgomery, were all great exactors. In the shire of Air, the earl of Dumfries exacted above 1000£. Likewise the Lord Craigie, William Crichton, sheriff-depute, Crawford of Ardmillan, Montgomery of Bozland, the laird of Broyche, and clerk of Ogilvie, were all great and wicked persecutors. In Galloway, Grierson of Lagg, who exacted there, and in Nithsdale, above 1200£. Liddesdale, Isle and Canon of Merdograte, were also great oppressors. In Nithsdale, Queensberry, and his sons, and John Alison his chamberlain, who when dying said, "He had damned his soul for the duke his master;" and George Charter, another of his factors, who vaunted, "He had made twenty-six journeys in a year, in pursuit of the Whigs." John Douglas of Stenhouse, a Papist, exacted 15,000£. The Laird of Closeburn above 700£. Sir Robert Dalziel 400£ from a few families. Sir Robert Laurie of Maxweltoun, was also a great oppressor and persecutor. In Annandale the earl of Annandale persecuted much; and likewise in Galloway the laird of Westerhall exacted above 11,000£.

Sir Patrick Maxwel of Sprinkel, was also a very active and violent persecutor. The lairds of Powdeen and Castlemilk, Robert Carruthers of Remarskel, Thomas Kennedy of Heybeiths, were most violent persecutors of the poor people.

From these short accounts of the oppressions, bloodshed and illegal tyranny exercised in this land, it may be conjectured what the total would amount to, if a history thereof were published: But all these, however great persecutions, are but little in comparison of what the mother of harlots and her children intended against us; which that the Lord may prevent, ought to be the serious prayer and strenuous endeavor of all them that have a regard to the greatest interests of themselves and posterity.

THE EPITAPHS OR INSCRIPTIONS UPON THE TOMBS OR GRAVE-STONES OF THE MARTYRS, IN SEVERAL CHURCH-YARDS, AND OTHER PLACES WHERE THEY LIE BURIED *

The Inscription and Epitaph upon the Monument in the Greyfriars Churchyard at Edinburgh. †

Upon the head of the tomb there is the effigy of an open Bible drawn with these Scripture citations: Rev. vi. 9–11; Rev. vii. 14.

Follows the verse:

Halt, passenger, take heed what you do see,
This tomb doth shew, for what some men did die.
Here lies interr'd the dust of those who stood,
'Gainst perjury, resisting unto blood:
Adhering to the covenants, and laws
Establishing the same; which was the cause
Their lives were sacrific'd unto the lust
Of Prelatists abjur'd. Though here their dust
Lies mixt with murderers, and other crew,
Whom justice did justly to death pursue:

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* For an account of Robert Patterson, the probable author of most of these epitaphs, and the circumstances under which the inscriptions originated, the reader is referred to the introduction to Scott's *Old Mortality*.

† "No monument within the grounds attracts so much notice as The Martyr's Monument, lower down at the north-east corner. It may easily be supposed that it was not erected during the time of persecution, but some years after the execution of the last of this noble company, James Renwick, 1688. The inscription first appeared in Monteith's *Further Collection*, 1713, p. 10, and was included in the original edition of the well-known work, *A Cloud of Witnesses*, &c., (Glasgow,) printed in the year 1714, 4to.

"One of the earliest of these martyrs was Mr. Hugh M'Kaill. He had been licensed to preach in 1661. On his return from Holland, he joined the insurgents at Pentland, where he was taken prisoner, was tried, suffered torture, and condemned by the Privy Council to be executed in the Grassmarket, on the 22d of December 1666, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. During the twenty years of persecution that followed, it would not be easy to reckon how many persons were deposited. In the old inscription it states—

"'From May 27, 1661, that the noble Marquis of Argyle suffered, to the 17th February 1688, that Mr. James Renwick suffered, were execute at Edinburgh about an hundred of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, noble martyrs for Jesus Christ. The most part of them lye here. This tomb was erected anno 1706.'

"It seems that the original slab was removed in 1771, and replaced with the more imposing monument, repeating the old inscription, but overloaded with useless quotations. As the original stone, containing the lines and in-

But as for these, no cause in them was found
Worthy of death, but only they were sound,
Constant and steadfast, zealous, witnessing,
For the prerogatives of Christ their King.
Which truths were seal'd by famous Guthrie's head,
And all along to Mr. Renwick's blood.
They did endure the wrath of enemies,
Reproaches, torments, deaths and injuries.
But yet they're these who from such trouble came,
And now triumph in glory with the Lamb.

Thereafter follows this prose:

From May 27, 1661, that the most noble Marquis of Argyle was beheaded, to the 17th February 1688, that Mr. James Renwick suffered, were one way or other murdered and destroyed for the same cause about eighteen thousand, of whom were executed at Edinburgh about an hundred of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, noble martyrs for Jesus Christ. The most of them lie here.*

The above monument was first erected by James Currie, merchant, Pentland, and others, in 1706; renewed in 1771.

(Added on the monument at a subsequent date):—

Yes, though the sceptic's tongue deride
Those martyrs who for conscience died—
Though modern history blight their fame,
And sneering courtiers hoot the name
Of men who dared above be free,
Amidst a nation's slavery;—
Yet long for them the poet's lyre
Shall wake its notes of heavenly fire;
Their names shall nerve the patriot's hand
Upraised to save a sinking land;
And piety shall learn to burn
With holier transports o'er their urn.

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scription, is still preserved in private hands, we hope that some steps will be taken to have it restored alongside of the larger one.

"From the extract of the Council Register, (p. lxxviii.,) it will be seen that the monument, as originally erected, was an open Bible, at Revelation vi. 9, 10, 11; vii. 14. It was well that this carved stone was preserved, and formed the under part of the enlarged monument of 1771. It will easily be recognized by its bold style, as well as by the colour of the stone.

"*Extract from the Council Records of Edinburgh*

"'1706, August 28.—The which day, anent the Memoriall given in to the Councill representing that there was a monument prepared to be erected near to the place of interment of those persons who suffered in the late times, and were buried in the Greyfrier Churchyard, and that at the charges of private hands. And therefore craving that the Councill would allow the said monument to be put up without paying off anything to the Kirk Thesaurer, as was done in Glasgow and other places of the natione, there being noe inscriptione to be put upon the tomb but the 6 chapter of the Revelatione, verse 9, 10, and 11. Which being considered be the Councell, they granted the desire thereof, and allowed the said monument to be put up accordingly, at the sight of the Dean of Gild. Whereanent thir presents shall be a warrand, (vol. xxxviii. p. 604).'"—John Brown, *The Epitaphs and Monuments in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.* (1867.)

* For a particular account of the cause and manner of their sufferings, see the *Cloud of Witnesses* and Wodrow's, Crookshank's, and Defoe's histories of the Church of Scotland.

Inscription upon a grave-stone in the church-yard of Hamilton, lying on the heads of John Parker, Gavin Hamilton, James Hamilton, and Christopher Strang, who suffered at Edinburgh, Dec. 7, 1666. Their Testimony is extant in *Naphtali*, p. 306:

Stay, passenger, take notice what thou reads,
At Edinburgh lie our bodies, here our heads;
Our right hands stood at Lanark, these we want,
Because with them we sware the covenant.

Inscription upon a stone in the high church-yard of Glasgow:

Here lies the corpse of Robert Bunton, John Hart, Robert Scot, Matthew Patoun, John Richmond, James Johnston, Archibald Stewart, James Winning, John Main, who suffered at the cross of Glasgow for their testimony to the covenants and work of reformation, because they durst not own the authority of the then tyrants, destroying the same, betwixt 1666 and 1688:

Years sixty-six, and eighty-four,
Did send their souls home into glore,
Whose bodies here interred lie,
Then sacrific'd to tyranny;
To covenants and reformation
'Cause they adhered in their station.
These nine, with others in this yard,
Whose heads and bodies were not spar'd,
Their testimonies, foes, to bury,
Caus'd beat the drums then in great fury,
They 'll know at resurrection day,
To murder saints was no sweet play.

Inscription on the stone lying on John Wharry and James Smith, who are buried at Inchbelly-bridge:

Halt, passenger, read here upon this stone
A tragedy, our bodies done upon.
At Glasgow cross we lost both our right hands,
To fright beholders, th' en'my so commands:
Then put to death, and that most cruelly,
Yet where we' re slain, ev'n there we must not lie;
From Glasgow town we 're brought unto this place,
On gallow-tree hung up for certain space:
Yet thence ta'en down interred here we lie
Beneath this stone: our blood to heaven doth cry.
Had foreign foes, Turks, or Mahometans,
Had Scythian Tartars, Arabian Caravans,
Had cruel Spaniards, the pope's bloody seed,
Commenc'd the same, had been less strange their deed;
But Protestants, once Covenanters too,
Our countrymen, this cruel deed could do:
Yet notwithstanding this their hellish rage,
The noble Wharry leapt upon the stage,
With courage bold, he said, and heart not faint,
This blood shall now seal up our covenant.
Ending, They who would follow Christ, should take
Their cross upon their back, the world forsake.

Inscription on James Nisbet, James Lawson, and Alexander Wood, buried at the gallow's foot at Glasgow:

Here lie martyrs three,
Of memory,
Who for the covenants did die;
And witness is
'Gainst all these nations perjury.

Inscription on a stone in Eastwood parish, lying upon the corpse of James Eagle and John Park, who suffered at the cross of Paisley, for refusing the oath of abjuration, in the year 1685:

Stay, passenger, as thou goes by,
And take a look where these do lie:
Who for the love they bare to truth
Were depriv'd of their life and youth.
Tho' laws made then, caus'd many die,
Judges and 'sizers were not free;
He that to them did these delate,
The greater count he hath to make;
Yet no excuse to them can be:
At ten condemn'd, at two to die.
So cruel did their rage become,
To stop their speech caus'd beat the drum.
This may a standing witness be
'Twixt Presbyt'ry and Prelacy.

Inscription on the grave-stone at Cathcart, lying on the bodies of Robert Tam, Thomas Cook, and John Urie, who were shot at Pomadie, May 11, 1685

The bloody murderers of these men
Were major Balfour and captain Maitland,
And with them others were not free,
Caus'd them to search in Pomadie.
As soon as they had them out found,
They murder'd them with shot of gun,
Scarce time to them did they allow
Before their Maker their knees to bow.
Many like in this land have been,
Whose blood for vengeance cries to heav'n.
This horrid wickedness you see
Was done in lane of Pomadie;
Which may a standing witness be
'Twixt Presbyt'ry and Prelacy.

Inscription on a stone in the church-yard of Eglesham, upon the bodies of Gabriel Thompson and Robert Lockhart, shot by a party of Highlandmen and dragoons, under the command of Ardencaple, May 1, 1685:

These men did search thro' moor and moss
To find out all that had no pass.
These faithful witnesses were found,
And murdered upon the ground.
Their bodies in this grave do lie,
Their blood for vengeance yet doth cry:
This may a standing witness be
For Presbyt'ry 'gainst Prelacy.

Inscription on the monument at Airsmoss, lying upon the bodies of them that fell there, July 20, 1680, namely, the Reverend and faithful Mr. Richard Cameron, minister of the gospel, Michael Cameron, John Hamilton, John Gemmil, James Gray, Robert Dick, John Fuller, Robert Paterson, Thomas Watson, &c.:

Halt, curious passenger, come here and read;
Our souls triumph with Christ out glorious head,
In self-defence, we murder'd here do lie,
To witness 'gainst this nation's perjury.

Inscription on a grave-stone in the church-yard of Strevan, on the corpse of William Paterson, who lived in the parish of Cambusnethan, and John Barrie in Evandale, anno 1685:

Here lie two martyrs; severally who fell
By captain Inglis, and by bloody Bell.
Posterity shall know they 're shot to death,
As sacrifices unto Popish wrath.

Inscription on the stone lying at Blackwood in the parish of Lesmahego, upon the corpse of John Brown, who was shot by —— Murray, without sentence of law, anno 1685, and buried there in the open fields:

Murray might murder such a godly Brown,
But could not rob him of that glorious crown
He now enjoys. His credit, not his crime,
Was non-compliance with a wicked time.

Inscription upon a stone lying on the corpse of John Brown, who lived in the parish of Moorkirk, who was shot dead by Graham of Claverhouse, at his own door, May 1, 1685, and lies buried there in the open fields:

In death's cold bed the dusty part here lies
Of one who did the earth as dust despise,
Here in this place from earth he took departure;
Now he has got the garland of the martyr.
Butcher'd by Clavers and his bloody band,
Raging most rav'nously o'er all the land.
Only for owning Christ's supremacy,
Wickedly wrong'd by encroaching tyranny.
Nothing, how dear soever, he too good
Esteem'd, nor dear for any truth his blood.

Upon the grave-stone of David Steel, in the church-yard of Lesmahego, is this motto:

David, a shepherd first, and then
Advanced to be king of men,
Had of his graces in this quarter,
This heir a wanderer, now a martyr.
Who for his constancy and zeal,
Still to the back did prove good Steel.
Who for Christ's royal truths and laws,
And for the covenanted cause
Of Scotland's famous reformation;
Declining tyrant's usurpation;
By cruel Crighton murder'd lies,
Whose blood to heav'n for vengeance cries.

Upon the grave-stone of Andrew Hislop, lying in Craickhaugh in Eskdale moor, being the place where he was shot by Claverhouse, and Sir James Johnston of Westerhall:

Halt, passenger, a word with thee or two,
Why I lie here wouldst thou truly know?
By wicked hands, hands cruel and unjust,
Without all law, my life from me they thrust,
And being dead they left me on the spot,
For burial this same place I got:
Truth's friends in Eskdale, now rejoice their lot
To wit, the faithful, for truth my seal thus got.

In the church-yard of Dumfries, upon the grave-stone of John Grierson, who lived in the parish of Irongray, and suffered January 2, 1667, is this inscription:

Underneath this stone doth lie
Dust sacrificed to tyranny:
Yet precious in Immanuel's sight,
Since martyr'd for his kingly right.
When he condemns these hellish drudges,
By suff'rage, saints shall be their judges.

Upon the grave-stone of William Welsh, in the same church-yard, who lived in the same parish, and suffered at the same time with the former, there is the epitaph:

Halt, passenger, read, here interr'd doth lie
A witness 'gainst poor Scotland's pe'jury,
Whose head once fixt, upon the Bridge port stood,
Proclaiming vengeance for his guiltless blood.

In the same church-yard, on the grave-stone of James Kirkoe, who lived in the parish of Kier, and was shot dead on the sands of Dumfries, by Captain Bruce, June, 1685, is this motto:

By bloody Bruce and wretched Wright,
I lost my life in great despite,
Shot dead without due time to try,
And fit me for eternity;
A witness of Prelatic rage,
As ever was in any age.

On the grave-stone lying on Edward Gordon and Alexander M'Ubine, execute at the church of Irongray, at the command of the laird of Lagg, and Captain Bruce:

As Lagg and bloody Bruce command,
We were hung up by hellish hand;
And thus their furious rage to stay,
We died at Kirk of Irongray;
Here now in peace sweet rest we take,
Once murder'd for religion's sake.

Upon a stone lying in a muir near Lochenkithil, on the grave of John Gordon, William Stewart, William Heron and John Wallace, shot by Captain Bruce:

Behold here in this wilderness we lie,
Four witnesses of hellish cruelty.
Our lives and blood could not their ire assuage,
But when we 're dead, they did against us rage;
That match the like, we think, ye scarcely can,
Except the Turk's, or duke de Alva's men.

Upon three several grave-stones, lying on John Gibson, James Bennoch, Robert Edgar and Robert Mitchel, who were shot at Inglistoun, in the parish of Glencairn, by Colonel Douglas and Lieutenant Livingstoun, anno 1685, are these verses:

1. On John Gibson.

My soul's in heaven, here's my dust,
By wicked sentence and unjust
Shot dead, convicted of no crime,
But non-compliance with the time,
When Babel's bastards had command,
And monstrous tyrants rul'd the land.

2. On James Bennoch.

Here lies a monument of Popish wrath;
Because I 'm not perjur'd, I 'm shot to death
By cruel hands; men godless and unjust
Did sacrifice my blood to Babel's lust.

3. On Robert Edgar and Robert Mitchel, both under one stone.

Halt, passenger, tell if thou ever saw
Men shot to death without process of law.
We two, of four, who in this church-yard lie,
Thus felt the rage of Popish tyranny.

Upon a stone in Tynron church-yard, lying on William Smith, who being a youth of eighteen years of age, was shot at the bridge end of Minni-ive, by the command of Sir Robert Lawrie, laird of Maxwelton, and John Douglas of Stenhouse, May, 1685:

I William Smith now here do lie,
Once martyr'd for Christ's verity.
Douglas of Stenhouse, Lawrie of Maxwelton
Caus'd coronet Bailie give me martyrdom,
What cruelty they to my corpse then us'd,
Living may judge; me burial they refus'd.

Upon Daniel MacMichael, who was shot by Dalziel of Kirkmichael, January, 1685, lying in the church-yard of Durisdeer:

As Daniel cast was into lion's den,
For praying unto God, and not to men;
Thus lions cruelly devoured me,
For bearing unto truth my test'mony.
I rest in peace, till Jesus rend the cloud,
And judge 'twixt me and those who shed my blood.

Upon the grave-stone in the church-yard of Balmaghie, upon the corpse of David Halliday, portioner of Mayfield, shot by the laird of Lagg, February 1685, and of David Halliday in Glenap, shot by the laird of Lagg and the earl of Annandale, in the same year, 1685, is this epitaph:

Beneath this stone two David Hallidays
Do lie, whose souls now sing their Master's praise.
To know if curious passengers desire
For what, by whom, and how they did expire?
They did oppose this nation's perjury,
Nor could they join with lordly Prelacy.

Indulgence-favours from Christ's enemies
Quench not their zeal: This monument then cries,
These are the causes not to be forgot,
Why they by Lagg so wickedly were shot.
One name, one cause, one grave, one heaven do tye
Their souls to that one God eternally.

Upon the grave-stone in the church-yard of Anwith, lying on the corpse of John Bell of Whiteside, who was most barbarously shot to death, at the command of Douglas of Morton and Grierson of Lagg, in the parish of Tongland in Galloway, anno 1685:

This monument shall tell posterity,
That blessed Bell of Whiteside, here doth lie;
Who at command of bloody Lagg was shot;
A murder strange, which should not be forgot.
Douglas of Morton did him quarters give;
Yet cruel Lagg would not let him survive.
This Martyr sought some time to recommend
His soul to God, before his days did end;
The tyrant said, "What devil! ye 've pray'd enough
These long seven years, on mountain and in cleugh."
So instantly caused him with other four,
Be shot to death upon Kirkonnel muir.
So thus did end the lives of these brave saints,
For their adhering to the covenants.

Upon the grave-stone lying on the corpse of Robert Stewart, son of Major Robert Stewart of Ardoch, and John Grierson, who were murdered by Graham of Claverhouse, at the water of Dee, in Galloway, anno 1684:

Behold! Behold! a stone here 's forc'd to cry,
Come see two martyrs, under me that lie,
At water of Dee, who slain were by the hand
Of cruel Claverhouse and 's bloody band.
No sooner had he done this horrid thing,
But forc'd to say, Stewart's soul in heaven doth sing,
Yet strange, his rage pursu'd even such when dead,
And in the tombs of their ancestors laid,
Causing their corpse be rais'd out of the same,
Discharging in church-yard to bury them.
All this they did, because they would not abjure,
Our covenants and reformation pure;
Because like faithful martyrs for to die
They rather choos'd than treacherously comply
With cursed Prelacy, the nation's bane,
And with indulgency, our church's stain.
Perjur'd intelligencers were so rife:
Show'd their curs'd loyalty, to take their life.

Upon a grave-stone lying on the corpse of William Hunter and Robert Smith, who were sentenced and hanged at Kirkcudbright, anno 1684, by Captain Douglas, Graham of Claverhouse, and Captain Bruce:

This monument shall shew posterity,
Two headless martyrs under it to lie,
By bloody Graham were taken and surpris'd,
Brought to this town, and afterwards were siz'd;
By unjust law were sentenced to die,
Them first they hang'd, then 'headed cruelly,

Captain Douglas, Bruce, Graham of Claverhouse,
Were these that caus'd them to be handled thus:
And when they were unto the gibbet come,
To stop their speech, they did beat up the drum,
And all because that they would not comply
With indulgence and bloody Prelacy.
In face of cruel Bruce, Douglas, and Graham,
They did maintain, that Christ was Lord supreme;
And boldly owned both the covenants:
At Kirkcudbright thus ended these two saints.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Balmaclellan, on the body of Robert Grierson, who was slain by command of Colonel James Douglas at Inglistoun, in the parish of Glencairn, 1685:

This monument to passengers shall cry,
That godly Grierson under it doth lie,
Betray'd by knavish Watson to his foes,
Which made this martyr's days by murder close.
If ye would know the nature of his crime,
Then read the story of that killing time,
When Babel's brats with hellish plot conceal'd,
Design'd to make our south their hunting-field.
Here one of five at once were laid in dust,
To gratify Rome's execrable lust.
If carbins with molton bullets could
Have reach'd their souls, these mighty Nimrods would
Them have cut off; they could for no request
Three minutes get, to pray for future rest.

Besides these mottos in verse, there are in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright in Galloway, several other monuments, both in church-yards and open fields, the mottos whereof are in prose, intimating that they died for their adherence to the covenants and work of reformation. Namely, in the church-yard of Kirkcudbright, upon the corpse of John Hallum, who was wounded in taking, and sentenced by Captain Douglas to be hanged, in the year 1685. In the church-yard of Borgue, upon the body of Robert Macquhae, shot to death in that parish, by the said captain Douglas, anno 1685. In the church-yard of Girthon, upon the body of Robert Lennox, sometime in Irlintoun, shot by the laird of Lagg, anno 1685. In the same parish, in the muir of Auchencloy, upon the body of Robert Ferguson, shot by Graham of Claverhouse in that place, anno 1684. In the parish of Tongland, in Kirkonnel-hill, upon the body of James Clement, shot to death there by the laird of Lagg, anno 1685. In the church-yard of Balmaghie, upon the body of George Short, shot by the same laird of Lagg, anno 1685. In the church-yard of Kells, upon the corpse of Adam MacQuham, who being sick of a fever, was brought from his own house to Newtoun of Galloway, and next day shot dead by command of lieutenant-general Douglas, brother to the duke of Queensberry, 1685. *Item*, upon the corpse of William Graham, who was shot while making his escape from his mother's house, by a party of Claverhouse's troop, anno 1682.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Air, lying on the bodies of James Smith, Alexander MacMillan, James MacMillan, George MacCartney, John Short, John Graham and John Muirhead, who suffered martyrdom at Air, December 27, 1666:

Here lie seven martyrs for our covenants,
A sacred number of triumphant saints.

Pontius MacAdam th' unjust sentence past;
What is his own the world shall know at last.
And Herod Drummond caus'd their heads affix;
Heaven keeps a record of the sixty-six.
Boots, thumbkins, gibbets, were in fashion then;
Lord, let us never see such days again.

Upon a stone lying beside the gallows of Air, upon the body of Andrew MacGill, who was apprehended by the information of Andrew Tom, and suffered there, November 1684:

Near this abhorred tree a sufferer lies,
Who choos'd to fall, that falling truth might rise.
His station could advance no costly deed,
Save giving of a life the Lord did need.
When Christ shall vindicate his way, he 'll cast
The doom which was pronounced in such a haste,
And incorruption shall forget disgrace,
Design'd by the interment in this place.

Upon the stone at Machline, lying on the bodies of Peter Gillies, John Bryce, Thomas Young, William Fiddison, and John Brunning, who were apprehended and hanged up there without trial, anno 1685:

Bloody Dumbarton, Douglas and Dundee,
Mov'd by the devil and the laird of Lee,
Dragg'd these five men to death with gun and sword,
Not suffering them to pray, nor read God's word.
Owning the work of God was all their crime,
The eighty-five was a saint-killing time.

Upon the tomb-stone at Irvine, lying on the bodies of James Blackwood and John M'Coul, who suffered there December 31, 1666:

These honest countrymen, whose bones here lie,
A victim fell to the Prelate's cruelty;
Condemn'd by bloody and unrighteous laws,
They died martyrs for the good old cause,
Which Balaam's wicked race in vain assail;
For no enchantments 'gainst Israel prevail.
Life and this evil world they did contemn,
And died for Christ, who died first for them.

Upon a stone at Kilmarnock, lying on the heads of John Ross and John Shields, who suffered at Edinburgh, the 27th of December, 1666, and had their heads set up at Kilmarnock:

Our persecutors mad with wrath and ire;
In Edinburgh members some do lie, some here;
Yet instantly united they shall be,
And witness 'gainst this nation's perjury.

Upon another stone at Kilmarnock, lying upon the corpse of John Nisbet, who suffered there on the 14th of April, 1683:

Come, reader, see, here pleasant Nisbet lies,
His blood doth pierce the high and lofty skies;
Kilmarnock did his latter hour perceive,
And Christ his soul to heaven did receive.

Yet bloody Torrence did his body raise,
And buried it into another place;
Saying, "Shall rebels lie in graves with me?
We 'll bury him where evil-doers be."

Upon a grave-stone at Finnick, lying on the dust of John Furgushill and George Woodburn, who were shot to death by Nisbet and his party, anno 1685:

When bloody Prelates, once this nation's pest,
Contriv'd that curs'd self-contradicting test;
These men for Christ did suffer martyrdom,
And here their blood lies waiting till he come.

Upon another grave-stone there, lying on the corpse of Peter Gemmel, who was shot to death by the same Nisbet and his party, anno 1685:

This man like holy Anchorites of old,
For conscience sake, was thrust from house and hold,
And ev'n his dying groans were made their sport.
Blood-thirsty red coats cut his prayers short,
Ah Scotland! breach of solemn vows repent;
Or bloody crimes will bring thy punishment.

Upon a third stone, lying on the body of James White, shot by Peter Ingles and his party, 1685:

This martyr was by Peter Ingles shot,
By birth a tyger rather than a Scot;
Who, that his monstrous extract might be seen,
Cut off his head and kick'd it o'er the green;
Thus was that head, which was to wear a crown,
A foot-ball made by a profane dragoon.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Wigtoun, on the body of Margaret Wilson, who was drowned in the water of Blednoch, upon the 11th of May, 1684, by the laird of Lagg, &c.:

Let earth and stone still witness bear,
There lies a virgin martyr here,
Murder'd for owning Christ supreme,
Head of his church, and no more crime,
But her not owning Prelacy,
And not abjuring Presbytery.
Within the sea ty'd to a stake,
She suffered for Christ Jesus sake.
The actors of this cruel crime
Were Lagg, Winram, Strachan and Graham.
Neither young years, nor yet old age,
Could quench the fury of their rage.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Colmonel, on the body of Matthew Meiklewrath, who was killed in that parish, by Claverhouse:

In this parish of Calmonel,
By bloody Claverhouse I fell,
Who did command that I should die,
For owning covenanted Presbyt'ry.
My blood a witness still doth stand
'Gainst all defections in this land.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Stratoun, on the body of Thomas M'Haffie, who was taken out of his bed, being sick of a fever, and shot by Captain Bruce, in that parish, 1685:

Though I was sick and like to die,
Yet bloody Bruce did murder me;
Because I adhered in my station
To our covenanted reformation.
My blood for vengeance yet doth call,
Upon Zion's haters all.

Upon a stone in the church-yard of Tweed's-muir, lying on the body of John Hunter, who was shot at Corehead, by Colonel James Douglas, 1675:

When Zion's King was robbed of his right,
His witnesses in Scotland put to flight,
When Papists, Prelates, and indulgency,
Combin'd 'gainst Christ to ruin Presbytery,
All who would not unto these idols bow,
They sought them out, and whom they found they slew.
For owning of Christ's cause I then did die,
My blood for vengeance on his enemies doth cry.

Upon the grave-stone of Thomas Burn, James Wood, Andrew Sword, John Waddel, and John Clyde, who suffered martyrdom at Magus-muir, November 25, 1681, and lie buried in a corn field near Magus-muir, is this inscription:

'Cause we at Bothwell did appear,
Perjurious oaths refused to swear;
'Cause we Christ's cause would not condemn,
We were sentenc'd to death by men,
Who rag'd against us in such fury,
Our dead bodies they did not bury;
But up on poles did hing us high,
Triumphs of Babel's victory.
Our lives we feared not to the death,
But constant prov'd to the last breath.

When the grave-stone was set up in October, 1728, the chains were taken out of their graves, and some of their bones and clothes were found unconsumed, now 47 years after their death.

Upon the grave-stone of Andrew Guilline, who suffered at the Gallowlee of Edinburgh, July 20, 1683, and afterwards was hung upon a pole in Magus-muir, and lieth buried in the Long-Cross of Clermont, near Magus-muir, is this inscription:

A faithful martyr here doth lie,
A witness against perjury;
Who cruelly was put to death,
To gratify proud Prelate's wrath;
They cut his hands ere he was dead,
And after that struck off his head.
To Magus-muir then did him bring,
His body on a pole did hing.
His blood under the altar cries,
For vengeance on Christ's enemies.

Monumental inscription on a grave-stone at Rullion Green, Pentland-hills:

Here, and near to this place, lies the Rev. Mr. John Crookshanks, and Mr. Andrew M'Cormock, ministers of the gospel, and about fifty other true cove-

nanted Presbyterians, who were killed in this place, in their own innocent self-defence, and defence of the covenanted work of reformation, by Thomas Dalziel of Binns, upon the 28th of November, 1666. Rev. xii, 11. Erected September 28, 1738.

On the opposite side of the stone is the following verse:

A Cloud of witnesses lie here,
Who for Christ's interest did appear,
For to restore true liberty,
O'erturned then by tyranny;
And by proud Prelates, who did rage
Against the Lord's own heritage;
They sacrific'd were for the laws
Of Christ their King, his noble cause,
These heroes fought with great renown,
By falling got the martyr's crown.

Upon the grave-stone of John Murchie, and Daniel Meiklewrath, near the Cross-water of Dusk, in Colmonel parish:

Here in this place two martyrs lie,
Whose blood to heaven hath a loud cry;
Murder'd contrary to divine laws,
For owning of King Jesus' cause,
By bloody Drummond they were shot,
Without any trial, near this spot.

Upon the grave-stone of James Smith, in Muir-kirk church-yard:

When proud apostates did abjure,
Scotland's reformation pure,
And fill'd this land with perjury,
And all sorts of iniquity.
Such as would not with them comply,
They persecute with hue and cry.
I in the chase was overta'en,
And for the truth by them was slain.

Upon the grave-stone of John Law, in a kail-yard of New-milns:

'Cause I Christ's prisoners reliev'd,
I of my life was soon bereav'd
By cruel enemies with rage,
In that rencounter did engage,
The martyr's honour and his crown,
Bestow'd on me, O high renown.

APPENDIX S

CHAPTERS FROM THE MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS AND THE HAMILTON MANUSCRIPTS

(*Page 486, Vol. I.*)

The following Introduction to the *Montgomery Manuscripts* was written by the Rev. George Hill, of Belfast, their most recent editor, whose work appeared in 1869:

The Montgomery Manuscripts were written by William Montgomery of Rosemount, in the county of Down, between the years 1696 and 1706, or during the last ten years of the author's life. Of this gentleman's personal history nothing is known beyond the several autobiographical notices to be found in his writings. His memoir of the first viscount Montgomery contains a vivid sketch of the Scottish settlement in the territory of Ard-Uladh, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and of the events which led to the extinction of the great house of O'Neill in Upper or Southern Clannaboy. The memoir of the second viscount is unfortunately lost, at least for the present, having been probably carried away to Australia by the author's lineal descendant, Captain Frederick Campbell Montgomery, who settled in that colony about the year 1835. The memoir of the third viscount has reached us almost complete (although evidently wanting its introductory chapter), and is a valuable contribution to the history of Ulster, from the outbreak of the great Irish rebellion in 1641, until the period of the Restoration in 1660. The third viscount, who had a commission as commander-in-chief of the royalist forces in Ulster, was advanced to the dignity of an earl by Charles II., and took Mount-Alexander as the name of his earldom, from the family residence near Comber, in the county of Down, which had been so called in honour of his mother, Jean Alexander, daughter of the first earl of Stirling. The memoir of the fourth viscount, second earl of Mount-Alexander, who died in 1716, appears to be complete, at least to the year 1706, the date of the author's death. This second earl was appointed general of the northern Protestant forces in 1688, and his memoir, containing some curious particulars of the revolutionary struggle in Ulster, will be read with deep interest. The memoir of Sir James Montgomery is quite imperfect. We have here only a copy of portions of the original. In a manuscript account of the Savages there is a marginal reference to pages 209 and 210 of the *Life of Sir James Montgomery*, but the fragment which has been preserved would not occupy, probably, more than fifty of the closely written quarto pages of William Montgomery's original memoir. The transcriber, however, has fortunately copied from the original such portions of the memoir as referred to Sir James's public life, including an account of his military operations in 1641, which preserved the inhabitants of the Ards from pillage and massacre, and kept that district open as an asylum for multitudes who had escaped the fury of the insurgents in other localities, throughout Down, and the adjoining counties. For the memoirs above mentioned the author derived his materials from such family papers as had not been stolen or destroyed when Rosemount House was burned, in February, 1695.

When the remnant of the Mount-Alexander estates passed, at the death of the last countess in 1764, to the families of De la Cherois and Crommelin, the Montgomery Manuscripts, preserved at Mount-Alexander, together with other family papers, were transferred to Samuel De la Cherois, esq., cousin of the countess, to whom her ladyship had bequeathed the half of the property. His son, Daniel De la Cherois, esq., of Donaghadee, kindly permitted extracts from the Manuscripts to be printed in the columns of the Belfast "News-Letter." These extracts appeared in the year 1785 and 1786, and were followed by others, published by the same journal, in the year 1822. It was afterwards found that there existed a very general desire to have the whole contents of this valuable collection printed in a more permanent form. Hence the duodecimo volume published at the "News-Letter" office in the year 1830.

SOME FEW MEMOIRES OF THE MONTGOMERIES OF IRELAND

CHAPTER I.—Being to write of the Montgomeries of Ireland (now planted therein) recourse must be first had to what I have credibly heard, as truth never doubted of (that my inquiry could find out). And secondly, to those authentick papers and parchments, which I have carefully perused, and which came to my hands among those left to me by my father, many others of them being lost or embeazled, or burnt in Rosemount House: out of the remainder whereof, or from such as I have seen elsewhere, relations shall be made. Thirdly, and lastly, I must, in this treatise, make use of my own certain knowledge and memory in those affairs, having had conversation or concern with most of their familys (both the dead and yet surviving of them), to whom I have been a contemporary within the space of above those fifty years now last past, wherein I did more or less make observations as I best could, whilst I grew up in age, and acquaintance with them; and thus furnished, I begin this following narrative (as near as I can) according to the order of time, wherein the several events came to pass, the like not having been attempted that I can any ways learne. Therefor, Imprimis (as in duty I am bound), with the Montgomeries of the great Ardes, who were the first and chiefest of all that sirname that came from Scotland, and mostly the procurers of other Montgomery families, and of many divers sirnames besides them; to follow and plant in this kingdom, of whom the most conspicuous and powerfull, and the first introducer and encourager was Hugh Montgomery, the 6th Laird of Braidstane, whose genealogy was as next followeth, viz.: The said Hugh was the eldest son of Adam (the second of that name), the fifth Laird, who married the daughter of Montgomery, Laird Haislhead (an ancient family, descended of the Earls of Eglintoune). This second Adam (besides breeding his four sons) purchased land from one of the said earls (I have the deed thereof); which Adam was the eldest son of Adam (the first Montgomery of that name), and the 4th Laird of Braidstane. This Adam married Colquhoun's sister, the Laird of Luss (chief of his ancient sept). This Adam the first (last mentioned) was son to Robert, the 3rd Laird of that name, who was the son of Robert, the 2d Laird of that name, who was the son of Robert, the 1st of that name, and 1st Laird of Braidstane, who was the 2d son of Alexander, one of the earles of Eglingtoune, all of them Montgomeries; which Earles are (in a little book called *Indiculum Scotiæ*, or the present state of Scotland, written by A. M., in Anno, 1682,) placed the 11th in that degree of nobility, which agrees with the list next spoken of, tho' in King Charles the Martyr's reign, rivalled (as I have heard said), for precedency, by the Conninghams, Earles of Glencairne; whom I find by an antient list (of the Scottish Peers) written in King James the 6th his time left to me by my father (who was expert in the heraldry of both kingdoms, having given me Guillim's book and some notes of his own of that science), I say I find by the said list (now by me), that Glencairne was but the 15th Earle, yet at this present time, and many years before it, he might arrive to be 12th, and so next after Eglintoun—the said list runs thus, viz.:

The Sirnames, Earles of	The Titles as followeth.
1. Duglas	Angus,
2. Campbell	Argyle,
3. Lindsay	Crawford,
4. Hay	Errol,
5. Keith	Marreshall,
6. Gordon	Southerland,
7. Arreskin	Marr,

8. Lesley..... Rothes,
9. Duglas..... Mortoun,
10. Graham..... Monteith,
11. Montgomery..... Eglintoun,
Graham ..... Montrosse,
Kennedy ..... Cassills,
Sinclair..... Caithness,
15. Conyngham..... Glencairne,
Arreskin..... Buchan,
&c., to ye No. of thirty in all.

Since the said King James his time of living in Scotland, when he went into England, he created (by advancement) divers Lords to be Earles, as also did King Charles the 1st and 2d. There were likewise divers earles, as Argyle and Montrose, advanced to be Marquises. The old Earldoms of Rothes, Southerland, and Monteith, are also extinct for want of male heires, by which events, it seems to me, that Eglintoun should have the 7th place among the Earles, and Glencairne the 9th, unless by special grants (in the letters patent) others, now at present earls, had precedency given them, being favourites; but as the precedency of Eglintoun was complained of by Glencairne, the debate might have been occasioned thus, viz., one of the earles of Eglintoun, I think that Hugh who was insidiously slain at the river of Annock; 2d Adam, Laird of Braidstane, and was purchased from him A.D. 1586 (as hath been mentioned out of John Johnston's book of Encomiums on the Scottish heroes aforesaid), and his brother Robert, dying A.D. 1596, both without male issue to inherit the honour and title of Earl, the same being extinct (or asleep) for divers years; nevertheless, the said Hugh left one only daughter, who succeeded him in the estate. This lady was marry'd to Seaton, Earl of Winton, the 20th, according to the said list in that degree, and was his second countess. She bore to him Alexander, restored to his honour and degree, which had always been prior to Glencairne.

I well knew this Alexander (he was commonly called Grey Steel for his truth and courage) in King Charles the 2d's time; as also I was intimately acquainted with Hugh, his eldest son, who succeeded him, as I had been in Ireland with Colonel James, the said Alexander's 2d son, whose regiment of foot came over into this kingdom with the Scottish army Ao. 1642, and was quartered in about Newtown of the Ards. I knew also Major-General Robert Montgomery, said Alexander's 3d son, in Scotland, before Dunbarr fight, and in London also Ano. 1665; but most of all I am known to Alexander, the present Earle of Eglintoun, having often many years ago conversed with him, and last of all in Edinborogh, Ano. 1689 (I being a voluntary exile during the troubles then in Ireland), in which year his Lordship told me there had been seventeen Earles of his ancestors, all Eglintoun, of the name Alexander (which in English is a worthy helper of men), and none of them all of any other proper name, but the two Hughes and the said Robert aforesaid (who enjoyed the honor those ten years, in which he revenged and survived his said brother slain at Annock as aforesaid); yet his ancestors, whilst Lords Montgomeries of Ardrossan, had divers other names.

Now none of the Earles of Eglintoune, did forfeit their honour by treason, and so could not lose their degree in the file of Earles, and, therefore, and for the reasons aforesaid, as well as for the said 2d list, the rivalship of Glencairne is (in my opinion) injurious, and a tort done to the family of Eglintoune, and much more will it be so, if in any Parliament a protestation be entered by Glencairne against the other Earle's precedencys. I hope there is not, nor will be any such protestations, because their difference about it (as I have been credibly reported)

was ended and taken away by King Charles 2d upon his happy restoration. This much I have written as in part belonging to the said 6th Laird's genealogy, and in honor to our Chief in Scotland.

Now this 6th Laird (by which title I will design him till he was knighted) had three brothers, who lived to be men respected for their abilities, viz., George, of whom (because his happy living was in England and Ireland) I will especially remember hereafter. He was (as my father writes), for his worth and learning, by the late Queen Elizabeth, prefer'd to the Parsonage of Chedchec, and Deanery of Norwich, Patrick also, who by his prowess and conduct (going from Scotland, a Captain of a regiment of foot, into France) did arise to great credit, and a colonel's post under King H. the 4th, and was killed in a fight where he had commanded five hundred horse; he had no wife, neyther had John, his youngest brother, who was graduated Doctor in physick, in a French University or College; he returning homewards came to London, where, having practiced his art (with good repute), he died of that sweating immoveable sickness which raged in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

But I return to the history of the said 6th Laird, who leaving Glasgow Colledge, and his parents at home, he travelled into France, and after some months' stay at Court there, he settled himself in Holland, and became a captain of foot in a Scottish Regiment, under the Prince of Orange, grandfather to our present gracious Sovereign King William. He was in service some years there, till hearing of his mother's and (soon afterwards) of his father's death, and that his sisters were disposed of in marriage, and knowing that there were debts on his estate on that account (his brothers having formerly received their portions), he then obtained leave to dispose of his command and arrears of pay, and so returned to Braidstane, and appearing at the Court in Edinborough, he was respected as a well-accomplished gentleman, being introduced to kiss King James the 6th hand, by divers Noblemen, on whose recommendation he was received into favour (and special notice taken of him), which increased more and more, by reason of a correspondence he had with his brother George (then Dean of Norwich in the Church of England), whereby he received and gave frequent intelligence to his Majesty of the Nobility and State Ministers in Queen Elizabeth's Court and Council, and of the country Gentlemen, as they were well or ill effected to his Majesty's succession.

The said Laird upon his return above said, having paid the said debts and settled his estate (his friends advising him), he marryed about Ano. 1587, the Laird of Greenock's daughter, with content to the said earle and all his relations in kindred, and lived in peace and amity with all his neighbours till grossly injured by —— Maxwell, Laird of New Ark, near Grenock; which abuse his martial soul could not brook. This occasioned divers of the 6th Laird's attempts against the said Maxwell, who declined to give him gentlemanly satisfaction, but the bickering of both sides surceased on a reconciliation (made by their friends) between them.

The said Laird having now acquired or conciliated an interest in the *bonnes graces* of his Prince, as above said, it happened he had an affront put upon him by the earle of Glencairn's eldest son, Mr. Conningham, for reparation whereof he challenged the same Gentleman to a combat, but Mr. Conningham avoided the danger by a visit to London (the Queen being still and for some years thereafter alive tho' old); yet was soon followed by the said Laird, who came to the city; and his errand for satisfaction was told soon enough to Mr. Conningham, whereupon he went clandestinely into Holland on pretence to improve his parts at the

Court in The Hague. The said Laird being thus twice disappointed of his purpose (stayed a few days at the English Court), and then rode to his brother George, Dean of Norwich, and instructed him how to continue his said intelligence, to be communicated to King James by one of their near kinsmen; which affairs adjusted (undervaluing costs, Toyle, and danger), the Laird took ship at Dover, and arrived in Holland, going to The Hague, (unheard of and unexpected), where lodging privately, till he had learned the usual hours when Mr. Conningham and the other gentlemen and officers walked (as merchants do in the inner courts of the palace, called Den Primen Hoff), the said Laird there found Mr. Conningham, called him coward, fugitive, and drew his sword (obliging his adversary to do the like); but the Laird pressing upon him, made a home thrust (which lighted on the broad buckle of his sword belt), and so tilted Mr. Conningham on his back; yet it pleased God that the buckle (like a toorget) saved his life. This was a sudden and inconsiderate rash action of the Laird, who thought he had killed Mr. Conningham. Putting up his sword quickly, and hastening out of the Court, he was seized on by some of the guard, and committed to the Provost-Marshall's custody, where he meditated how to escape, and put his design that night in some order (an hopefull occasion forthwith presenting itself) for no sooner was the hurry over, but one Serjeant Robert Montgomery (formerly acquainted with the Laird) came to him; the condolement was but short and private, and the business not to be delayed. Therefore the Laird gave the serjeant a purse of gold, and said, I will call you cousen and treat you respectfully, and you must visit me frequently, and bring me word from the officers (my former comrades) what they can learn is resolved against me, entreating them to visit me. Then he employed him to bespeake some of them that night to come to him the next morning, giving him orders at fit times to deal liberally with the Marshall (then a widower) and his turnkeys, letting words fall (as accidentally) that he had such and such lands in Scotland to which he designed (in six months) to return, and also to talk of him as his honourable cousen then in restraint, for no worse deed then was usually done in Edinborough streets, in revenge of any affront, and especially to magnify himself, to make love secretly and briskly to the Marshall's daughter (to whom the keys were often trusted), giving her love tokens and coined gold, as assurances of his entire affection, and at other times to shew her the said purse with the gold in it, telling her a Scotch kinsman had brought it to him, as rent of his lands in Scotland, and sometimes also to shew her handfuls of silver, urging her to take it (or at least a part of it); often persweading her to a speedy and private contract in order to a marriage between them. The serjeant thus instantly pursuing his love suit, he ply'd his oar so well that in a few nights he had certain proofs of the bride's cordial love and consent to wed him.

In the meantime, while the Laird engaged many of his comrades (and they their friends) to intercede for him, likewise (with great secrecy as to his concern) the serjeant procured a Scottish vessel to be hired, and to be at readiness to obey orders, and weigh anchors when required. And now it remained only to facilitate the escape; whereof the Laird had divers times treated the Marshall and his daughter in his chamber, both jointly and severally, and one night a good opportunity offering itself of her father being abroad, the Laird (as the design was laid) had the daughter and his serjeant, into his room, and there privately contracted or espoused them together by mutual promises of conjugal fidelity to each other, joining their hands, and making them alternately repeat (after him) the matrimonial vow used in Scotland, they exchanging one to the other the halves of a piece of gold which he had broken and given to them for that purpose. So, no

doubt, the serjeant kissed his bride and she him, and drank a glass of wine to each other on the bargain. Then the Laird carressed them both, and revealed to them his design of getting out of restraint, to abscond himself till he might get King James' letter to the Prince, that his hand should not be cut off; but that receiving on his knee the Prince's reprimand, and making due submissions, and humbly craving pardon and promising reconciliation and friendship to Mr. Conninghame, he should be absolved from the punishment due for his crime. But this was a pretence to the bride only; all this was contrived, carried on, and done without the knowledge of the Laird's servant, who was only employed to cajole and treat the Marshall and his turnkeys liberally, and to perform menial attendances and offices about the Laird's person when called; so that the intrigues prospered (with admirable conduct) without the least umbrage of suspicion, either to the household or to the comerades aforesaid, lest any of them should be taxed with compliance or contrivance to the escape.

In this little history I have been the more exact to give the reader (at least) one single instance of the Laird's bold resolution, and of his sagatious, ingenious spirit, as well as of his great prudence (which appeared also in the sequel of this affair); as likewise to be briefe in my future report of another like escape for Con O'Neil, which the Laird devised and got done (almost in the same manner), as shall in due place be remembered. And now there remained only to appoint the night when the Laird was to leave his lodgings (and the preparatorys for it to be advised on); all which being concerted between the Laird, the sergeant, and his bride, a treat of a dinner was made for some of the said officers and for the Marshall, which almost being ended, the sergeant came into the room and reported, that in consideration of the Laird's valorous services and civil behavior whilst Captain in the army, and of the officers' intercessions, Mr. Conninghame, having received no wound (for divers respects on his own account, and to make amends to the Laird), joining with them, the Prince was pleased to pardon the Laird's rash passionate crime, and to restore him to his liberty; he making submission, and craving remission for his fault, and promising not only reconciliation, but friendship for Mr. Conninghame as aforesaid was pretended—all which was to be performed solemnly two days thence. These news were welcomed by all at table with their great joy and applause given of ye Prince, who thereby should endeare the Scottish forces the more to serve his highness; then the healths went round and the glasses set about the trenchers (like cercoletts), till run off, the meat being removed, and sergeant gone to feast with the Laird's servant, who treated him and his sweet bride with the officers' and Marshall's men, where there was no want of wine for sake of the good news. After eating was done, the Laird, and officers, and Marshall (who no doubt had his full share of drink put upon him) continued at the wine (as their attendants also did below them, both companies being answered by the bride and her cookmaid; when wine was called for then the reckoning was paid as daily before then had been done frankly, without demurring at all, or even examining how the particulars amounted to the total sum charged by the bride. In fine the Marshall and his men minded no more the keys or to look after the Laird being secured, by reason of the news and the wine, and the trust they reposed in the bride.

And now the play was in its last scene, for the sun being awhile set, the Marshall was led (as a gouty man) to his bed, and after him his two men (as manners and good breeding required) led to their garrett; and the officers with their servants being gone to their lodgings, and night come, the sergeant and his bride packed up her necessaries, and as much of the money and gold as she could

find, the maid being then busy in the kitchen, and at the same time the Laird and his servant put up their linens; which done, the bride sent the maid a great way into the towne on an Aprill or speedless errand, and the sergeant called the Laird and his servant down stairs. So the four went forth, leaving candles burning in the room, and locking the street door, putting the key under it into the floor. They went away incogniti; which transaction amazed the Laird's servant, as not having perceived the least of the whole design till that minute—though he was trusty enough, yet perhaps the Laird did not think his discretion capable to retain such a secret in his drinking with the Marshall and his men, to which he was obliged by the Laird (as the sergeant had been) as is aforesaid. What needs more discourse, of the feats, but that the Laird and his company (though searched for) got aboard, and safely landed at Leith, without any maladventure or cross fortune. All which particulars concerning the Laird's quarrell at Mr. Conninghame, and the events following thereupon, and the sergeant's courtship, with the debauches at the treats, and the escape aforsaid, might afford matter for a facetious pleasing novell, if they were descanted on by one of the modern witty composers of such like diversions (as they call them), which I think is not an appellative name expressive enough of their nature, because they are instructive and recreative also.

Chapter II.—Next day or two after arrival, the Laird, with his retinue, mounted on hired horses and journeyed to Braidstane, where receiving the visits of friends and neighbors congratulating his return (which had prevented the news of his adventures then also unknown to the mariners), he minded his affairs, and getting an account of all the intelligencies his brother George had sent to his friends (pursuant to their last agreement at parting, when the Laird went to Holland), he sent a footman (for there was no conveyance by post between the kingdoms before King James' accession to the English crown) with letters of intelgencies and of business and advice, and in requittal he received more and fresher informations (touching the English Court and Queen from his said brother), who was lucky to be well furnished, and therefore his said brother sent back speedily the messenger, who, coming safe to Braidstane, delivered his packet. In perusal whereof the Laird thought it necessary (and conducing to his designs for lands in Ireland) that he should forthwith go to the Court and impart to the King what his brother had sent; and so the Laird hastening thither he was graciously received, but not without a severe check given him by his Majesty, who nevertheless enjoyned him to beg pardon of the Earle of Glencairne (then in Edinborough), and to promise friendship to his Lordship's son and family, which submission being made in his Majesty's presence, that sore was plaistered and afterwards fully cured. As soon as Mr. Conningham came back to Scotland, his father caused him to confess to the Laird, that he had wronged him and was sorry for it, desiring his forgiveness and promising his own friendship to the Laird and his family whilst he lived; and thus by his Majesty's care was the revival of the old bloody fewd between the Montgomeries and Conninghams fully prevented, the like reconciliations between all other families having already been made by the industrious prudence of that King, who being in the yearly expectation he had of the Queen's death, would leave all quiet at home when he was to go to receive the English crown.

And now halcyon days shined throughout all Scotland, all animosities being compressed by his Majesty (who in a few months afterwards) having certain intelligence of Queen Elizabeth's sickness, and extreme bodily weakness, and not long thence of her death, which was on the 24th of March (according to the English

computation) Ao. Do. 1602, James the 6th being proclaimed King in London and Westminster, by the Lord Mayor, with the Lords of the Privy Councill, and by them solemnly invited to take progress and receive the crown, with the kingdoms of England, &c., into his gracious protection. Accordingly his Majesty (as soon as conveniency would allow) went to Westminster, attended by divers Noblemen, and many Gentlemen, being by greater numbers conveyed to the borders, where he was received by English Lords, Esqes., and Gentry in great splendor. Among the Scottish Lairds (which is a title equivalent to Esqrs.) who attended his Majesty to Westminster, he of Braidstane was not the least considerable, but made a figure, more looked on than some of the Lord's sons, and as valuable in account as the best of his own degree and estate in that journey.

When the said Laird had lodged himself in Westminster, he met at Court with the said George (his then only living brother), who had with longing expectations waited for those happy days. Then enjoyed one the other's most loving companies, and meditated of bettering and advancing their peculiar stations. Foreseeing that Ireland must be the stage to act upon, it being unsettled, and many forfeited lands thereon altogether wasted, they concluded to push for fortunes in that kingdom, as the Laird had formerly done; and so settling a correspondence between them, the said George resided much at Court, and the Laird returned to his Lady and their children in Braidstane, and employing some friends who traded into the next adjacent coasts of Ulster, he by them (from time to time) was informed of the state of that country, whereof he made his benefit (though with great cost and pains, as hereafter shall be related), giving frequent intimation of occurrences to his said brother, which were repeated to the King. After the King was some months in his palace at Whitehall, even in the first year of his reign, the affairs of Ireland came to be considered, and an office of inquest by jurors was held before some judges, whereby the forfeited temporal lands, and abby lands, and impropriations, and others of that sort, were found to have been vested in the Queen, and to be now lawfully descended to the King; but the rebellion and commotions raised by O'Doherty and his associates in the county of Donegal, retarded (till next year) the further procedures to settlement.

In the mean while, the said Laird in the said first year of the King's reign pitched upon the following way (which he thought most fair and feasible) to get an estate in lands even with free consent of the forfeiting owner of them, and it was thus, viz.: The said Laird (in a short time after his return from the English Court) had got full information from his said trading friends of Con O'Neil's case and imprisonment in Carrickfergus towne, on account of a quarrell made by his servants with some soldiers in Belfast, done before the Queen died, which happened in manner next following, to witt:—The said servants being sent with runletts to bring wine from Belfast aforesaid, unto the said Con, their master, and Great Teirne as they called him, then in a grand debauch at Castlereagh, with his brothers, his friends, and followers; they returning (without wine) to him battered and bled, complaining that the soldiers had taken the wine, with the casks, from them by force. Con enquiring (of them) into the matter, they confessed their number twice exceeded the soldiers, who indeed had abused them, they being very drunk. On this report of the said servants, Con was vehemently moved to anger; reproached them bitterly; and, in rage, swore by his father, and by all his noble ancestors' souls, that none of them should ever serve him or his family (for he was married and had issue) if they went not back forthwith and did not revenge the affront done to him and themselves, by those few Boddagh Sasonagh soldiers (as he termed them). The said servants (as yet more than half drunk), avowed to

execute that revenge, and hasted away instantly; arming themselves in the best way they could, in that short time, and engaged the same soldiers (from words to blows) assaulting them with their weapons; and in the scuffle (for it was no orderly fight), one of the soldiers happened to receive a wound, of which he died that night, and some other slashes were given; but the Teagues were beaten off and chased, some sore wounded and others killed; only the best runners got away Scott free. The pursuit was not far, because the soldiers feared a second assault from the hill of Castlereagh, where the said Con, with his two brothers, friends, and followers (for want of more dorgh), stood beholders of the chase. Then in a week next after this fray, an office of enquest was held on Con, and those of his said friends and followers, and also on the servants, and on all that were suspected to be procurers, advisers, or actors therein, and all whom the Provost Marshall could seize (were taken), by which office the said Con, with some of his friends were found guilty of levying war against the Queen. This mischief happened a few months before her death; and the whole matter being well known to the said Laird, and his brother, and his friends, soon after the King's accession to the English Crown, early application was made to his majesty for a grant of half the said Con's lands, the rest to Con himself, which was readily promised; but could not, till the second of his reign, by any means be performed, by reason of the obstacles to the settlement of Ireland aforesaid.

But I must a little go retrograde, to make my report of their affairs better understood. The Laird having met with his brother, and returned from London (as before mentioned), came home, (his second son being then about the third year of his age), and industriously minded the affairs in Ireland; and, by his said brother gave frequent intimations to the King, or his Secretary for Scotland, of all occurrences he could learne, especially out of Ulster (which had never been fully made subject to England); which services of the Laird, and the King's promise were by his brother renewed in the King's memory, as occasion served to that purpose. And the effects answered his pains and expectations, which was in this manner, viz.:—The Queen being dead, the King filling her (late) throne, O'Doherty soon subdued, and the Chief-Governors in this kingdom of Ireland foreseeing alteration in places, and the King's former connivance of supplies, and his secret favor to the O'Neils and M'Donnells, in counties of Down and Antrim (being now well known) as to make them his friends, and a future party for facilitating his peaceable entry and possession in those northern parts of the country (if needful) it so came to pass that the said Con had liberty to walk at his pleasure (in the day time) in the streets of Carrickfergus, and to entertain his friends and tenants in any victualling house within the towne, having only a single sentinel to keep him in custody, and every night delivered him to the marshall. And thus Con's confinement (which lasted several months after the Queen's death) was the easier, and supportable enough, in regard that his estate was not seized by the escheators, and that his words (at his grand debauch aforesaid) were reputed very pardonable, seeing greater offences would be remitted by his Majesty's gracious declaration of amnesty, which was from time to time expected, but delayed on the obstacles aforesaid.

In the mean time, the Laird used the same sort of contrivance for Con's escape as he had heretofore done for his own; and thus it was, viz. The Laird had formerly employed, for intelligence as aforesaid, one Thomas Montgomery of Blackstown, a fee farmer (in Scotland, they call such gentlemen feurers); he was a cadet of the family of Braidstane, but of a remote sanguinity to the Laird, whose actions are now related. This Thomas had personally divers times traded with

grain and other things to Carrickfergus, and was well trusted therein; and had a small bark, of which he was owner and constant commander; which Thomas being a discreet, sensible gentleman, and having a fair prospect given him of raising his fortune in Ireland, was now employed and furnished with instructions and letters to the said Con, who, on a second speedy application in the affair consented to the terms proposed by the Laird, and to go to him at Braidstane, provided the said Thomas would bring his escape so about as if constrained, by force and fears of death, to go with him. These resolutions being, with full secrecy, concerted, Thomas aforesaid (as the Laird had formerly advised) having made love to the Town Marshall's daughter, called Annas Dobbin (whom I have often seen and spoken with, for she lived in Newtown till Anno 1664), and had gained hers and parent's consent to be wedded together. This took umbrages of suspicion away, and so by contrivance with his espoused, an opportunity, one night, was given to the said Thomas and his barque's crew to take on board the said Con, as it were by force, he making no noise for fear of being stabbed, as was reported next day through the town.

The escape being thus made and the bark, before next sun-set, arriving safe at the Larggs, in Scotland, on notice thereof, our valorous and well-bred Laird kept his state, staying at home, and sent his brother-in-law, Patrick Montgomery (of whom at large hereafter, for he was also instrumental in the escape), and other friends, with a number of his tenants, and some servants, all well mounted and armed, as was usual in those days, to salute the said Con, to congratulate his happy escape, and to attend him to Braidstane, where he was joyfully and courteously received by the Laird and his Lady with their nearest friends. He was kindly entertained and treated with due deference to his birth and quality, and observed with great respect by the Laird's children and servants, they being taught so to beheave themselves. In this place the said Con entered into indenture of articles of agreement, the tenor whereof was that the said Laird should entertaine and subsist him, the said Con, in quality of an Esq., and also his followers, in their moderate and ordinary expenses; should procure his pardon for all his and their crimes and transgressions against the law (which indeed were not very heinous nor erroneous), and should get the enquest to be vacated, and the one-half of his estate (whereof Castlereagh and circumjacent lands to be a part) to be granted to himself by letters patent from the King; to obtain for him that he might be admitted to kiss his Majestie's hand, and to have a general reception into favour; all this to be at the proper expenses, cost and charges of the said Laird, who agreed and covenanted to the performance of the premises on his part. In consideration whereof, the said Con did agree, covenant, grant, and assign, by the said indenture, the other one-half of all his land estate, to be and enure to the only use and behoof of the said Laird, his heirs and assigns, at which time the said Con, also signing and registering; but no sealing of deeds being usual in Scotland, he promised by an instrument in writing to convey part of his own moiety unto the said Patrick and Thomas, as a requital of their pains for him, which he afterwards performed, the said Laird signing as consenting to the said instrument, the said agreement being fully indorsed and registered (as I was told) in the town council book of the Royal Burgh of Air or Irwine, the original of that indenture to the Laird I had, and shewed to many worshipful persons, but it was burnt with the house of Rosemount, the 16th February, 1695.

Upon the said agreement the said Laird and Con went to Westminster, where the said George had been many months Chaplain and Ordinary to his Majesty, and was provided with a living in London, in Commendum, worth above

200£ per annum, and the Laird was there assumed to be an Esq., of the King's body, and after this was knighted, and therefore I must call him in the following pages by the name of Sir Hugh Montgomery, who made speedy application to the King (already prepared), on which the said Con was graciously received at Court, and kissed the King's hand, and Sir Hugh's petition, on both their behalfs, was granted, and orders given, under the Privy Signet, that his Majesty's pleasure therein should be confirmed by letters patent, under the great seal of Ireland, at such rents as therein expressed, and under conditions that the lands should be planted with British Protestants, and that no grant of fee farm should be made to any person of mere Irish extraction, but in regard these letters took no effect, as in next paragraph appears, I shall make no further mention thereof, but will proceed to what afterwards happened to the said Sir Hugh and Con.

Chapter III.—Now these affairs, as also Con's escape and journey with Sir Hugh, and their errand, took time and wind at Court, notwithstanding theirs (and the said George's) endeavours to conceal them from the prying courtiers (the busiest bodies in all the world in other men's matters, which may profit themselves), so that in the interim one Sir James Fullerton, a great favourite, who loved ready money, and to live in Court, more than in waste wildernesses in Ulster, and afterwards had got a patent clandestinely passed for some of Con's lands, made suggestions to the King that the lands granted to Sir Hugh and Con were vast territories, too large for two men of their degree, and might serve for three Lord's estates, and that his Majesty, who was already said to be overhastily liberal, had been over-reached as to the quantity and value of the lands, and therefore begged his Majesty that Mr. James Hamilton who had furnished himself for some years last past with intelligencies from Dublin, very important to his Majesty, might be admitted to a third share of that which was intended to be granted to Sir Hugh and Con. Whereupon a stop was put to the passing the said letters patent, which overturned all the progress (a work of some months) that Sir Hugh had made to obtain the said orders for himself and Con. But the king sending first for Sir Hugh, told him (respecting the reasons aforesaid) for what loss he might receive in not getting the full half of Con's estate, by that defalcation he would compensate him out of the Abbey lands and impropriations, which in a few months he was to grant in fee, they being already granted in lease for twenty-one years, and that he would also abstract, out of Con's half, the whole great Ardes for his and Mr. James Hamilton's behoof, and throw it into their two shares; that the sea coasts might be possessed by Scottish men who would be traders as proper for his Majestie's future advantage, the residue to be laid off about Castlereagh (which Con had desired), being too great a favour for such an Irishman.

All this being privately told by the king, was willingly submitted to by the said Sir Hugh, and soon after this he and Con were called before the King, who declared to them both his pleasure concerning the partitions as aforesaid, to which they submitted. On notice of which procedure, Mr. James Hamilton was called over by the said Sir James Fullerton, and came to Westminster, and having kissed the King's hand, was admitted the King's servant (but not in a great while knighted, therefore hereafter I shall make mention of him as Sir James Hamilton, in its due place); all which contrivance brought money to Sir James Fullerton, for whose sake and request it was the readilyer done by the King. Sir Hugh and Mr. Hamilton met and adjusted the whole affair between themselves. Whereupon letters of warrant to the Deputy, dated 16th April, 3d Jacob., 1605, were granted to pass all the premises, by letters patent, under the great Seal of Ireland, accordingly, in which the said Sir James Fullerton obtained further of the

King, that the letter to the deputy should require him that the patent should be passed in Mr. James Hamilton's name alone, yielding one hundred pounds per annum to the King; and in the said letter was inserted that the said lands were in trust for the said Mr. Hamilton himself, and for Sir Hugh Montgomery, and for Con O'Neill, to the like purport already expressed.

Then the said Con, Sir Hugh Montgomery, and Mr. Hamilton entered into tripartite indentures, dated ult. of the said April, whereby (*inter alia*) it was agreed that unto Con and his followers their moderate ordinary expenses from the first of August preceding the date now last mentioned being already paid them, should be continued them 'till patents were got out for their pardons, and also deeds from Mr. Hamilton for Con's holding the estate, which the King had condescended to grant him. Soon after this, Mr. Hamilton went to Dublin to mind his business and to ply *telis extremis* for the furtherance of it.

All this being done, and Sir Hugh having no more business (at present) at Whitehall, he resolved with convenient speed to go through Scotland into Ireland, to follow his affairs, which he did so soon as he had renewed his friendship with the English and Scottish Secretaries; and laid down further methods, with his said brother, of intercourse between themselves for their mutual benefit; and the said Con, well minding Sir J. Fullerton's interposition for Mr. Hamilton (whereby he was a great loser), and that the patent for his lands was to be passed in Mr. Hamilton's own name, and only a bare trust expressed for his, Con's use, in the letters of warrant aforesaid, he thought it necessary that Sir Hugh and he should look to their hitts. They therefore took leave at Court; (and being thoro' ready) they went to Edinborough and Braidstane, and after a short necessary stay for recruits of money, they passed into Ireland, taking with them the warrant for Con, his idemnity, pardon, and profit.

Mr. Hamilton having gone to Dublin, as aforesaid, then (viz.) on the 4th of July, 1605, (being two months and four days posterior to the said tripartite indenture), a second office was taken, whereby all the towns, lands, manors, abbeys, impropriations, and such hereditaments in Upper Claneboys and Ardes, were found to be in the King; it bearing a reference (as to spiritual possessions) for more certainty unto the office taken concerning them, primo Jac. Ao. 1603, and also it was shuffled into it that Killough was usually held to lye in the county of Down ; this office being returned and enrolled in September then next following, it was (by inspection thereof) found to vary from the jurors' briefs and notes, and from many particulars in the office taken 1st Jac. and the matter of Killulta was amiss.

About this time, the inquisition found against Con and his followers for the feats at Belfast aforesaid, being vacated and taken off the file in the King's Bench Court, and the pardon for himself and all his followers, for all their other crimes and trespasses against law being passed under the great seal, and the deed of the 6th Nov., 1605, from Mr. Hamilton of Con's lands, being made to himself; Con then returned home in triumph over his enemies (who thought to have had his life and estate), and was met by his friends, tenants, and followers, the most of them on foot, the better sort had gerrans, some had pannels for saddles (we call them back bughams), and the greater part of the riders without them; and but very few spurrs in the troop, yet instead thereof they might have thorn prickles in their brogue heels (as is usual), and perhaps not one of the concourse had a hat; but the gentry (for sure) had on their done wosle barrads, the rest might have sorry scull caps, otherwise (in reverence and of necessity) went cheerfully pacing or trotting bare-headed. Con being so come in state (in Dublin equipage) to

Castlereagh, where no doubt his vassals (tagg-ragg and bob-tail) gave to their Teirne More, Squire Con, all the honour and homage they could bestow, presenting him with stores of beeves, colpaghs, sheep, hens, bonny clabber, rusan butter (such as it was); as for cheese I heard nothing of it (which to this day is very seldom made by the Irish), and there was some greddan meal strowans, with snush, and bolean, as much as they could get to regale him; where I will leave him and them to congratulate each other's interview, till other occasions to write of him offer themselves, and he gave them not many months after this time. But good countrymen (Erinagh or Gelagh), Irish or English, if you believe not this treat as aforesaid, neither do I, because I could not see it, nor was I certainly informed; many histories have stories in them, for writers make King's and Gentlemen's speeches which, perhaps, they never uttered; however, the worst of my part in this is, that it is a joke, and such I hope you will allow it, and also the Pope's own country Italian proverb, used in the holy city, and the mother (church) Rome itself, viz.—*Si non e vero e ben trovato*—if it be not truth it is well invented for mirth's sake; and so I intended it, for it is not unlikely.

But before I recount the after actions I mean to treat of, I must mention two transactions more between him and Sir Hugh, viz.: On 14th March, the same 3d Jac., according to English suputation, Ano. 1605, but by the Scottish account, 1606, (for they have January for the first month of their year, as the almanacks begin the calendar), Con specifying very honorable and valuable considerations him thereunto moving, makes and grants a deed of feofment of all his lands unto Sir Hugh Montgomery (then returned from Braidstane to prepare habitations for his family). John M'Dowel of Garthland, Esq., and Colonel David Boyd, appointed to take and give livery of seizin to Sir Hugh, which was executed according the 5th September following, within the six months limited by the statutes in such cases made and provided, the other was added from Con conveying by sale unto Sir Hugh Montgomery, the woods growing on four townlands therein named—this sale was dated the 22d August, 4th Jaco. 1606. Patrick Montgomery and John Cashan being Con's attorneys, took and gave livery of seizin; accordingly this much encouraged the plantation, which began in May this year. Likewise the said Mr. Hamilton (as he had done to Con) by deed dated next day after that conveyance to Con, viz., on the 7th November, 1605, grants to Sir Hugh Montgomery divers temporal and spiritual (as they call them) lands in Clanneboys and Great Ardes, thus part of the trust and covenants in the tripartite indenture was performed to him. So Sir Hugh returned from Dublin, and (as hereafter shall be said) taking possession, he went forthwith to Braidstane, and engaged planters to dwell thereon.

Now, on the whole matter of Sir Hugh Montgomery's transactions with and for Con O'Neill, the benefits done to him will appear very considerable, as the bringing them to pass was very costly and difficult, as followeth, viz.,—Con (by the said transporting and mediation for him) had escaped the eminent danger of losing both his life and estate; because by the said inquest against him, his said words (and perhaps his commands too) were proved fully enough; or they might have been entered therein, and also managed (in future) so dexterously by the Covetors of benefit arising out of the forfeitures, as to make him guilty of levying war against the Queen, which (by law in Ireland) is treason. Moreover, Con's title was bad, because imprimis by act of Parliament, in Ireland, 11th Elizabeth, Shane O'Neill, who had engaged all Ulster in rebellion, being killed by Alex. Oge M'Connell, (so the statutes sur-names the M'Donnell,) the whole sept of O'Neill were all attainted by treason, and the whole country of Clanneboys,

and the hereditaments belonging to them, or any of their kinsmen and adherents (besides Shane's patrimony in Tireowen), now vested in the Queen's actual possession, and did lawfully descend to King James, and was his right as wearing the Crown. And Con's title being but a claim by tanestry, whereby a man at full years is to be chosen and preferred to the estate (during his life) before a boy, and an uncle before a nephew-heir under age, whose grandfather survived the father; and so many times they preferred persons, and their descendants, intruded by strong hands, and extruded the true lineal heir. And Con's immediate predecessors, Brian Fortagh O'Neill, &c., Con's reputed grandfather, and father, were intruders (as himself also was) into the Queen's right and possession, in those troublesome times especially whilst Hugh O'Neill, whom the Queen restored to his predecessor's possessions, and to the title of Earle of Tireowen (alias Tireogen in Irish speech), rebelled and ravaged over all Ulster, and most other parts in Ireland, until the latter end of the year of the Queen's reign, of whose death he had not heard till he had submitted himself prisoner to the Lord Deputy Chichester, in Mellefont. The said Brian, Neil, and Con, so intruding into Clanneboys and the Great Ardes, in those days of general confusion, and (for peace sake) winked at, they continued their possession, and at some times more avowedly (by reason of the fewness and weakness of the English garrisons) did take up rents, cuttings, duties, and cesses, coshering also upon their underlings, being therein assisted by their kindred and followers, whom they kept in pay, as soldiers, to be ready on all occasions (when required) to serve him.

This being the pickle wherein Con was soused, and his best claim but an unquiet possession, usurpation, and intrusion against the laws of the kingdom, neither his ancestors nor himself being released from that attainder aforesaid, nor he anywise set *rectus in curia* for joining with Hugh O'Neil, it must needs follow, by all reasonable consequences, that Sir Hugh Montgomery had done many mighty acts for the rescue and welfare of Con himself, his friends and followers, as hath been fully proved were done for him and them; the very undertaking and prospect of which welfare could not but be very strongly obliging on Con O'Neill, kindly and with hearty thanks to accept of and to agree to the articles signed to Sir Hugh Montgomery at Braidstane, aforesaid.

Chapter IV.—We have in the foregoing narrative a few of the many generous acts of the 6th Laird of Braidstane; let me trace him on the back scent as well as I can for want of papers, and of the original articles of Braidstane, between him and Con alone, and of the consequential proceedings thereupon interrupted by Sir James Fullerton, 2d Jac., till we find the time about which he was knighted, pursuant to which I observe, imprimis by the letters patent passed (5th November, 3d Jacobi, Ao. 1605), to Mr. James Hamilton, who therein is named James Hamilton, Esq., and called by the King his servant. Our 6th Laird is stiled Sir Hugh Montgomery, knight, in which patent the letters to the said Deputy Chichester for passing it (dated 16th April foregoing), that Nov. is *intermini* recited. Item in a deed, 1st October, that same year 1605, it appears that James Hamilton, Esq., servant to the King (as aforesaid) pursuant to the first trust, grants unto our said Laird (by the name of Sir Hugh Montgomery, Knight, one of the Esqrs. of his Majesty's body), the abbey and lands of Movilla, &c., which is a prior date by a month and five days to the patent last named. This was so early done because abbey lands were first passed. James Hamilton, Esq., by patent, dated 20th July the said year, 1605, Sir Hugh Montgomery not being then come to Dublin, but in September ye next month following, the said 20th July not-

withstanding all the expedition he and Con had made through Scotland, that they might look to their hitts aforesaid.

Item, I observe by the tripartite indenture, dated Ulto., April, 1605, aforesaid, that James Hamilton, Esq., was to bear equal share in the expenses of Con and his followers from the 1st of August preceding that indenture. This August was Ao. 1604, which was 2d Jacobi, and was many months after Con was brought to Whitehall by our Laird, in all which time, and till the said letters to the Deputy dated the 16th of April, 1605, our said Laird and his brother George, the Dean, had solicited Con's pardon, and the grant for half of his estate, the other moiety to the Laird himself, and obtained the King's letters of warrant to the Lord Deputy to pass letters patent conformably to the said articles at Braidstane. But this affair taking time, and wind, at Court, was interrupted by Sir James Fullerton, as you have already heard; and that thereupon the said Con and Hugh Montgomery, of London, Esq., and James Hamilton, of London, Esq., adjusted affairs between themselves, so that it seems our Laird was knighted in April, 1605, or not long afterwards, but of Knight's Bachellor no record is kept, so that for want thereof I must desist my inquiry.

Item, we have heard also how that after the said overthrow given to the Laird and Con by Sir James Fullerton's procurement of a letter of warrant to the Lord Deputy, Arthur Lord Chichester, dated the 16th April, 1605, aforesaid, was granted to pass Con's estate and some abby lands, by patent, to James Hamilton, Esq., in his sole name, in trust for himself, our Laird and Con, and that ye last day of ye said April, ye tripartite indenture was made between the said three persons.

Now to facilitate the performances thereof, Mr. Hamilton returned soon to Dublin with an order for an inquisition on the lands of the said Con, and on ye abby lands, which was held the 4th July, 1605, and being returned enrolled in Sept. next following, and wherein was a reference (for more certainty) unto the office taken 1st Jac. Ao. 1603, and from which and ye jurors and briefs the last above said inquisition did much vary, as hath been before now related. However, Mr. Hamilton ye 20th of ye said July, passed letters patent in his own name, of the premises, and Sir Hugh Montgomery being arrived in Ireland, with Con, they went to Dublin as aforesaid, where, pursuant to the former said agreements, he did, 1st October next following (as is said), grant the lands of Movilla, Newton, and Gray Abbey, &c., to Sir H. Montgomery; then on the 5th Nov., 1605, passed a more ample patent of Con's estate, and of all the abby lands therein; and, pursuant to agreement with the said Con, Mr. Hamilton grants him his lands in and about Castlereagh, ye very next day after the date of the said ample patent last above mentioned. So Con's whole affair being done for him, and he releasing Sir Hugh Montgomery and Mr. Hamilton of all contracts and expenses relating thereunto, soon returned to Castlereagh, where I left him treated by his friends and followers as before herein is briefly related. In this dispatch is seen Sir Hugh Montgomery's kindness to Con and himself.

Observe further, as aforesaid, that the said Mr. Hamilton, on the 7th day of the said November, 1605, again grants to Sir Hugh Montgomery, the lands of Newtown, Gray Abbey, &c. This was done the next day after Mr. Hamilton had given the deed to Con. No doubt this dispatch pleased every of the three parties for their respective private reasons; Con being content to the full for aught I find to the contrary, and Sir Hugh with whatever he got (*de bene esse*) in part for the presents, that they both might more closely follow the plantations they were bound to make, and therefore Sir Hugh, also, after a small stay,

returned from Dublin, and on the 15th of January of the same year 1605, livery of seizin of Con's lands was taken by Cuthbert Montgomery, and given to Sir Hugh in trust for Con's use, and much about the same time livery of seizin was given to Sir Hugh, pursuant to the said deed, dated the 7th of November abovesaid, Jo. Shaw and Patrick Montgomery, Esqrs., being appointed attornies by Mr. Hamilton to take and deliver the same acccordingly.

These few last rehearsals, being the sum of the chief transactions between Mr. Hamilton trustee aforesaid, and Sir Hugh Montgomery and Con before Ao. 1606, I thought it necessary to be recapitulated before I proceed to other matters done between them after the 22d of August, 1606, on which day the said Con had sold to Sir Hugh Montgomery the woods of four townlands as aforesaid, and then I will (as well as I can) give the narration of Sir Hugh promoting and advancing his plantation after the last mentioned August. But first I must intimate two things, of which I shall not write hereafter: The first is that Mr. Hamilton and Sir Hugh were obliged in ten years' time from November, 1605, to furnish British inhabitants (English and Scotch Protestants) to plant one-third of Con's lands granted to himself. The second thing was that Mr. Hamilton passed another patent in February, 1605, which is posterior as you now see to that of the 5th November the same year, according to English account or supputation current in Ireland, by virtue of which patent in November now mentioned, it was that Mr. Hamilton gave the deeds aforesaid of the 6th and 7th of the same month, unto Con and Sir Hugh, as is (herein) before remembered.

These two remarks being made, I now go on with Sir Hugh Montgomery's plantation, which began about May, 1606, and thus it was, viz.:—Sir Hugh, after his return from Ireland to Braidstane, in winter 1605, as he had before his coming into Ireland, spoken of the plantation, so now he conduced his prime friends to join him therein, viz.:—John Shaw of Greenock, Esq., whose sister Elizabeth he had married divers years before that time, and Patrick Montgomery of Black House, Esq., who married the said John Shaw's sister, Christian. These two gentlemen had been in Ireland, and given livery of seizin as aforesaid to Sir Hugh, who also adduced the afore mentioned Colonel David Boyd, who bargained for 1000 acres, in Gray Abby parish, Scottish Cunningham measure, at 18 foot 6 inches to the perch or pole. Sir Hugh also brought with him Patrick Shaw, Laird of Kelseland (his lady's father's brother), and Hugh Montgomery, a cadet of the family of Braidstane, and Mr. Thomas Nevin, brother to the Laird of Mouck Roddin and Cunningham, gentleman, his near allys, and also Patrick Moore, of Dugh, Neil and William Catherwood, gentlemen, with many others, and gave them lands in fee farm in Donaghadee parish (all which parish, except some of the town parks, is under fee farm or mortgage), under small chief rents, but did not ascertain the tythes to any of them, nor would he put them into the clergy's hands, because he would keep his tenants from under any one's power but his own. Besides his Lordship considered that the contentions (which too frequently happen) concerning tythes, might breed dislike and aversion between the people and the Minister; therefore he gave unto the incumbents salaries, with glebes and perquisites or book money (as they are commonly called) for marriages, christenings, burials, and Easter offerings, the clerk and sexton also had their share of dues; and the people in those days resorted to church and submitted to its censures, and paid willlingly those small ecclesiastical dues, and so were in no hazard of suits in the Ecclesiastical Court, but of their landlord, if he pleased to chastise their stubbornness or other misbehavior.

There came over also divers wealthy able men, to whom his Lordship gave

tenements in freehold, and parks by lease, so they being as it were bound, with their heirs, to the one, they must increase the rent for the other, at the end of the term, or quit both, which makes the park lands about towns give ten shillings per acre rent now, which at the plantations the tenants had for one shilling rent, and these being taken, the tenants had some two, some three, and some four acres, for each of which they passed a boll of barley, rent. They built stone houses, and they traded to enable them to buy land, to France, Flanders, Norway, &c., as they still do.

Here is to be noted, that Sir Hugh got his estate by townlands, by reason of his agreement with Con O'Neil, whereas other undertakers of plantations in Ulster had several scopes of land (called proportions) admeasured to them, each containing one thousand acres, profitable for plough and good pasture, mountains and bog not reckoned in the number, but thrown in as an appurtenance. In the Queen Elizabeth's reign, ye perch or pole was 24 feet long; Parliament reduced it to 21 feet, ye English perch being but 16 feet 6 inches, but Sir Hugh sett his land by Cunningham measure, as the planters were used to have it at home, which is 18 feet 6 inches a perch.

I desire that this brief account may serve as a sampler of Sir Hugh's 1st essay to his plantation, for it would be tedious (as it would be impossible for me) to enumerate all the substantial persons whom he brought or who came to plant in Gray Abbey, Newton, and corner parishes, among whom Sir William Edmeston, 7th Laird of the ancient honorable family of Duntreth, was very considerable, both for purse and people, but after some years he sold his interest and settled his family in Broad Island, and there built two slated houses, on ye Dalway's estate, near Carrickfergus.

Therefore let us now pause a while, and we shall wonder how this plantation advanced itself (especially in and about the towns of Donaghadee and Newton), considering that in the spring time, Ao. 1606, those parishes were now more wasted than America (when the Spaniards landed there), but were not at all incumbered with great woods to be felled and grubbed, to the discouragement or hindrance of the inhabitants, for in all those three parishes aforesaid, 30 cabins could not be found, nor any stone walls, but ruined roofless churches, and a few vaults at Gray Abbey, and a stump of an old castle in Newton, in each of which some Gentlemen sheltered themselves at their first coming over.

But Sir Hugh in the said spring brought with him divers artificers, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c. I knew many of them old men when I was a boy at school, and had little employments for some of them, and heard them tell many things of this plantation which I found true. They soon made cottages and booths for themselves, because sods and saplings of ashes, alders, and birch trees (above thirty years old) with rushes for thatch, and bushes for wattles, were at hand. And also they made a shelter of the said stump of the castle for Sir Hugh, whose residence was mostlie there, as in the centre of being supplied with necessaries from Belfast (but six miles thence), who therefore came and set up a market in Newtown, for profit for both the towns. As likewise in the fair summer season (twice, sometimes thrice every week) they were supplied from Scotland, as Donaghadee was oftener, because but three hours sail from Portpatrick, where they bespoke provisions and necessaries to lade in, to be brought over by their own or that town's boats whenever wind and weather served them, for there was a constant flux of passengers coming daily over.

I have heard honest old men say that in June, July, and August, 1607, people came from Stanraer, four miles, and left their horses at the port, hired horses at

Donaghadee, came with their wares and provisions to Newton, and sold them, dined there, staid two or three hours, and returned to their houses the same day by bed-time, their land journey but 20 miles. Such was their encouragement from a ready market, and their kind desires to see and supply their friends and kindred, which commerce took quite away the evil report of wolves and wood-kerns, which envyers of planters' industry had raised and brought upon our plantations, but notwithstanding thereof, by the aforesaid Gentlemen's assiduity to people their own farms, which they did, Ao. 1807, after Sir Hugh and his Lady's example, they both being active and intent on the work (as birds after payring to make nests for their brood), then you might see streets and tenements regularly set out, and houses rising as it were out of the ground (like Cadmus' colony) on a sudden, so that these dwellings became towns immediately.

Yet among all this care and indefatigable industry for their families, a place of God's honor to dwell in was not forgotten nor neglected, for indeed our forefathers were more pious than ourselves, and so soon as said stump of the old castle was repaired, (as it was in spring time, 1606,) as might be shelter for that year's summer and harvest, for Sir Hugh and for his servants that winter, his piety made some good store of provisions in those fair seasons, towards roofing and fitting the chancel of that church, for the worship of God, and therein he needed not withdraw his own planters from working themselves, because there were Irish Gibeonets and Garrons enough in his woods to hew and draw timber for the sanctuary; and the general free contribution of the planters, some with money, others with handycrafts, and many with labouring, was so great and willing given, that the next year after this, viz., Ao. 1607, before winter it was made decently serviceable, and Sir Hugh had brought over at first two or three Chaplains with him for these parishes. In summer 1608, some of the priory walls were roofed and fitted for his Lady and children and servants (which were many) to live in.

Now the harvest 1606 and 1607 had stocked the people with grain, for the lands were never naturally so productive since that time, except where no plough had gone, and where sea oar (called wreck) is employed for dung, to that degree that they had to spare and to sell to the succeeding new coming planters, who came over the more in number and the faster, because they might sell their own grain at a great price in Scotland, and be freed of trouble to bring it with them, and could have it cheaper here. This conference gave occasion to Sir Hugh's Lady to build watermills in all the parishes, to the great advantage of her house, which was numerous in servants, of whom she stood in need, in working about her gardens, carriages, &c., having then no duty days' works from tenants, or very few as exacted, they being sufficiently employed in their proper labour and the publique. The millers also prevented the necessity of bringing meal from Scotland, and grinding with quairn stones (as the Irish did to make their graddon) both which inconveniencys the people, at their first coming, were forced to undergo.

Her Ladyship had also her farms at Greyabbey and Coiner, as well as at Newtown, both to supply new-comers and her house; and she easily got men for plough and barn, for many came over who had not stocks to plant and take leases of land, but had brought a cow or two and a few sheep, for which she gave them grass and so much grain per annum, and an house and garden-plot to live on, and some land for flax and potatoes, as they agreed on for doing their work, and there be at this day many such poor labourers amongst us; and this was but part of her good management, for she set up and encouraged linen and woolen manufactory, which soon brought down the prices of ye breakens and narrow cloths of both sorts.

Now everybody minded their trades, and the plough, and the spade, building and setting fruit trees, &c., in orchards and gardens, and by ditching in their grounds. The old women spun, and the young girls plyed their nimble fingers at knitting—and everybody was innocently busy. Now the Golden peaceable age renewed, no strife, contention, querulous lawyers, or Scottish or Irish feuds, between clanns and families and sirnames, disturbing the tranquillity of those times; and the towns and temples were erected, with other great works done (even in troublesome years) as shall be in part recited, when I come to tell you of the first Lord Viscount Montgomery's funeral, person, parts, and arts; therefore, reader, I shall be the more concise in the history of the plantation, and of his loyal transactions; not indeed, with his life, for the memories (out of which I have collected observations thereof) are few, by reason of the fire, February, 1695, and other accidents, and by my removal into Scotland, since Ao. 1688, whereby such papers were destroyed or lost.

Yet I find by a fragment (of a second information to the Herauld, concerning the Lord Viscount's coat of arms), written by Sir James Montgomery, that in a few years from the beginning of the plantation, viz. in Ao. 1610, the Viscount brought before the King's muster-master a thousand able fighting men to serve, when out of them a militia should be raised, and the said Sir H. (for the great encouragement of planters and builders) obtained a patent dated the 25th of March, 11th Jac., which is the 1st day of Ao. 1613, *Stilo Anglicano*, and but one day more than ten full years after the Queen's death, ye 24th March, 1602, being the last day of that year, by which letters patent Newton aforesaid is erected into a corporation, whereof the said Sir Hugh is nominated the 1st Provost, and the Burgesses are also named. This corporation has divers priviledges; the most remarkable are that every Parliament they send two Burgesses to serve therein, the other is that it can hold a court every 2d Friday for debt, trespass, and damage, not exceeding three score six shillings and eight pence sterling. The town hath in it an excellent piece of freestone work of eight squares, called the Cross, with a door behind; within are stairs mounting to the towers, over which is a high stone pillar, and proclamations are made thereon; on the floor whereof at each square is an antique spout which vented claret, King Charles the 2d being proclaimed our King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. Ao.Do. 1649.

Chapter V.—The foregoing things done, and in progress to their greater perfection, I begin again with Sir H. Montgomery and Con O'Neill's further dealings together. The last I mentioned was Con's conveyance to Sir Hugh, dated 22d August, 4, Jacobi, of the wood growing on the four townlands. I find also that, in pursuance of articles of the 24th December, 3d Jacobi, and of a former treat and covenant, and Sir Hugh's part to be performed, mentioned in Con's deed of feofment, dated the 14th May, 3d Jacobi, (for Con made then such a deed poll, which was accepted, becauses of mutual confidences between them). I say, pursuant to the premises, Sir Hugh made a deed of feofment, dated 15th May, 1510, purporting a gift in taile to Con and his heirs male of all his own lands excepting ten towns. And the same day Con releases to Sir Hugh all the articles and covenants he had on Sir Hugh; and releases also thereby the said excepted ten towns, and this done in consideration of 35£ paid in hand, and of 1,000£ sterling (formerly given, at several times, to ye said Con) and now remitted by the said Sir Hugh.

And so here I leave off to write of Con, but will relate some troubles which came upon Sir Hugh, but not so grievous as those which were occasioned by that killing dart, when Sir James Fullerton, when he procured the letters to ye Lord

Deputy, with that clause, that ye patent for Con's estate should pass in James Hamilton's name alone; but Sir Hugh's courage and conduct (at long run) cured in part that great hurt.

The first succeeding troubles and costly toils which I read of after this last spoken of transaction with Con, which Sir Hugh met with, sprang from the petitions and claims of Sir Thomas Smith, against him and Sir James Hamilton; they began in April, 1610, and the 6th of April, 1611, Sir Thomas gets an order of reference to the Commissioners for Irish affairs (of whom Sir James Hamilton was one) to make report of his case (for he claimed by grant from Queen Elizabeth, and the Commissioners judged it fitt to be left to law in Ireland). What he did pursuant to his report I know not, but on the 30th Sep., 1612, inquisition is taken, whereby Sir Thomas his title is found void and null, for breach and non-performance of articles and covenants to the Queen. See Grand Office, folio 10 and 11.

But it seems this was not all the trouble put upon Sir Hugh, for I find (folio 507 of Grand Office) he gave unto the Lord Deputy, Sir John, the King's letter, dated 20th of July, 14th Regis, inhibiting any lands to be passed to any person whatsoever away from Sir Hugh Montgomery to which he had claim by deed from James Hamilton or Con, and this caveat with a list of the lands he entered in the Secretary's office in Dublin.

Between this and the year 1618, divers debates, controversys, and suits, were moved by Sir Hugh against Sir James Hamilton, which were seemingly taken away by an award made by the Right Honourable James Hamilton, Earle of Abercorn, to which both partys stood; in conformity to which award and the King's letter relating thereunto at least to the chief parts thereof, Sir James Hamilton conveys several lands to Sir Hugh Montgomery, and both of them in the deed are stiled Privy Counsellor; which deed bears date 23d May, 1618, George Medensis, and William Alexander, &c., subscribing witnesses. I presume this might be done at London, for much about this time Sir Hugh and his Lady lived there, and made up the match between their eldest son and Jean, the eldest daughter of Sir William Alexander, Secretary for Scotland, whom I take to be one of the witnesses in that great concern, by reason, the match aforesaid was about this time or some months afterwards completed.

The produce of this marriage, which lived to come to age, was two sons and a daughter, which only survived that comely pair. The eldest left behind him two sons, now alive. One of which hath also two males living and life like. And of the 1st Viscount's second and third sons, there are in good health two old gentlemen, past their grand climacteric and the eldest of them hath his sons married above 11 years ago; of whose loins there are three male children, unsnatched away by death, and he may have more very probably. The other old Gentleman is father to two proper young Gentlemen, one lately married, and the other able to ly at that wedding-lock above four years past.

Yet for all our expectations, I neither can (nor will) divine how long these three families may last, seeing that neither the said Earle of Abercorn, nor heirs of his body (that I can learn), hath any children only his brother's (the Lord of Strabane) offspring enjoy the title, either from his said father, or by a new creation of one of the two late Kings, the Stewards, and seeing, likewise, the 1st Viscount Clanneboy left but one son, who left two, who are both dead, without leaving any issue behind them, the more is the pity, for many reasons too well known, as by the records in Dublin doth appear. This consideration, on the duration of families, is to prevent overmuch care to raise posterity to grandeur.

The said Sir Hugh had (no doubt) further troubles between the said year 1618 and 1623, because, at his chief instance and request, and for his greater security, the King granted a commission and order, directed unto Henry Lord Viscount Faulkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland, for holding an inquisition concerning the lands, spiritual and temporal, therein mentioned, which began to be held before Sir John Blennerhassett, Lord Chief Baron, at Downpatrick, the 13th October, 1623. This inquest is often cited, and is commonly called the Grand Office. Again, Sir Hugh (that he might be the more complete by suffering) is assaulted by Sir William Smith, who strove to hinder the passing of the King's patent to him; on notice whereof, Sir Hugh writes a large well penned letter (which I have) with instructions to his son James how to manage that affair. This is dated February 23d, 1623, about four months after the Grand Office was found. I have the original every word written by himself. I should greatly admire at the exactness thereof, both in point of fact and law, but that so ingenious a person and so long bred (by costly experience) to the law (as for 20 years before this Sir Hugh was used) could not want knowledge to direct his son to pass that ford which himself had wridden through.

But to continue the troublesomeness of Sir Thomas Smith. King James died Ao. 1624, and on the 11th April, 1625, the Duke of Buckingham writes to the Judges to make report to him, in William Smith's and Sir James Hamilton's case, that he might inform the King thereof, which they did in the same manner as the Commissioners for Irish affairs before had done (in Ao. 1611), viz.:—That Smith should be left to the law in Ireland, and herein the said James Montgomery was agent, for I have a letter dated from Bangor, 4th November, 1625, to him, signed J. Clanneboy (who was then possessed of Killileagh) advising him to consult Sir James Fullerton, &c., in the business against Smith, for James Montgomery was then going to Court about it, his father, some months or days before that time, being created Lord Viscount, for his patent was prior to the said Clanneboys, and so henceforth I must stile him the first Lord Viscount Montgomery.

The 30th April, 1626, Sir William Smith, in a new petition, complains against the Viscount Montgomery, and prays orders to stop the letters patent to him for any lands; and obtained warrants of Council, dated May and June next following, requiring the said Lord Viscount to appear before some English Lords authorized to report their cases, that both his Lordship and Smith might be heard; which orders were served on James Montgomery, as agent to his father; but the said agent being then Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber in ordinary to King Charles, Hamilton petitioned his Majesty, setting forth that Sir Thomas and Sir William Smith's cases (both in the late King's time and in the beginning of his Majesty's reign) were adjudged to be left to the law in Ireland; and that no stop was put to the passing the respective patents, in behalf of the Lord Chichester, the Lord Claneboys, or Foulk Conway, thereupon, A.D. 1626, 2 Car., said Lord Montgomery's patent for his lands, conform to Abercorn's award, was ordered by the King to be passed under the broad seal of Ireland, which bears date ——.

Moreover, to the Lord Montgomery further trouble arose. For I find there was a decree in Chancery the 12th December, 1626, touching underwoods and timber; whereby the Lord Montgomery was to have those growing in Slutevils and Castlereagh, as should be awarded or recovered from Francis Hill, Esq. So the reader may observe, that from the date of the tripartite indenture ulto. April, 3d Jac. Ao. 1605, till December, 1633, there arose many difficulties between Sir James Hamilton and Sir Hugh Montgomery (Viscount 1623), occasioned by that ominous and fatal interposition of Sir James Fullerton aforesaid, and chiefly by

the clause he procured to be inserted in the letter of warrant, dated April, 3d Jac. Ano. 1605, whereby Mr. Hamilton was nominated as the only person in whose name alone the letters patent for Con's estate and the abbey lands in upper Claneboy and the great Ards were to be remembered.

Yet in all my reach of papers and enquiry of knowing more, I cannot find or hear what became of Sir James Fullerton, or of his posterity, or whether he died childless, there being none of that sirname (that I can learn) in Scotland, above the degree of a gentleman, only I read in Bishop Ussher's life, that he lies in St. Eradmus Chapel, where that Primate was buried.

There arose also difficulties (after December, 1633,) between the first and second Viscount Montgomerys, plaintiffs, and the Lord Claneboys, defendant, concerning the articles of agreement made 17th December, 1633, not being fully performed to the Lord Montgomery (*ut dicitur*), which ended not till the rebellion in Ireland began 1641, verifying the Latin adage, *Inter Arma Silent Leges.*—So I find that many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of them all.

All which differences sirceasing that last named year, and so were sedated, or buried, or forgotten, that they were never stirred up again, I shall therefore leave no memory of the Montgomerys' losses therein by mentioning them either by word or writing, because of the love and kind deferense now among us, all Montgomerys and the Hamiltons of that family; but now I will readress myself to the narrative of the said Lord Montgomery, only (as in parenthesis) I here insert that Con, the 1st January, 1616, made a deed purporting a lease unto Ellis Nyneil, his wife, and unto Hugh Buy O'Neil, his son, of the townlands of Ballycargbreman, Bressag, &c., delivered the deed to his said wife, for the use of his said son, being a child of five years old, and there present in the house; also that the said Con had two brothers (whether uterin or by marriage I know not) viz.:—Tool O'Neill and Hugh Mergagh O'Neill, to each of whom he gave lands, and they sold their interest therein. As for Con's other actions and dealings (because most of them were failures to the first Lord Montgomery) I bury them in silence and oblivion, having occasion, hereafter, to write of his only surviving issue, Daniel O'Neill, Esq., who Ao. 1641, attempted (as the Smiths aforesaid had done) to reverse or greatly impair the two Viscounts' titles, but he died a Protestant, as is thought, without issue, after King Charles the Second's restoration, being married to the old Countess of Chesterfield. Thus, many times innocent children are punished for their parents' faults; yet not without procuring the same business of their own.

Chapter VI.—I have long retarded the history of the said Montgomery's progress in his plantation, and other affairs, by these foregoing interjections, concerning the Smiths and Con—with other difficultys and troubles. It may be remembered, that I told you, reader, that some of the priory walls were roofed and fitted for Sir Hugh and his family to dwell in; but the rest of these walls, and other large additions of a gate-house and office houses, which made three sides of a quadrangle (the south side of the church being contiguous, made the 4th side), with coins and window frames, and chimney pieces, and funnels of freestone, all covered and the floors beamed with main oak timber, and clad with boards; the roof with oak plank from his Lordship's own woods, and slated with slates out of Scotland; and the floors laid with fir deals out of Norway, the windows were fittly glazed and the edifice thoroly furnished within. This was a work of some time and years, but the same was fully finished by that excellent Lady (and fit helper mostly in Sir Hugh's absence), because he was by business much and often

kept from home, after the year 1608 expired; yet the whole work was done many months before Sir Hugh and she went to London, Ao. 1618, as the dates of coats of arms doth shew in the buildings, and as old men, who wrought thereat, told me.

And so I shall here surcease from any further relation of the plantation and buildings, because of my promise to relate more of this matter when I come to speak of Sir Hugh Montgomery, his funeral, person, parts and acts; and I will now enter upon his actions about and from the year 1623, repeating as little as I can of what hath been said, because I intend not to mention any of his law troubles, so unpleasing to my memory.

Imprimis, in or about Anno 1623, the marriage between Sir Hugh Montgomery's eldest son, Hugh (he was called from his travels being then in Italy), and Jean, eldest daughter of Sir William Alexander, the King's secretary for Scotland, was solemnized. The new wedded couple were comely and well bred personages, who went that summer with Sir Hugh (now Viscount) Montgomery and his Lady, to their new built and furnished house aforesaid in Newtown. Some years before this time, Sir Hugh had married his eldest daughter to Sir Robert McClelland, Baron of Kirkcoby, who (with her) had four great townlands near Lisnegarvey, whereof she was possessed in December, 1622. Sir Hugh and his Lady, also, had likewise given him a considerable sum of money as an augmentation to the marriage portion; but the said Sir Robert spent the money and sold the lands after her Ladyship's death, and himself died not long after her, both without issue.

Item, in or about the same year, 1623, the Viscount married his other daughter, Jean, to Pat. Savage, of Portaferry, Esq., whose predecessors (by charter from the Queen Elizabeth, and formerly as I am credibly informed), were stiled, and in their deeds of lands they named themselves Lords of the little Ardes. This family is reputed to be above 400 years standing in Ireland, and those Lords were men of great esteem, and had far larger estates in the county of Antrim, than they have now in the Ardes. One of the Earles of Antrim married Shelly, a daughter of Portaferry, and the late Marq. and Earle thereof, called those of this family Easens [cousins]; and the Lord Deputy Chichester would have had the Patrick's immediate predecessor and brother to have married his niece, but it is reported that Russell of Rathmullen, made him drunk, and so married him to his own daughter, who was mother to one O'Hara, in the county of Antrim. This Patrick was reputed to be the 17th son, and succeeded to the manor of Portaferry, by virtue of ancient deeds of feofment in tail, for want of heirs males by his eldest brother. He was the 1st Protestant of his family, through the said Viscount's care to instruct him. As to portions, the said Viscount gave 600£. (a great sum in those days); he was captain of a troop Ao. 1641, in the Regiment of horse, under the command of the second Lord Viscount Montgomery. And the said Jean died Ao. 1643; he himself also departed this life in the beginning Anno 1644, leaving orphan children only two daughters and Hugh (his ninth son) to the care of Sir James Montgomery (their mother's brother), who performed that trust with full fidelity, and to their great advantage, compounding many debts, paying them out of the rents, which then were high (for he waved the benefit of the wardship he had of the said Hugh's estate and person). He bred them at Rosemount, his own house, according to their quality, till harvest time Ao. 1649, that Oliver Cromwell's army (triumphing over us all) obliged himself and his son to go into Scotland, and leave them at Portaferry aforesaid.

The said Hugh Savage lived till about Ao. 1666, and died without issue. He was educated at Rosemount and Newton with me as two brothers; and he boarded

himself many years with me, never having had a wife; but his encumbered estate came (by virtue of the said Hugh and father's feoffments) to his nearest kinsman, Patrick Savage, Esq., who now enjoys it, he having, by his prudent management, recovered it out of some great encumbrances thereon, and brought it to great improvements of rents.

And now I have ended the bad success of the said last recited two matches by our first Lord Viscount, let us now, as order requires, relate what his Lordship did for his other offspring and first of his son, James Montgomery (often before named). Him his Lordship called home from his travels, after he had been in France, Germany, Italy, and Holland (divers months in each of these countrys); and finding him fit for business, sent him to Court in England, Ao. 1623, to obviate the mischief feared from Sir Thomas Smith's complaints (as hath already been said); and there the said James continued to study the laws at the Inns of Court, and attending all his father's business which came before King James or King Charles, till Ao. 2d Car. that patents were passed to his father for his estate; and then being called home (for now the clouds of danger, from the two Smiths aforesaid, were blown over), he was, some months after that time, employed as his father's agent, both in the country and in Dublin, so that he became an expert solicitor, courtier, and statesman, as before his travel he had been a pregnant scholar, and taken his degrees as of Master in the liberall arts in the University of St. Andrews. The certificate, under the seal, I have shown to many persons who had esteem of learning.

Now before I leave this brief account of him, I take the liberty to relate one instance of favour to him from the Royal Martyr, viz., His Majesty went to shoot at the Butts, necessaries were brought, the King desires Mr. Montgomery to try one of the bows, and he shot three or four ends with his Majesty so very well that he said, "Mr. Montgomery, that bow fitts your hand, take them and a quiver of arrows and keep them for your use." I was told this by my father, who carefully preserved them, and divers times (in my sight) used them at Rosemount, charging me to do so likewise; they were left to his nephew Savage's care, Ao. 1649, who restored them to me at my return; the bow was too strong for me, and he using it, it broke in his hands; one-half of it was desired and made a staff for the old Countess of Strevling, when she was entertained here by her daughter, the 2d Viscountess Montgomery, at Mount Alexander house.

His lordship, to compensate the said James's constant, dutiful, well performed services and to give him a 2d son's portion, settled on him about ten townlands, five of them about Gray Abbey aforesaid, the rest in the barony of Castlereagh, and one summer, Ao. 1631, matched him to Katherine, eldest daughter of Sir William Stewart, Knight and Baronet, a Privy Councellor.

Then about this time his Lordship called home his third son, George Montgomery, Esq., from his travels in Holland, through London, where he stayed some months at Court. Thence to Scotland, where he had visited (as he had been ordered) the family of Garthland, and there stayed some time to be acquainted with the Gentlewoman designed to be his wife, which in Ao. 1633, came to pass, his Lordship having first settled on him the lands, value about 300£. per annum, which Hugh (the said George his son) now enjoys. These McDowells, Lairds of Garthland, near Portpatrick, have now stood in that place above 1000 years; and were, in the first century, stiled Princes of Galloway, by allowance of the then Kings in Scotland.

Now having spoken of the said Lord Montgomery's offspring, as to what his Lordship did for them, I think it a due gratitude in this place to remember

his Lordship's said brother George, the best and closest friend he had, they two being, like Castor and Pollux, to supply one another's absence. You have heard in what station he lived before Ao. 1603, and what preferment King James gave him, in the first year of his reign. Soon after this, his Majesty, finding the Dean of Norwich, his chaplain, George Montgomery aforesaid, his abilitys for state affairs and his great skill in ecclesiastical matters, and the Church of Ireland being under very bad circumstances, and being careful that abuses should be redressed, (I say) his Majesty thereupon sent over the said George, Ao. 1605, 3d Jac., in quality of a Privy Councellor, to be informed and to acquaint him in what condition the Church and state stood in that kingdom, and to be one of the Commissioners for settling clergy affairs; this proved much for their and that Church's benefit, and his carriage therein so well pleased the Primate, Archbishops, and Bishops, that he was their darling and chief advocate, but his employment ran counter to some English Lords and others of the laity, who had grasped over hardly too much of the tithes due to the Priest's office.

After a few years' toilsome pains to understand the business of his errand and of the commission for settling the affairs aforesaid, the chaplain George aforesaid was employed Ao. 1606, 4th Jac., by the Primate and the Bishops in Ireland, to represent to his Majestie the grievances of the clergy, to the great thwarting and hinderance of the laity aforesaid, in their will and designs, on which (as I have heard from his daughter, the old Lady of Howth), they had a great grudge against him; but he, having the best cause in hand and his native Prince's favourable hearing in God's and his servant's concern, did prosper in that message, and at the Council Board (where he sat) had the King's orders confirmed and by others obeyed.

Now Chaplain Montgomery became more and more esteemed of the superior and inferior clergy, and was recommended by the Bishops that he should have the diocess of Derry, and with it Clogher and Raphoe in commendam, which were then very low in tithes and revenues, by reason of O'Doherty's rebellion, in which Derry was sacked and burned, and the lands being as it were a waste wilderness without English plantations and garrisons; and laying further Church business on him, as their agent at Court, he went the second time into England. I was credibly informed that divers Lords (some of them Privy Counsellors) gave him the compliment of seeing him to the ship, telling him, at parting, that he should fail in that enterprise which he then undertook, and that his answer was—My Lords, I am going to the King, and you know it is the business of God's oppressed Church, which His Majesty and the laws protect, and if the divine permission suffer my errand to miscarry, through yours and other men's profanement, I shall lament the misfortune in England, and our sins which may draw on us that punishment, and be contented with my livings in England, for I am not pursuing preferment for myself, but the service of the Church in Ireland; and I will cast my cap at this kingdom, and never return to it. But, be assured, whether I come back or not, the sinful politick measures taken against God's Church will not prosper.

Then the said Chaplain doubled his diligence at Court, the more for the opposition he met with; and he obtained for the Church and himself what was committed to his agency. Then he returned with strict orders that the petitioned for desires of the Primate and other Episcopalians should be granted, and himself to be preferred to the dioceses aforesaid. All which affairs were accomplished as soon as might be done by the Government; for his consecration stuck not at all for want of the Bishop's ordaining hands; and this was very lucky for

those northern parts, because his residence therein and watchful unwearied industry mightily advanced the British Protestant plantations, and the Bishop's revenues to treble the value he found them at, as will appear in the sequel of this discourse concerning that Lord Bishop.

And here I must make a large stop for want of councilable books, and the first Lord Viscount Montgomery's and the Bishop's own papers, out of which (if by me) I could have plentiful memoires of this good Bishop's memorable services for his God, King, and country. I must therefore have leave to spare fruitless pains, being troubled with the gout. I take him where I find him, signing George Medensis to a deed from Sir James Hamilton to Sir Hugh Montgomery, made in parcel, pursuant to Abercorn's award, dated 23d May, in the year of God, 1618, as aforesaid; and after this, for want of the said books and papers, I can say little of his transactions for the publick, but much of his usefulness in the plantation, of the marriage in bestowing his daughter, and his promoting Dr. Ussher to succeed him, and of some other things of lesser moment relating to him. I premise, to this future narrative of this Right Reverend Father, that it is most probable that he was no lazy Bishop, nor idle patriot, in the posts he held, but very prudently and sincerely, as well as piously, active in business, fearing God and hating coveteousness, to which last quality he had no temptation, as being a widower long before his death, and having but one child, a daughter, to prefer; yet he lived with great hospitality, gathering little or nothing but what he employed to religious uses, and building for his successor Bishops, and in charity to the poor; and I must be excused for my prolixity in writing (if it be such) of this very eminent Prelate, who left behind him no male or other issue capable to transmit to after ages a due memory of his pious actions, and the precious endowments of his Heaven-born generous soul.

Now, as to his Lordship's usefullness, in advancing the British plantation in those three northern dioceses, the footsteps of his so doing are yet visible; so that I need but tell the reader that he was very watchful, and settled intelligences to be given him from all the sea ports in Donegal and Fermanagh, himself mostly residing in Derry, but when he went to view and lease the Bishop's lands, or settle preachers in parishes (of which he was very careful). The ports resorted from Scotland, were Derry, Donegal, and Killybegs; to which places the most that came were from Glasgow, Air, Irwin, Greenock, and Larggs, and places within a few miles of Braidstane; and he ordered so that the masters of vessells should, before disloading their cargo (which was for the most part meal and oats), come to his Lordship with a list of their seamen and passengers. The vessells stayed not for a market. He was their merchant and encourager to traffick in those parts, and wrote to that effect (as also to the said towns wherein he was much acquainted and esteemed); and had proclamations made in them all, at how easy rents he would set his church lands, which drew hither many families; among whom one Hugh Montgomery, his kinsman, a master of a vessel, and also owner, was one who brought his wife, children, and effects, and were settled in Derrybrosh, near Enniskillen, where his son, Mr. Nich. (my long and frequent acquaintance) aged above 85 years, now lives in sound memory, and is a rational man, whose help I now want, to recount particulars of that Bishop's proceedings in that country, whilst his Lordship stayed there; which was, at least, till near Ao. 1618, aforesaid, that he was Bishop of Meath.

One other Montgomery, named Alexander (a minister), his Lordship settled near Derry. He was prebend of ditto, and he lived till about 1658; of whom, and the aforesaid Nich. their sons, I shall have occasion to speak, before this

be done. Thus by the Bishop George's industry, in a few years, the plantation was forwarded, and Church revenues encreased greatly. I was credibly told, that for the encouragement of planters on Church lands, he obtained the King's orders to the Governors, and an act of council thereon, that all the leases he made (which were for 31 years) should not be taken from the planters or their posterity, at the expiration of their term, but renewed to them, as they held the same, they paying their Bishop one year's rent for a renewal of their lease, to the other 31 years, which was a very encouraging certainty for planters; but the Parliament since that time have taken other measures more for Bishops' than tenants' profits.

In or about this first (or rather second) visitation of the said diocess, his Lordship married the Lord Brabason's daughter, by whom he had divers children, none surviving him except Nicholas, Lord Baron of Howth, his Lady, with whom he gave in marriage portion three thousand pounds sterling, a round sum in those days.

You have heard that 23d May, 1618, his Lordship signs Medensis as witness to a deed of lands made to his brother, Sir Hugh Montgomery. About this time (or how soon after his translation from Derry to Meath I know not) he erected a Bishop's house at Ardbrackin, near Navan, and repaired the church near it, which was without a roof Ao. 1667, and therein built a vault for a burial-place of his wife and children who died some years before himself. I have seen the monument and took the figure off it with a black lead pencil; it had (under an open arch) on it, divers stone figures carved out from the table stones, where the inscriptions were engraven representing his Lordship's wife and the children kneeling one behind the other, with the palms of their hands joined and erected before their chins, which, with the rest of the monument, were much defaced, and my draft thereof is (to my grief) lost.

Chapter VII.—Now let us recur to Ao. 1618, and soon after it we find his Lordship in Westminster, where he departed this life Ao. 1621, or beginning 1622. I touched the grudge some lay lords and others had against him, and it seems their animosity arose from his hindering them to be confirmed in their sacriledgious acquests, not suffering the Church to be despoiled of her rights, nor the King's goodness to be overreached and abused by their misinformations. For thus it was, viz.: Dr. Ussher, for his printed books against the Popish religion, and other divinity tracts, and for his printed disputations against MaCoon, the learned Jesuit, was had in great esteem by the University at Dublin; they having, for those actions and his wonderful learning, given him a degree for a Doctor of Divinity, when he had but newly passed the years of age which the canons require should be elapsed, before a man can be regularly admitted to full orders of Priesthood; but they took not ordinary rules with him whom they found God had highly honoured with such extraordinary gifts and graces as he had by the divine bounty bestowed on him, for the future particular welfare of the Church in Ireland, and the universal good of all true Christians.

This said University, this dear alma mater, as he was in its *humilis alumnus*, did moreover get some Lords of the Council and other Officers of State to write letters of recommendation to their correspondents at Court, in favour of Dr. Ussher (unsolicited by him, who was contented enough with the livings he then had, being unmarried), that he might be parson of Trim. Every step in this business and of the Doctor's speedy coming over, and of the house he was to lodge in, was soon known to the Bishop of Meath, who, from the time of his being settled in England, long before the Queen died, never would want exact intelligences

(the best rudder and wind by which Statesmen steer their courses, according to the old verified axiom—*Vigilantibus et non dormientibus sanciunt Leges*); for the Doctor was not an hour or a little more alighted from his horse at his inn (where he intended to stay incognito all next day, to rest himself, after his wearisome journey, and till he had got new habits, according to the English clergy made); but fresh news thereof came to the Bishop, who sent his Gentleman to the Doctor with positive request that he should come forthwith to his Lordship in his company, for the Bishop stayed in his lodgings to receive him, and this present visit the Doctor must not omit, unless he desired to return *re infecta*. Upon this strict message, the Doctor caused his clothes to be brushed, and went (like Nicodemus) when it was night with the Gentleman to the Bishop, when after caressings, salutation, and a glass of wine, they sat down together, to do which the Bishop found some difficulty from the Doctor's native humility, and from the great deference he had for the Bishop. This being overcome, the Bishop began thus as followeth, viz.—Doctor, I know very well your errand, and how unexpectedly and unwillingly too you were engaged in it, because you had not first obtained my leave to move in ye suit, and that you are not recommended by any letter to me; and here the Bishop mentioned all the persons from whom and to whom the recommendatory epistles (as St. Paul calls such like letters) were written and the time he received them, and the time he hastened away with them, when he landed, at what inn he was advised to alight from his horses (which he was to have at his arrival in England), and how his Lordship had laid watch to send him immediate notice when he should come to the inn, he was advised to, and here his Lordship held his tongue. This harangue would have amazed any young man, but the Doctor, who knew there was no familiar demon or other spirit that ministered that intelligence, but only the Bishop's watchfulness for his care of his diocess, had procured his Lordship that wonderful information, in so many points, which were carried on with all the secrecy that might. And now the Doctor being mute awhile, admiring the Bishop's conduct, he rose from his chair and began to apologize for consenting to meddle in that business, before he applied himself therein to his Lordship, and had his allowance thereunto; and so going on in his excuses, the Bishop interrupted him and rising, said, I will be brief with you, who may not know the meanness of the revenues of that diocess for a Bishop thereof, whose station ties him to almost continual attendance at the Council Board, and to be in readiness at all times to go thither, when called; and, therefore, you shall not be the Parson of Trim, the King having already granted to me that the parsonage shall be annexed to the Bishoprick, for the reasons aforesaid. But trouble not yourself, Doctor (said the Bishop), at this repulse; I know you deserve a much better living than Trim, and I will be solicitor to the King that you may be better provided for. I will discourse his Majesty tomorrow morning, and prepare the King to receive you (as I am assured he will do) gratiously; only, Doctor, deliver not your letters but as I shall advize you, and so take your designed rest after the journey, and give me notice when your new habits are on, that I may apprise you a time when you shall next come to me, and may bring you to kiss the King's hand, when he is best at leizure to talk with you, of whose abilities he hath, from myself, abundantly heard, besides what the public fame has reported to his Majesty. The Doctor, thereupon, gave his humble and hearty thanks, promising to obey all his Lordship's commands. And so the Bishop dismissed the Doctor with his episcopal benediction, and sent his said servants to conduct him back to his inn.

Next morning, the Bishop went to the King, and had his further order to

confirm the parsonage of Trim to his successors, Bishops of Meath, and acquainted his Majesty of the Doctor's coming to Westminster, and of his errand and recommendations, and prayed his Majesty's leave and orders to speake to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to provide the first good living that fell for the Doctor, and to accept him for his Chaplain in Ordinary (as his Majesty had done for himself), and to let him know when he should bring the Doctor to kiss his Majesty's hand, and to have the honour of discoursing with him, to all which the King agreed.

Then the Bishop set that evening for the Doctor, telling him what had passed between the King and him, concerning promises and the time appointed for his reception; so the Bishop brought the Doctor the day following to see the Court, where everybody was curious to see him of whom so much had been spoken, especially the clergy regarded him, observing the countenance and deference which the favourite Bishop (for the King commonly called him his black Ireland Bishop) gave publicly to the Doctor; yet none of them could draw from him his errand. The time being come for the Doctor's private appearance before the King, who said, I long grieved to see you, of whom I have heard a great deal of praise, and then told the Doctor he thanked the Lords and others who had recommended so worthy a man as he to his favours, and calling for the letters, and reading the subscribers' names, saying he should love them the better all his life, for their love to him; but added he need not read them because this Bishop there had fully enough interceded for him, giving the Bishop order to see that the Doctor should be admitted at present his Chaplain in Ordinary, till further provision (by his careful enquiry) might be made for him. Then after the Doctor had made his submissions and thanks on his knee, the King bade him rise and discoursed him on divers abstruse points of religion, and received learned pertinent answers, the King saying again, Doctor I find you are sufficiently able, and therefore you must soon preach before me, as my Chaplain, for I can advance you. And the King would not allow of his excuses as to his youth and the envy it might bring on him; no matter for all that, said the King, seeing I shall be careful of you, and my Bishop here is your solicitor; but I will order you the text and time for preaching. And so that interview passed over.

But I must not here break off my discourse of what was further done for the Doctor, it being a part of the history of Bishop George, of whom I am writing. The Doctor (a while after this), being admitted the King's Chaplain, was called before his Majesty, who told him he must preach, within a week, in his presence, and, opening a Bible, recited an historical verse in the book of Chronicles (which was very hard bones to pick); yet, the Doctor handled them so warmly, that he extracted abundance of good oyle from them to the admiration of all that heard him. Upon this charge, the Doctor, falling on his knees, vowed his dutiful obedience to all his Majesty's commands; but begged that at least the time might be granted him for preparation allowed to his other more learned Chaplains, lest he should be called an arrogant novice, on whom his Majesty had now looked (as he hoped) with gracious and favourable eyes. No more words, Doctor, said the King, you shall pass this and future tryals before myself, for I will not refer you to the report of others. So the King rising from his chair, and the Doctor from his knees, the assembly (as I may call it, because there were many spectators) was dissolved, the Doctor still attending the Bishop, and both of them saluted by the lay and clergy courtiers.

Now, as to the Doctor, I need say no more, but he performed his task beyond expectation, by preaching in the King's audience, and also at the intreaty of the

Archbishop and Bishop aforesaid, to whose care he was recommended. The Doctor was provided for; nevertheless the Bishop George, had reserved the best good turn for him of any; and thus it was, the Doctor being provided for of a good fat benefice (as they call those of the greatest profit), and in his turn paying his attendance and preaching as Chaplain to the King, the Bishop finding him well liked of all and very deserving, obtained of the King that the Doctor should be his successor in the diocess of Meath, and got his boon confirmed when he fell ill in his last sickness. This pleased very well courtier divines expectants for English livings, there being as yet no great temptation to covet those in Ireland, and they feared a new favourite at Court (for the King was much addicted to over love them) and the Bishop having procured the necessary licenses from the King in behalf of the Doctor, he sent for him from his living (much better than the parsonage of Trim), and informed him of what was done, giving him the letters with his advice and charge not to neglect his business, because his Lordship said he trusted in God, that the Doctor should be a great instrument for the welfare of the Church in Ireland, and his Lordship wrote letters to his friends to assist the Doctor.

This being the last public actions (I hear of) done by the Bishop, he died soon after in Westminster, which was the latter end of Ao. 1621, or beginning of Ao. 1622, for I find by the Doctor's letter to Dr. Teatly, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chaplain, dated the 16th of September, 1622, that he subscribed Jac. Midensis, (see his fragment remains collected by Dr. Burnett, printed, 1657) leaving a petitionary letter (which I have by me to King James), in behalf of the family of Howth, in which he had settled his daughter as aforesaid; and so piously dying, he was embalmed coffined in lead, and transported to Howth, then, pursuant to testament, thence taken to Aberbrecken, to rest with his wife and children.

I cannot sufficiently say or express his due eulogium, but this may be added to the premises, that for his honour and in memory of his contributions to the reparations in Christ's Church, Dublin, I saw his coat of arms over the door which lets into the quire of said Church, in which place only divine service and sermons are now used. The said coat was the same with the uppermost of those three, which is over the gate house entry at Newtown, except that instead of helmet tors and crest, it was surmounted by an episcopal mitre, and bore a distinction of a second brother, the arms being the bearing of the Lairds of Braidstane, before the first Viscount Montgomery was nobilitated; but this coat, with the rest of the contributor's arms, are now totally expunged.

I saw likewise, Ao. 1696, his Lordship's picture and his wife's, at Howth house, but little regarded since the late Lady, his grandchild, died; those of them which were carefully preserved in Newtown-house, till the late Earle of Mount Alexander died, were about Ao. 1664, burned there with the several pieces, could cost no less than twenty pounds each, being done sitting in chairs and to ye feet. To conclude with his Lordship, he was a faithful servant to God and his Church, and King, and an excellent friend, especially more than a brother to his brother (the sixth Laird of Braidstane), where he was born A.D., 1562, and at his death 61 years of age.

Having brought this Rev. Prelate to his tomb, I can do no less (being under greater duty) than to convey his eldest brother to his grave in peace to Newtown Church, which he had re-edifyed, and shall rehearse some of his peaceful actions (for I will not mention any more of his law troubles), but proceed in my intended narrative.

CHAPTER VIII.— . . . . As to his Lordship's said Lady, the Countess of

Wigton, she continuing in her refractory humours, went to Edinboro to reside there, being 60 years old, and falling sick, his Lordship her husband personally attended her till she died in that emporium; his Lordship buried her where she had desired, giving her all the observation and obsequies due to her peerage; but returning from her interment, his coach overturned, and he received bruises, the pains whereof reverted every spring and harvest till his own fall. And now his Lordship might have bid his last adieu to his native country, and Braidstane, because he never again crossed the sea after he returned to Ireland, which he did soon after his compliments were paid to his most honoured Earl, and to the beloved Montgomery Lairds, with his kindred and loving neighbors.

We have his Lordship now in Newtown and in the neighborhood, composing some differences (as to his lands) which had not been perfected to him, pursuant to articles made the 17th Dec., 1633; other whiles his Lordship attended the Council Board. Thus and in the service of God, his King and country, as formerly, he spent the residue of his life, which ended May, 1636, in a good old age of 76 years.

Now reader, I have given some general notice of the affairs of the noble first Viscount Montgomery. I will only add to them a character of his person and internal parts, or endowments of his soul, and an account of his acts (as brief as I can), not to mutilate them, and the order of his funeral, with some other remarks. As to his birth, it was about Ao. 1560, when Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, by his parchment deed, signed and sealed (yet extant), not only confirmed all the lands of Braidstane aforesaid, but also sold all the lands of Montgomery, *minnock als vocat* Blackstown *mynnock* and *Amiln* unto Adam Montgomery, of Braidstane (he was our first Viscount's father), and his heirs and assigns, &c., by deed aforesaid, dated 25th Nov. 1652. This Earle (some small time before or after this deed) is supposed (very probably) to have been god-father to our Viscount, the said Earl slain, as aforesaid, being the first [fourth] Hugh of his family, as our Viscount was the first of that name in his own. . . .

As to or for his acts beyond seas, or in Scotland, no more remarkable are come to my knowledge than what I have already expressed, and as for those good ones done in Ireland, what is herein before said shall not be repeated, and for the residue of them they are so numerous and so many of them escaped my memory (besides those which were never in it) that therefore and to avoid being tedious, or to seem affectedly and partially bent to over-magnify my ancestor, I have rather chosen to mention only a few of them as followeth, viz.—First of all he sent over to Donaghadee (by the understanding Irish then called Doun da ghee, *i. e.* the mount or burial place of the two Worthies or Heroes) before him some hewn free-stone, timber, and iron, &c., of which he caused to be built a low stone walled house for his reception and lodging, when he came from or went to Scotland. Mariners, tradesmen, and others, had made shelter for themselves before this time, but the Viscount's was the first stone dwelling house in all the parish. Then he repaired the old stump of the Castle in Newtown, as aforesaid. After a while's residence at Newtown, he assiduously plyed his care and pains to repair the chancel (a word derived from the upper part of the church, separated by a screen of nett or latti work from the body thereof, like the *sanctom sanctorum* of Solomon's Temple), for the communion table, which place the ancient clergy (in and after Constantine the Great's days) called cancelle of the church. It is now a chappel, and all the part thereof wherein sermons and divine service are used, itself alone being above — feet in length, and 24 in breadth. In process of time the rest of that church was repaired, roofed, and replenished with pews (before his

death), mostly by his Lady's care and oversight, himself being much abroad by his troubles aforesaid. His Lordship, in his testament, left a legacy sufficient to build the additional church, contiguous to the body of the old one, and the steeple, which are now in good repair, which was performed by the second Lord Viscount, soon after his father's death, for he then came to dwell in his father's house in Newtown. Next, after this church, the said first Viscount repaired two-thirds of that which belonged to the abbey of Comerer, the Lord Claneboy finishing the third part thereof, for he had the third part of the lands and tithes in that parish, as also the advowson to present (every third turn) a clerk of priestly order as Vicar, to officiate therein.

The said first Viscount Montgomery also wholly repaired the church of Grayabbey, (in Irish, it is called Monastre Lea—in the patent, called also Abathium de jugo Dei and Hoar abbey) placing his Chaplain, Mr. David M'Gill (who married his Lady's niece), as Curate therein. Then his Lordship built the great church and bell-tower in Donaghadee, near the mount and town, and Portpatrick church, also; both of them large edifices, each having four gable ends (for the figures of them are crosses) raised on new grounds and slated, now in good repair, as the rest are, apparent to the view of all men.

Lastly, his Lordship being tenant to the Bishop of Down (as he was also to the Lord Primate,) he repaired a church on the episcopal lands in Kilmore parish, furnishing all those six houses of God with large Bibles, of the new translation, and printed Ao. 1603, with common Prayer Books, then likewise set forth, both sorts being in folio, and fair Dutch print (except the contents of chapters, and explanatory interjections, marginal notes, &c., and such like). One of those Bibles, now covered, my father and I preserved by transporting them to Scotland, with our best things, when he fled thither Ao. 1649, and I Ao. 1689, it being bestowed to be used in Grayabbey Church, where it is now read, his Lordship being always a firm professed friend to episcopacy and our liturgy, as all his race have continued to be and are at this day. There is one of the said common prayer Books (much mangled because ill kept and not used, because of the new ones established by law) which hath his Lordship's coat of arms, as Laird of Braidstane, stamped on the cover with leaf gold, as all the other said service books and Bibles had.

His Lordship likewise furnished the said six churches with large bells, one to each of them having in like manner the said coat-armorial on them. They are all extant (except those of Comerer and Kilmore, which were taken away in the rebellion, begun Ao. 1641, and since then), which makes me and others take it for granted that, considering his Lordship's piety and liberality, the said books and bells were his free gift to the said churches, and an humble offering to God, who had preserved and exalted him—for these words, *Soli Deo Gloriæ*, are in great letters embossed round this bell in Grayabbey, and, I believe is so on the other three; and I cannot imagine any reason why the bells should differ, or that they and the books were not his Lordship's gift and offering as aforesaid, because I have enquired heretofore at the oldest sensible men who dwelt in those towns, and of some yet alive, who averred for truth my assertion ; and, for my part, I have searched all the papers I could come at, for making the whole narrative, and cannot find one iota or tittle to contradict my belief, nor to gainsay the testimony of the old, honest, unbiassed men aforesaid.

His Lordship also built the quay or harbour at Donaghadee, a great and profitable work, both for public and private benefit; and built a great school at Newtown, endowing it, as I am credibly told, with twenty pounds yearly salary,

for a Master of Arts, to teach Latin, Greek, and Logycks, allowing the scholars a green for recreation at golf, football, and archery, declaring, that if he lived some few years longer, he would convert his priory houses into a College for Philosophy; and further paid small stipends to a master to teach orthography and arithmetic, and to a music master, who should be also precentor to the church (which is a curacy), so that both sexes might learn all those three arts; the several masters of all those three schools having, over and beside what I have mentioned, wages from every scholar under their charge; and, indeed, I have heard, in that church, such harmony from the old scholars, who learned musik in that Lord's time, that no better, without a full quire and organs, could be made. For the precentor's method was this—three trebles, three tenors, three counter-tenors, and three bass voices, equally divided on each side of them (besides the Gentlewomen scholars which sat scattered in their pews), which sang their several parts as he had appointed them, which overruled any of the heedless vulgar, who learned thereby (at least) to forbear disturbing the congregation with their clamorous tones.—The scholars of the great school also came in order, following the master, and seated themselves in the next form in the loft or gallery, behind the Provost, who had his Burgesses on each hand of them.

But, alas! this beautiful order, appointed and settled by his Lordship, lasted no longer than till the Scottish army came over and put their Chaplains in our Churches; who, having power, regarded not law, equity, or right, to back or countenance them; they turned out all the legal loyal Clergy, who would not desert Episcopacy and the service book, and take the Covenant; a very bitter pill, indeed, to honest men; but they found few to comply with them therein; and so they had the more pulpits and schools to dispose of to other dominies, for whom they sent letters into Scotland.

All those mighty and (as I may justly term them) pious works were performed by his Lordship before his second marriage. In the patent for his lands, which, by the trouble aforesaid, he could not get passed till 2d *Car.* Ao. 1626, which was then positively ordered by his Majesty, at the earnest solicitation of James Montgomery, Gentleman Usher in his Privy Chamber aforesaid. His Lordship had grants therein of fairs and weekly markets in Donaghadee, Grayabby, and Comerer, towns aforesaid, with a free port to each of them; from whence all goods (except linen yarn) might be exported, and the ordinary customs, both inward and outward, were granted to himself and his heirs, which he took at very low rates, the more to encourage importers, and such as could come to plant on his lands; which usage did wonderfully further and advance his towns & plantations with trade, which was begun and to a great degree encreased in the first seven years after it began, which was Ao. 1606, as aforesaid; and thus it continued growing better and better till his Lordship's death, and afterwards, also, even until the Lord Strafford's administration, when patents were renewed, and the grants of ports, customs and officers were retrenched by Parliament, and vested in the crown again. His Lordship also (before he was nobilitated) had his coat armorial, according to the bearing of his ancestors, gilded on his closet books, as the Bible and Prayer Books were.

His Lordship had also granted to him many franchises, immunitys, and privileges in his lands and courts, and to his senischall, which whether they stand on the old bottom, or be fallen, because of taking out the new patent, 13 *Car.* upon the Commission, for remedy of defective titles, I will not say pro or con, but leave it to those who shall be concerned, and so surcease mention of his other acts; and shall tell of him things which his Lordship never did nor knew, viz.—

the last memories, I mean his funeral, which I here write of him, who was, by the Irish, to the highest degree, beloved whilst alive and lamented when dead.

Chapter IX.—Lastly as to his late Lordship's funeral, it was managed by the said Sir James, joint-executor, with his eldest brother to the defunct's will, as the alteration of his coat armorial had been. I here transcribe from his pen the order of it as concerted between him and Ulster King at Arms, and Albone Leveret, Athlone (whose acquittances for fees I have), being his pursuivant. The solemnity was performed with all the pomp that the rules of heraldry would admit and decency did require. For the preparations thereunto no time was wanting, his late Lordship (as hath been said) dying in May, 1636, and his corpse being embalmed and rolled in wax searcloths was close coffined, (no more now Lord or Montgomery) was locked up in a turrett till a week before its interment at which time (being in September the said last mentioned year), it was carried privately by night a mile out of town, and in a large tent laid in state, and attended with the formalities of wax candles, friends, and servants, till the day of the procession on foot from the said tent to the Church. The persons who made up the procession were all clothed in blacks (called in Scotland dueil weeds from this word dueil, but borrowed from the French, signifying mourning) and were seen in the following order, which the reader may please to peruse, if he does not already know well enough the manner of burying Viscounts, which is, viz.—Imprimis, 2 conductors (with black truncheons) named Thomas Kenedy and John Lockart, both of Comerer—2dly, poor men (the oldest could be had) called salys (*i. e.* almsmen) in gowns, to the number of 76, the year current of his late Lordship's age, walking two and two, with their black staves—3dly, the servants of Gentlemen, Esquires, Knights, Barons, Viscounts, and Earles hereafter named, viz., by two's as they went.

Hy. Savage, of Arkeen, 1; Hu. Kennedy, of Greengraves, 1; Rt. Barclay, Dean of Clogher, 2; Robt. Adair, of Ballymenagh, 1; Archd. Edminston, of Duntreth, 2; Sir Jos. Cunningham, Kt. 1; Sir Wm. Murray, Kt. and Bart. 1; Mr. Jo. Alexander, 1; Sir Edw. Trever, 2; Jo. Shaw, of Greenock, Esq., 1; Geo. Montgomery, Esq. 2; Sir Anthy. Alexander, Kt. 1; the Lord Alexander, 2; The Lord Viscount Claneboy, 3; Sir Wm. Semple, Kt. 2; Charles Alexander, 1; N. Montgomery, Esq., of Langshaw, 1; Pat. Savage, of Portaferry, Esq., 5; Sir James Montgomery, Kt., 6; Sir Wm. Stewart, Kt. and Bart. 5; The Lord Montgomery, the Earle's son, 2; The Earle of Eglinton, 5; Besides the attendants on their two Lordship's bodies.

4th. Then marched the standard borne by Lt. Robert Montgomery.

5th. After it followed the servants to the second Viscount, the chief mourner, viz.—John Boyd, William Catherwood, Mr. Samuel Row, Henry Purfrey, Hugh Montgomery, of Newtown, James Fairbairn, Hugh Montgomery, of Grange, jun., Edw. Johnston, of Greengraves.

6th, Next came the servants to the defunct.—Jo. Loudon, his clerk, Jo. Montgomery, of Newtown, Thomas Aitkin, Jo. Jerden, Jo. Gillmore of the same, Archibald Millen, Matthew Haslepp, Jo. Millen of Grayabbey, William Burgess.

7th. In the 7th space came two trumpeters fitly equipped, sounding the death march.

8th. Walked the horse of mourning, led by the chief groom, Jo. Kennedy, and one footman.

9th. In the next place went the Divines, neither Doctors nor Dignitaries—Mr. James Mirk, Mr. Hugh Nevin, Mr. Js. Blair, Portpatrick, Mr. James Montgomery, Mr. William Forbes.

10th. Then came the Gentlemen and Esquires, who were mourners, viz.— Jo. Cunningham, of Newtown, James Lenox, James Coningham, of Gortrie, Water Hows Crymble, of Donaghadee, Hugh Montgomery, of Derrybrook, Richard Savage, William Melville, Thomas Kenedy, of Pingwherry, James Edminston, Jo. Gordon, of Pingwherry, sen., Mr. Jo. Echlin, of Ardquin, Mr. Wm. Cunningham, of the Rash, Malcom Dormont, Thomas Nevin, of Monkroddin, jun., James Melvill, Esq., John Crawford, Andrew Cunningham, of Drumfad, Pat. Muir, of Aughneil, Hu. Kennedy, of Drumawhay, William Montgomery of Ballyhelt, Hugh Echlin, Lieut. Thomas Melvill, Mr. William Adair, Jo. Gordon, of Aghlain, jun., William Burley, Gent., Thomas Boyd, of Whitehouse, Hugh Hamill, of Roughwood, Henry Savage, of Arkeen, Esq., Thomas Nevin, of do., sen., William Montgomery, of Briggend, Mr. Harcus Trevor, Mr. William Stewart, Robert Adair, of Ballymenagh, Arch. Edminston, of Duntreth, Esq., Mr. John Trevor, Alexander Lecky, of Lecky, Hugh Kenedy, of Girvan Mains.

11th. In this space went together the late Lord's Phisitians, viz., Hugh McMullin, practitioner, and Patrick Maxwell, Dr. in physic, and next after them came—

12th. Alexander Colvill, Dr. in Divinity, Robert Barclay, Dean of Clogher.

13th. Then there walked Knights and Noblemen's sons, mourners, viz.— Sir James Conningham, Kt., Sir William Semple, Kt., the Lord Semple's son, Mr. Charles Alexander, Sir James Erskin, Kt. and Privy Counsellor, Sir Wm. Murray, Kt. and Bart., Mr. John Alexander, Sir Ed. Trevor, Kt., and Privy Counsellor.

14th. Went Mr. Robert Montgomery, Clerk, the Curate in Newtown, alone.

15th. Dr. Henry Leslie, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, who preached the funeral sermon.

16th. Then followed the great banner, advanced by William Montgomery, of Ballyskeogh.

17th. Neile Montgomery, of Langshaw, Esq., bore the Cushion with a Viscount's coronet on it, and a circolet about it.

18th. Athlone Pursuiviant at Arms, appeared marching by himself, and presenting to view the spurs, gauntlett, helm, and crest.

19th. Then the defunct's Gentleman Usher, named Jo. Hamil, walked bareheaded next before King at Arms.

20th. Ulster King at Arms carried the Sword, target, or shield armorial.

21st. Then was drawn (by six led horses, cloathed in black) the hearse environed with a circolet mounted on the carriage of a coach, supported with posts or pillars, under which was laid the coffin, inclosing the remains of that late worthy Viscount, covered with a velvet pall, and on it pinned taffeta escutchions of his Lordship's own, and his matches coat's armorial, and elegys of the best sort also affixed thereto. The hearse on each side being accompanied by six men, with single banner rolls without; and even in rank with them went six footmen belonging to his late Lordship and his three sons, each having a black battoun in his right hand.

22d. Next immediately after the hearse followed now the Right Hon. Hugh, 2d Lord Viscount Montgomery, of the great Ardes, the chiefest mourner; after him, walked Sir Jas. Montgomery, George Montgomery and Pat. Savage, aforesaid, as next chiefest mourners (I dare say it), both in hearts and habits.

23d. Then walked the Viscount Claneboy and the Earl of Eglinton, together; the Lord Alexander and the Lord Montgomery together; John McDowal, of Garthland, and the Baron of Howth's son; —— St. Lawrence, Esq., and Sir William Stewart, Knight, Bart., and Privy Counsellor in one rank. All these, as chief

mourners, who were attended by some of their own servants, appointed to wait on them and be near their persons; six men, also covered with long black cloaks, marching by two and two in the servants' rear, a great mixed multitude following and going about the herse at decent distance; only all the women in black, and those who had taffetta scarfs and hoods of that colour, went next the six men in cloaks. The great bell then in the west end of the Church tolling all the while that the procession was coming from the tent.

24th. And now all being orderly entered and seated, and the coffin placed before the pulpit and the service ended, the Lord Bishop preached a learned, pious, and elegant sermon (which I have seen in print long ago, from whence I might have borrowed some memories if I had it now). This done and the corpse moved to the upper end of the chancel, was (after the office for the dead performed) there inhumed. The church pulpit and chancel being circoled with black baze, and stuck with scutchions and pencils of the defunct and his matches, at due distances; the whole edifice thoroughly illuminated by wax candles and torches. The full obsequys were thus ended.

THE HAMILTON MANUSCRIPTS

From the preface to the published volume of these writings, edited by Mr. T. K. Lowry, it appears that the original manuscripts are without name or date. They contain internal evidence of having been written by a member of the Hamilton family toward the latter end of the seventeenth century, and before 1703. They were therefore composed almost contemporaneously with the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, with which the narrative contained in the Hamilton history is closely connected. Mr. Lowry is of the opinion that these papers were written by Mr. William Hamilton, of Edinburgh, a nephew of the first Lord Claneboye, and known in the family as "Secretary Hamilton." He died at Killileagh Castle about the year 1712. The original manuscripts, in 1834, were in possession of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, of Killileagh Castle, county Down; and in that year were placed in the hands of Mr. Lowry for publication. The first three chapters were printed in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, and, upon the suspension of that periodical, the complete work was printed at Belfast in 1867.

CHAPTER I

OF THE REV. HANS HAMILTON, OF DUNLOP

[MSS defective] . . . . . that in . . . should be received . . . . . as deserving (so far as . . . . . public notice and observation . . . . . This Gent. was born eldest son to a Gentleman . . . . . descended of the Duke Hamilton's family . . . . . by his lands Raploch, now of 400 years' standing or thereabouts. This Hans, being found a very hopeful youth, of good parts and disposition, was bred at Schools and Colleges so far as was then usual, yet of no other design, but to give him the accomplishments becoming his station and natural endowments. But as it fell out that he was drawn to appear for the Queen Regent in arms, in his youth, and by ill advice, he contracted the displeasure of the reforming party,

and thereby, through the malice of the friends of his father's second wife, was deprived of the estate whereunto he was born the righteous heir, and so exposed to what other way of livelihood God would provide for him. In this case, as he had made very commendable progress in human literature, he was advised to betake himself to the study of Divinity, wherein his progress and good behavior were so observable and commendable, that he was ordained Minister of Dunlop in Cunningham, where he lived very usefully and commendable in the whole remainder of his time . . . . . and died within . . . . . love betwixt them . . . . . their neighbours and with . . . . . them.—2. That they bred all their sons to creditable employments, and married their daughter creditably to one William Moor, of Glanderstown.—3. That they were much courted to entertain and breed the most considerable gentlemen and noblemen's sons (by the help of good schoolmasters, whereof he had still one of good reputation), which they did to the great obligation of parents and youths committed to them.—4. He was a very painful, profitable, and wise Minister, friend, and neighbour, in the esteem of all good men in his time.—5. In his homely way of speaking, he called his six sons (in allusion to the country expression) his plough; and, on the account of the death of his third son (whereof hereafter), he used often, with grief, to say that his plough was broken. Ten days before he died (being then in good health, though considerably aged), he called for five or six of the discreetest of his parishioners to him, and desired them to accompany him to the church, where he told them, "I [sayd he] shall die within few days, and thought fit to acquaint you that I design to be buried in this [pointing to the place] spot of ground, and put it upon you to see it so done." On his return to his house, he called at a carpenter's house, and enjoined him . . . . . by him . . . . . his eldest son . . . . . to be erected, whi. . . . . much out of repair and a school . . . . . back of it of considerable value.

CHAPTER II

OF THE AFORESAID SIX BROTHERS, THEIR . . . . . AND OUTWARD ESTATE

The names of the above-mentioned six sons, in the order of their birth, are James, Archibald, Gawin, John, William, and Patrick. James gave very early indications of his great aptitude for, and disposition after, learning, and so passed his time in schools until he had received all the usual parts of learning taught in that Kingdom, and was within a little afterwards looked upon as one of the greatest scholars and hopeful wits in his time, insomuch that he was noticed by King James and his grave Council as one fit to negociate among the Gentry and Nobility of Ireland for promoting the knowledge and right of King James's interest and title to the Crown of England, after Queen Elizabeth's death; and, on this account, was advised to write a book of his said interest, which was done to very good effect, and . . . . . of all persons concerned in the three Kingdoms. Therefore, he was called to keep a public Latin school at Dublin, being instructed in the meanwhile and creditably supplied for conversing with the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland for the King's service above mentioned, and he was very serviceable and acceptable therein . . . . . to . . . . . .

gu . . . . . perfect . . . . . .
account . . . . . philosophy . . . . . .
Elizabeth, ...
in that country for teaching philosoph . . . . . .
parts of academical learning. James Usher . . . entered with him the first scholar, and both continued that station 'till the said James Usher finished his course, and passed all the degrees usual in that or any other college, with great approbation of both masters and scholars, which the said James (afterwards Lord Primate of Ireland) acknowledged with all gratitude, in an epistle dedicatory, which he prefixes to one of his learned books, which he dedicates to the said (at that time) Lord James Claneboy.

Therefore, on the aforesaid design, he is stationed at London, to negotiate privately with Queen Elizabeth, her Court, Council, and other Nobility and Gentry, until at last he becomes the welcome informer and messenger from the Queen's Council of England, that the said Queen, being dead, by her latter will and testament, and consent of the said Council, he, the said King James, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, at several public places in London, to his, no doubt, great satisfaction.

After this, he waits upon King James for several years at Whitehall, and receives from him knighthood as a mark of his favour, and is found a man of great wisdom, learning, and in great request with his Majesty, as being very faithful to, and very active for him, in his interest, and so highly honored of all great men in Court and City.

At this time it fell out that Ireland had many lands and estates forfeited in a late rebellion, and now to be disposed of by his Majesty; and his Majesty, deigning to gratify his Scotch Nobility and Gentry, and by them to carry on, the planting of Ireland, was very disposed to grant, and accordingly did . . . .
Sir J . . . . . .
Scotland . . . . . .
to Ireland . . . . . .
with a great . . . . . .
himself . . . . . .
him yearly . . . . . thousand pounds sterling in . . . . . .
with duties valuable to more than 12 hundred . . . . a year; he is chosen one of his Majesty's Honorable Privy Council for that Kingdom, and created Lord Viscount Claneboy; so continues at great favour at Court, and power and splendour in this Kingdom.

In this time his second brother, Archibald, is educated in learning; then bred a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh; afterward settles Commissary at Limerick; becomes a man of great judgment and integrity, and purchases a good estate, and lives in great plenty and good esteem for wisdom, wealth, and piety, in that Kingdom generally during his whole life; married first to . . . . . by whom he had two daughters.

The third son, Gawin, after due improvements in humanity at home, is bred a merchant in Glasgow; becomes a great and successful proficient therein; purchases, possesses, and manages some lands in Scotland, at the foot of Clide, in . . . . , and some lands in Ireland, at Hollywood, near Belfast; obtains a lease of the great Bann, near Colrain, and provides himself with three merchant ships, and carries the product of the aforesaid lands and fishings and other commodities of this country abroad, and brings home to Scotland, especially to Glasgow, and . . . , viz., the Northern sea-ports and Dublin, wines and other

effects from the places to which he had carried his other effects, and so becomes very wealthy and great in his station and way of living.

The fourth son, John, after due education at schools at home, is invited and brought over by his eldest brother in Ireland; and he is by him employed in agenting of his law affairs for a time, and thereafter, by his industry, purchases a considerable estate, partly at Monellan (now Hamilton's Bawn), in the County of Armagh, and partly at Coronary, in the County of Cavan, of a considerable value, on which he lived very plentifully and creditably.

The fifth son, William, having his younger education as his forementioned brother, was called into Ireland by his eldest brother, by whom he was educated into the management of his country affairs, of letting his lands, receiving his rents, and proved therein very effectual and active, to the very good acceptance both of my Lord and his tenants, and also purchased for himself a very competent estate in several places in the County of Down, partly of my Lord, and partly of other places adjacent to his estate, wherein he lived plentifully, and in very good respect with all.

The sixth brother, Patrick, had his younger education at home in learning, wherein he became very hopeful, and was put to college for further improvement and . . . . He followed the study of Divinity, wherein his proficiency was so great that he was called to, and settled in, the ministry at Enderwick, in East Lothian in Scotland, where he lived all his lifetime, painfully and acceptable to all concerned, in a very staggering time.

CHAPTER III

OF THE MARRIAGES, DEATH, PROGENY, . . . CHARACTER, WITH OBSERVATIONS

The Lord Claneboy had three ladies, ... The last, Lady Jane Phillips, proved a very excellent lady for solid piety and virtue; bore to him one son called James, afterwards Earl of Clanbrassill. My lord lived to a great age, viz., 84, or thereabouts, in great prosperity and honour, through God's blessing upon his wisdom and industry. Of him are these remarkables:—1st. His two first ladies proved but little comfortable to him, and his putting away of his second lady was not with general satisfaction to his friends and contemporaries. 2nd. He had much ado to keep himself . . . . in King James's time, and was once at the point of ruin as to the King's esteem; and, in Wentworth's time, he had much ado to keep himself from . . . . and ruin. He made great use (as some of his best friends conceived) of a public gout and gravel, that he might hide himself in his house-gown. 3d. He had several tedious and chargeable law-suits with his neighbour, my Lord of Ards, about . . . . of land and other trifles, wherein pride and incendiaries occasion great expense of money and peace; and one (in some respects) worse than all, with his brother William's widow, yet outlived them. 4th. He made a great use of the services of his brethren and nephews as they came upon the stages, as also of some other very fine gentlemen he kept about him for business (wherein he was most exact and laborious), but reserved the bulk of rewards to his latter will (which proved too late for them), and thereby obliged them to dependance on him all his life; but it was believed he intended liberal rewards for all, especially his brethren and their families, but his will was either not finished, or suppressed after his death, I shall not say by whom, only it fell so out, that as he outlived all his brethren, so his nephews were all abroad at the wars, and inferior servants ruled that part.

5th. As he was very learned, wise, laborious, noble (especially to strangers and scholars), so there is great ground to judge he was truly pious, as he was certainly well principled. It is true he countenanced the Episcopal course, yea, outwardly, the persecutions of that time were against the godly (called them puritans) by the Black Oath, &c.; yet, 1. His younger education seasoned him well; 2. He was observedly a great studier of the Scripture and an enemy to profaneness. 3. He made it his business to bring very learned and pious ministers out of Scotland, and planted all the parishes of his estate (which were six) with such; communicated with them; maintained them liberally; received even their public reproofs submissively, and had secret friendly correspondence with the ministers and others that were persecuted for conscience sake; yea, some hid in his house when his warrants and constables were abroad looking for them. 4. In managing of his estate he was careful and wary in giving inheritances or leases above three lives, and went that length with but very few; he was very saving of his oak woods (whereof he had great store) expecting greater advantages by them in after time, and deliberately (for a time), and till it was too late, admitted of ten thousand pounds debt to continue upon his estate (as he expressed himself to some) to acquaint his son with the trouble of debt, that he might avoid it, and find a need of living frugally and regularly. 5. As to the education of his son, he was much concerned to make the best of one eye, yet was most fond of him. He choosed for him a very learned, discreet, and religious master, one Mr. James Trail, and directed that he should be managed according to his genius, and not much thwarted or over driven in ye prosecution of learning and other improvements, saying he would not lose the substance for gaining of accidents, and would rather have no scholar than no son. He judged it most convenient to send him (with the aforesaid Mr. Trail) to travel some years for his improvement, which he did the length of Rome, very safely and successfully, and returned with great improvements in such things whereunto his genius allowed or agreed unto. 6. He lived till he settled all his affairs peaceably. His son was married creditably and comfortably and had some issue; and he had many and very hopeful nephews and some nieces, of all which he took a loving care and oversight. He lived to see the war of Ireland, and by his wisdom and power of his tenants, and the interest he had at Court, was very successful for the preservation of Ulster from the power of the enemy, as he was very charitable to distress'd people that came in great numbers from the upper countrys. He was of a robust, healthfull body, and managed to the best advantage; died without sickness unexpectedly ere he finished his will (which he was about) or settlement he then intended, at least ere it was published, though I am very creditably, I may say certainly, informed, he published a Deed of Settlement of his estate as to the succession thereof, many years before he died. He was very honorably intombed in the place he had prepared for himself in the church of Bangor, in which his whole family is now laid by him.

The second brother, Archibald, married first to . . . . . then Rachel Carmichael, daughter to one named by his lands . . . who was of great account in his time, whose eldest son was Lord Carmichael, and whose family still flourishes in Scotland. She proved a very virtuous woman, and good mother to his numerous family, and lived in widowhood all her life thereafter, and died of a great age; she bore twenty-two children . . . sons and . . . daughters, whereof six sons came to be men, viz., John, James, Archibald, Gawin, William, and Robert, and his daughter Janet lived to a good age—of those more particularly afterward. This gentleman was really eminent for wisdom, piety,

dexterity in his calling, and that, by God's blessing upon his honest endeavors, he purchas'd a good estate, partly in Scotland, and partly in Ireland; lived to a great age, and died much lamented.

The third brother, Gawin (as has been said), was bred unto and followed merchandise with great industry and success. He married Helen Dunlop, of a family then and now in good account in the same parish, whereof Hans was . . . and had by her two sons, Archibald, and James, and two daughters, Jane and Helen—of whom afterwards. He died by water near Colrain, using some means in a cog boat for guiding out his three ships over the Bar of Colrain. There were two shipmen with him, whereof one died with him in the overturning of the boat, and the other was saved by swimming. He died under thirty years of age, and was creditably buried in the church of Colrain, with great lamentation, partly on account of the accident, and partly that he was a very obliging and thriving gentleman, and likely to have been very beneficial to all that place.

The fourth brother, John, married Sarah Brabson, of a creditable family, and had children by her which came to age, Hans, James, and Francis, sons, and Mary and Helen, daughters—of whom more in due time. He was a prudent person, and painfull man; lived to a good age, and died, much lamented and beloved of all that knew him; was laid in a vault at the church of Mullaghbrack, in ye County of Armagh, which he had prepared for himself and family.

The fifth brother, William, married . . . Melvill, daughter of Sir John Melville, in Isle-a-Kail, and had children by her, James, John, Hans, and William, Ursula, and . . . . He was a prudent, industrious, and pious man, very useful in the country, and to my Lord Claneboy; he died of middle age; had but little satisfaction in his wife, but was very patient towards her; was creditably buried, and with great lamentation, at Hollywood, having left his wife and children a very competent estate, as was formerly noticed.

The sixth brother, Patrick, married one . . . Glenn, daughter of a gent. of the neighbourhood where he was Minister, viz., Enderwick, a very frugal wife, but not altogether so prudent as his station and disposition required; and he had children by her, James, Alexander, Archd., and Elizabeth. He lived in very good esteem and usefullness in his Ministry, and among the gentry in that whole country, and left his family competently provided; died of middle age, and was buried with great regret at the church where he was Minister.

The things observable of them are—1. That they were all men of very good, both natural and acquired, parts; of good persons; tempers religiously disposed; and with great respect with all that were acquainted with them.—2. They abounded in natural affection toward each other and their families, and so became very usefull and comfortable in the raising and supporting of one another while living, and carefull of their families who were dead; especially, my Lord Claneboy acted the part of a parent toward all his nephews and nieces whilst he lived, though they were much disappointed in the expectation he himself had raised in them at or after his death, thro' some accidents partly hinted at, and others not to be too scrutinously digged up to posterity. 3. My Lord had great credit, comfort, and strength, by his nephews, in the war that broke out in 1641, whilst they proved very industrious, and remarkably courageous in that war, which became very advantageous to his state and credit, having not only the common enemy, but also some encroaching and invidious neighbours to do with.

CHAPTER IV

OF THE CHILDREN OF THE SIX BRETHREN, THEIR MARRIAGES, CHILDREN, AND OTHER REMARKABLES

1. My Lord Claneboy being dead, his only son, James, came upon the estate, having, before his father's death, married one Honble. Lady Anne Carey, daughter of the Earl of Monmouth, in England, who had born to him a son, nam'd James, before his father's death, as afterwards a daughter, nam'd Jane, and two sons, Henry and Hans. This lady, as she was naturally very handsome, and witty, so, by education and industry, became a woman extraordinary in knowledge, virtue, and piety. My Lord was, of necessity, engaged in a war against the Irish, and was therein very laborious, with a very good measure of both dexterity and courage, being effectually assisted by many of his kinsmen and tenants, and much straitened in his estate, whilst a great part of it was wasted by the war, and the remainder under great burthens, not only by maintaining and quartering of the army then on foot, but also supporting many of the Protestants that fled from the upper country. In the year 1648, he judg'd it his duty to join himself and his forces (so many as would adhere to him) with the Duke of Ormond, in the pacification made with the Irish, and in opposition to the Parliament's army, then in Ireland; in which course the Duke and he, with all their adherent's were suddenly suppressed by the Parliament's army, and he was necessitated, for his life and estate, to undergo the fine of £9,000 Stg. to the Commonwealth of England; by reason of all which he was necessitated to contract a great deal of debt upon his estate, and so lived with his family in a much lower . . . than his father had done in his time. His son James, a very hopeful youth for parts, temper, piety, and other good improvements, died at 15 years of age, and his daughter in her infancy. His . . . especially by the death of his . . . brought him low in his disposition of mind comparatively with himself in former times: he became corpulent, scorbutic, hydropic, and so decayed gradually, 'till at length he died in June, 1659. He was naturally mild, loving, and just; by his education humane, judicious, and complyant with his circumstances, beyond what would have been expected of one so highly educated, and in expectation of so great a fortune. His education and conversation inclined him to be Episcopal; but he was therein very moderate, and paid a great respect to all good persons, and was in his practice Presbyterian, and died (in the sense of all good people about him) very Christianly, and ordered the affairs of his family with great discretion and respect to the former transactions, whereof afterwards he testified, both living and dying, great respect to his kinsmen, though it fell out, after his father's death, that all his servants were strangers, and his relations inconversant in his affairs, greatly to his prejudice, and not a little to theirs.

2. Of Halcraig's family, the eldest son, John, in his youth was neglected in his education, and, falling in friendship with persons above his quality and estate, spent too liberally; upon which, on a time, some of his near relations (too likely for their own ends) persuaded and concurred with him to sell his father's purchase in Scotland, and come to Ireland with the remainder of his money, where he married a gentlewoman named West, daughter to a gent. of good estate in Isle-a-Kail, by whom he had two daughters, Jane and Rachel; and, being employed in the war in Ireland, was a captain of horse; after some years died unfortunate by water. His natural parts were not contemptible, but not improved

to the best advantage; he was plentifully just, kind, and courageous, and left a very competent estate in Ireland with his family.

James, the 2nd brother, was bred in his youth to merchandize in Scotland; but, disliking that employment, came to Ireland, and was very kindly entertained by his uncle, my Lord Claneboy, who had a great esteem of him; kept him much about himself for a time, and then made him a captain of foot, wherein he behaved very vigilantly and courageously in all the time of the war of Ireland; and thereafter married Agnes Kennedy, daughter to Sir . . . Kennedy, of Colane, in Carick, by whom he had two daughters which came to age, besides some others which died young. He lived upwards of sixty years, and died at his own house; was creditably buried, and much lamented. He was naturally judicious, and sagacious; was diligent in prosecuting his affairs; and, in the whole course of his time, very sober, and pious, though unfortunate in falling upon some affairs that occasioned great trouble and expence to him by lawsuits; nevertheless, left a competent estate with his wife and children, which survived him.

Archibald, the 3rd brother, being on the road of improvement by learning, was withdrawn into ye war of Ireland, in which he soon appeared to be extraordinary for strength, courage, and conduct; in a short time he was advanced to be captain of horse, and was always valued much above his station. He joined with my Lord in the Association, from the singular respect he bore to him and others. In a skirmish at Dromore, one of his thigh bones was broken by a shot; he was taken prisoner, and carried to Lisnagarvy, where he soon after died of his wounds, being very honourably treated and buried by his enemies, who honoured him highly as a very gallant gentleman. His natural parts were very great; in a short time he gave proof of great solidity of judgement, courage, strength, and dexterity; plentifull of natural affection to all his relations; was a great honorer of all worthy and religious persons, and was himself really such. He regretted much the last steps of his actions, joining in the Association, as being therein a slave to that which is counted honor, but a rebel to his conscience, and the public good of the nation. At his death he evidenced great magnanimity, patience, and true Christian submission, with faith in God, through Jesus Christ. He was greatly lamented by all good people, especially his near relations, and greatly honoured of all that knew or heard of him.

Gawin, the 4th, and William, the 5th, brothers, being yet alive, I shall only now say of them, as their education guided them to be of different employments, the first in the way of soldiery, the last in the practical part of the law, especially in and of Scotland, it will be generally allowed that they deserve a creditable esteem of all wise and honest men. All I shall now say of them is, they have shewn great integrity to their profess'd principles, both by doing and suffering, without tergiversation, or complying with contrary courses, tho' sometimes under great temptations, to the great destruction of profits and honours they might have had. As it hath fallen out, in the course of their time, and way of their business, that they have been conversant in affairs with all ranks of persons, from the highest to the lowest, and many in all ranks, for these many years by . . . and in matters of great moment, I never heard they gave cause of offence or complaint to any at any time, but that they were generally and deservedly in good esteem with all, as well for their integrity as abilities, which are certainly not contemptible. Let him and other witness testify what shall fall out hereafter.

Robert, the 6th brother (now dead), had a disadvantage of being confined into attendance upon his aged mother and her affairs, and so fell under education much below his parts and spirit. Tho' thus obscured and injured, he was

chosen and fit (and after trial so found) for managing the late Earl Henry's estate and country affairs, to the great satisfaction of all he was concerned with. He married a near kinswoman of the late Countess Clanbrassill, . . . Meredith, daughter to Sir . . . Meredith, who, as she was well descended and educated, proved a very discreet and pious woman. He died without issue, leaving behind him a very good name for wisdom and piety; was looked upon, by all that knew him, as eminent for natural parts, good morality, and true friendship, if education and opportunity had given him advantages for greater improvements.

3. Of Gawin's family, was first, Archibald, who, soon after his father's death, was taken by my Lord Claneboy under his particular inspection; and, being found of very good parts and disposition for learning, was kept at schools and colleges until he had imbibed all the ordinary parts of learning, and found to have made a very good proficiency in all. His inclinations were found to be to the study of the Ministry; but, after some tryals made, upon more mature deliberation, he was bred to the law, at the Inns of Court, where he made very great proficiency, After a while, my Lord Claneboy, now become aged and less capable to stir abroad, employed him in attendance upon his affairs at Court in England, and some lawsuits he had then . . . , wherein for a time he proved very successful and acceptable to my Lord, and in very good esteem with persons of the best stamp and quality in and about the City of London. At this time, he married a gentlewoman that fell through domestic society into his acquaintance, unequal to his then visible station, and what was expected of him, but concealed it as much as he could, especially from his friends, least perhaps my Lord should come to know of it, and be displeased with it. By her he had two sons, who soon died. This being noised abroad, came at last to my Lord's ears, and was highly offensive to him, insomuch that he withdrew his countenance and employment from him, and so left him under hard circumstances, which being known, he soon was lowered in his esteem and acceptance at the Court and elsewhere; and, after some time, he came to Ireland, and was again employed by Earl James about his family, with small encouragements from himself, and no great respect from his other friends and acquaintances in the country. He died, in the year '62, not much lamented, yet with regret of his more ingenuous and candid friends, that his latter end should have been so dissonant and unsuitable to his beginnings. He was of very excellent natural parts, and good temper, but vitiate with too much Court air, and overladened with the contempt and poverty he fell under by his own indiscreet management, tho' it was whispered by some, that my Lord dealt severely with him, and upon design (having opportunity), lest he should bring my Lord to an account of his intermission with that part of his father's estate that was in Ireland, which indeed was never inquired into, nor could be, considering the great interval of time, and that this man could only call him to question.

The other brother was James, whose youthfull education was committed and faithfully performed by his uncle Archd., of Halcraig, in Scotland, 'till he had passed through all the parts of learning usually taught in schools and colleges in that kingdom, with great approbation. Soon after, my Lord Claneboy commanded his attendance upon him, with the design to apply him to the care of his secular affairs, the which he underwent for a time with all diligence, patience, fidelity, and acceptance with my Lord, and all the tenants of the estate, the rents whereof he received and disposed by my Lord's directions, tho' still his disposition and private diligences moved toward the Ministry, which he so carefully concealed, and prudently, that my Lord and his good Lady were never 'ware of it till they saw and heard him preach in the pulpit in Bangor. My Lady was

pleased to compliment him thus:—"James, I think your gown and pulpit become you very well; I will bestow the gown, and my Lord (if he will be advised by me) shall bestow the pulpit,"—both which were soon performed by his settlement in the parish of Ballywalter. My Lord seemed angry, and chid him that he concealed his purpose so much from him, and so made him guilty of giving him so great diversion, who otherwise was disposed to nourish his pious purpose. He married a gentlewoman, Elizabeth Watson, daughter of Mr. David Watson, Minister of Killeavy, near Newry, who was placed with the noble Lady Claneboy for her improvement's sake. He had by her 15 children, tho' none came to maturity, but one son (Archd.), and three daughters, Jane, Mary, and Elizabeth. He was continued in that station ten years, until, by the rigiditys of my Lord Wentworth, and the then Bishop of Derry (Bramhall), new terms of Church Communion, to be sworn to, were imposed upon the whole Church of Ireland, whereunto he could not submit, and upon the account whereof he sustained a public dispute with the then Bishop of Down, Henry Lesly, before several noblemen, many gentlemen, and the whole clergy of the diocese, with many others from both town and country. To this dispute came Bishop Bramhall, whose courage was evidently supercilious and imperious. The Bishop himself, who disputed, behaved moderately, ingeniously, and discreetly; the opinion of the matter and discourse was various, according to the several inclinations and dispositions or interests of the hearers—the common product of all such public reasoning. The conclusion was, that he, with many other Ministers of his persuasion, were deposed from their several offices and benefices, and thereafter severally pursued and sought to be apprehended by pursuivants, but none of them were taken. Under these circumstances, he, with his family, was necessitated to go to Scotland, where he was disposed of to a great congregation and maintainance, at the town of Drimefrice, in Niddsdail, where he continued Minister other ten years. In this time, being appointed by the General Assembly of Scotland, to make a visit to the Northern parts of Ireland, for three months, he was taken prisoner by a party belonging to Sir Alex. M'Donnell, of the west Highlands of Scotland, and kept prisoner in a Castle there, Migreor Migirne, under extraordinary wants and necessities for a year, before he could be relieved, and then was, by the General Assembly of Scotland, transported unto Edinborough, where he continued fifteen years.

In this time he was appointed by the General Assembly one of his Majesty's chaplains, and in this attendance was taken prisoner (as many of the nobility, army, gentry, and ministry) at Eliot, in Angus, by a party sent by General Monk immediately after his taking of Dundee; thence, he, with several others, as aforesaid, were sent to the Tower of London, where he was kept two years by Oliver Cromwell, and thence dismissed by him for no other reason, apology, or address, but that he found himself under great obloquy by all good people in Scotland and England, and that he found himself so settled in Scotland that there was little hazard of the raising any army power there to his prejudice.

In this time (toward the close) all the other Presbyterian Ministers, who adhered to their principles throughout the whole kingdom, were expulsed from their places of abode, and discharged all exercises of their ministry, whereupon he withdrew from Edinburgh, and lived privately at Innerisk; yet it so fell out, that, on the account of having the better assistance of physicians for his health, he repaired for a time into Edinborough, where he died the 10th of March, 1666.

I shall not insist on his character, only as it is evident he was, in providence, from his infancy to his grave, exposed to many afflictions and temptations, so

he was helped to carry with great steadfastness, wisdom, and patience—yea, cheerfulness. He was naturally of an excellent temperament, both of body and mind; always industrious, and facetious in all the several provinces or scenes of his life; he was delightful to his friends and acquaintances—yea, beloved of his enemies. Much might be say'd of his boldness for truth, and tenaciousness in everything of moment; tho' he was naturally, and in his own things, amongst the mildest and . . . sort of men, he was rich in all parts of learning which might contribute for the usefulness and ornament of his ministry; he was intelligent, yea, judicious in all civil and state affairs; he was great in esteem with the greatest and wisest; as he was highly valued by the meanest sort of his acquaintances, so he was denied to the favors of great men and popular [assemblies.] His ambition was to be spotless and usefull; his covetings, to have acceptance with God, the love of his friends, and peace in his own conscience; he lived always frugally; bestowed what at any time he had gathered upon his children (who were all married long before his death); was very open-handed to the poor; and died even with the world.

4. Of John's family was first Hans. In his youth he was bred at . . . Schools; went to the college of Glasgow, in Scotland; was much disposed for learning, and very capable of it, but by his father's death, and the urgency of his affairs, was soon called back again to Ireland, where he attended to his affairs, carefully and discreetly till the war of Ireland broke out, at which time duty and necessity obliged him to give his assistance therein, by my Lord Claneboy's advice. His years and parts early promoted him to be a captain of horse; as in progress of time he became Lieut.-Colonel, he joined, with the Earl of Clanbrassill, in Ormond's Association. That war being ended, he married Magdalen Trevor, daughter to Sir Edward Trevor, and had by her some children, whereof only his daughter Sarah came to maturity. His business then being to improve and plant his estate, lying mostly in the upper country; and, by reason of his very good natural and acquired parts, and justice to the King's interest and family, after King Charles II. his restoration, was knighted and made Bart., and afterwards one of his Majesty's Privy Council in Ireland, and was very much intrusted by the Government in the oversight of the upper country; died of a good age, in great esteem, and generally much bewailed; lyes in the tomb with his father, mother, lady, and daughter. He was guilty of great errors—whereof afterwards. His natural parts and improvements were both very considerable; his deportment, in his younger years, very commendable; but, his estate being much burthen'd, his disposition to live high and aim to purchase great things, occasioned many to think (as a gent. of his neighbourhood and great acquaintance once say'd) that "Sir Hans Hamilton was never so honest as Hans Hamilton by half." He was unfortunate in that his daughter married . . . contrary to his disposition, and the measures he had proposed to himself. He fell at last in great variance with his nearest friends, and affliction by the death of his lady and daughter; went to Dublin, with design, as it is believed, to do something that was great for his family against his friends, but failed of it, and died in the enterprise, but did not perform it.

The second son, James, was, partly through necessity of the times, and partly his own inclination, drawn to the service of the war, tho' the heat of it was now much over. He served in the station of a cornet, and acquit himself very commendably in it. After, he married Jane Baily, daughter to Bishop Baily, of Clunfert, by whom he had Henry, Hans, and Margaret. He was of very good natural parts and disposition, and not contemptible in his acquirements; yet

the liberty of his younger education, and way of living with the Bishop, (having married his only child) enured him to greater liberty and good fellowship (as some call it) than was profitable for his estate and family, or advantageous to his health. He was overtaken in middle age by the fever, and died.

Francis, the third son, is yet living, and hath evidenced himself a stout soldier and a very serviceable brother, but not equal (in the opinion of some not injudicious) in distributing his kindness among his friends, as having exceeded towards some, and been defective (to say no worse) towards others.

5. Of William's family. His first son, James, of good natural parts, bred a soldier, advanced to be a captain, and judged very worthy of it, died young, being killed at Blackwater fight, and lies in the Church of Benburb, where there is a decent tomb erected over him. He married . . . . . had two children, James and Catherine, and left his estate much the same as he found it.

John, the second son, was much under the same circumstances. He was a captain, and left no issue behind him.

The third son, Hans, under the same education and necessities, was advanced to be a captain of foot, and very active in his station. After the war was over, he married Mary Kennedy, daughter to Mr. Kennedy, of Killern, by whom he had three children that came to maturity—viz., James, Jane, and Ursula. He became a very industrious and usefull man, both to his family and country; lived well, and died much lamented; was creditably buried at Hollywood, leaving his children very young.

The fourth son, William, of the same education, was made captain, and behaved very well in that station; after the war he married. That which is most considerable in him is, that, tho' he was the youngest brother of the family, and so had least patrimony, and had three wives, with whom he had but very small portions, yet he still lived plentifully both at home and abroad, and, to boot, purchased a very plentifull estate, which he left almost equal betwixt his two sons, James and Jocelin. He was a man of great understanding in country affairs, and no less industry and regularity; he was a great artist in courting his superiors, keeping even with his equals, and keeping his inferiors at a due distance. He was a great honorer of the clergy of his own profession, and very civil to those of other professions, and, upon all occasions, avoided to be instrumental in persecution of such as were of different persuasions from himself. He died of sixty years of age, leaving his family very plentifull in all things, and his name under various characters—tho' I believe few men of his best acquaintance will contradict what I have say'd of him. Perhaps more may be say'd of him in the subsequent.

6. Of the sixth family, the eldest son was James. He was bred in the University learning; a man of good parts and temper; married . . . . . but had no children by her; was Parson of Dundonald, and Hollywood first; lived of a good age; died at Dundonald, where he had been Parson for several years before his death; he was a peaceable man, very civil to all, and affectionate to his relations, especially to his brother Alexander's family.

The second brother, Alexander, thro' his inclination, and the necessity of his country, was bred to be a soldier; was shortly made a captain of foot, in which station he was very usefull and of good account. He married one Mary [Reeding,] a gentlewoman in this country, by whom he had one son, Patrick, and two daughters, who lived to maturity. He died young, and was very well beloved, though a little passionate in his temper.

The third brother, Archibald, being bred at schools and colleges, and in very

good account for parts and piety, was settled in the ministry, first at . . . , in Galloway, in Scotland, thereafter transported to a more eminent place, to wit, Wiggtown. Afterwards (through the calamity of the times) came to Bangor Parish, in the County of Down. He married Jane Hamilton, daughter to Mr. James Hamilton, second son of Gawn Hamilton above-mentioned, by whom he had many children; those that came to maturity were John, Archibald, Henry, and Mary. . . . As to . . . being yet alive, I need say little of him, but suppose it will be generally allowed by all who are acquainted with him, as he hath been steadfast and laborious in his ministry, so he hath acted the part of a discreet friend, and prudent and frugal parent.

CHAPTER V

OF EARL HENRY, HIS MARRIAGE, CARRIAGE, DEATH, AND CHARACTER

This young nobleman, being committed to the care of his mother, Countess Ann Clanbrassill, was for a time bred to literature at home, and, as he was fit for it, afterwards sent to Oxford, in England; and, with respect to his affairs, was called home to Ireland before he attained to ripe age, giving a great hope to all who were concerned in him that he should be a very considerable man in his post. The matter of his marriage was of great concernment to all his friends and relations. It was judged very necessary, in order to his affairs, that he should settle in some family by which he might have good friends and a good portion, which, as it was his interest, seemed also to be greatly his own design; but it fell out soon otherwise, he being decoyed by one of his own servants, whom he and his mother trusted too much. He was soon drawn to court a daughter of the Earl of Drogheda's, viz., Lady Alice Moor, by whom, as he could expect no portion, and but few friends, so he was very much drawn to idleness and low companionship. In a short time the marriage was accomplished, to the great grief of his mother, and trouble of all his relations. She was indeed a very handsome, witty, and well-bred lady; but soon appeared very high in her housekeeping and apparel and giving too much opportunity and access to noblemen and gentlemen reputed vitious, to frequent her house and company, the pretence being to pay respects to my Lord in his quality (who was deservedly reputed learned, intelligent, and humane,) at least . . . . to gratify her own vitious inclinations she . . . in her prodigality and disposition to be much abroad, partly in the country, much to the City of Dublin, and afterwards to the Court of England. Her prodigality and disposition aforesaid, necessitated my Lord (whose great desert was in rendering himself obsequious and indulgent to her inclinations and prodigality) to contract a great deal of debt upon his estate, formerly under great burthens, and nothing bettered by her portion; so as, at last, he was induced to sell off a very considerable part of his estate among his own tenants, and some others. In this time, it fell out, that my Lady bare a son, named James, who soon died; after which she fell upon a design (before my Lord or she were eight-and-twenty years of age) to persuade my Lord (his brother Hans, and son James, being now dead,) to settle his heritable estate upon herself and her heirs, or to her disposal after his death, and with a clause, that an estate of £500 per annum should be settled upon one of his own name and family. That which stood in the way of it was, 1st, that my Lord and she, being both young, might yet have children; 2nd, that it was uncertain whether my Lord might not survive her; 3rd, that my Lord having many kinsmen of near relation of his own family, it seemed unjust to put

the estate wholly out of his own family; 4th, and particularly, his father, Earl James Clanbrassill, by his last will and testament, duly perfected and published, had made a full and distinct settlement of the whole estate, and all its concerns, in case his sons should die without issue (yet extant and inforce upon him); 5thly, he was plainly advertised by my Lady Ann Clanbrassill, his mother, that it was more than probable, that, in this design, there must be another of taking away his life, in which case his Lady might follow her pleasures in the ruining of that estate; and with this plain advertisement:—"Son," say'd she, "expect that within three months after you perfect such deeds, you must lodge with your grandfather and father, in the tomb of Bangor." In this affair my Lord shewed a great deal of anxiety and trouble of mind, but at last was prevailed with (as Sampson in the like case) to perfect a deed, and will, according to the aforesaid contents; and, within three months after, under very suspicious circumstances, he died suddenly; was embowled within five hours after, and privately (I say not secretly) buried in Christ's Church, in Dublin, and soon after, his corpse was lifted, and sent to be privately intombed in Bangor. This nobleman was very much lamented for the misfortunes of his life and death, being a man of great fame, very good temper, honored not only by his birth, but with respect to his eminent parts, to be of the King's Privy Council for the Kingdom of Ireland. He wanted not sense of his misfortunes by his Lady, but strength to restrain them; and so, unwarily, admitted to his own ruin, and made way for the great injustice and affliction his friends sustained after his death, whereof (and some other things not mentioned in his life) hereafter.

CHAPTER VI

OF THE LADY ALICE, AND HER PROVISION FOR A LAW-SUIT

I enter upon this part of the history very unwillingly, and could choose to pass it with silence (as I have done many things), but that the main part of the subsequent history doth necessarily require it; for in this is the fountain out of which the following calamity did arise.

In this narrative I must go back and tell you—1st, that upon Earl James's marriage with Countess Ann Clanbrassill, my Lord Clanbrassill settled a considerable jointure upon her, (as there was one formerly settled on the Lady Jane Claneboy,) to the yearly value of at least £1500, in which was the Castle of Killileagh, with other very good conveniences, upon which the said Lady lived all her son's time and many years afterwards.—2nd. The Earl James, a little before his death, had made and perfected a will, wherein, 1, he ordained his eldest son Henry, the heir of his whole estate; 2, he settled £500 a year on his son Hans, of the lands about Hollywood; 3, that in case both his sons should die without issue, his estate should be (after the payment of his debts) divided in five equal shares, and so to be settled upon the heirs male of his five uncle's sons, and he appointed his Lady and his son his executors.

Of this last, it is to be considered—1st. That the will being perfected, it was delivered, immediately, by my Lord's direction, to be kept by her for the uses therein mentioned, and so proved in common form before the Prerogative Court in Dublin.—2ndly. That it fell out at the writing thereof, which was done by Archibald, eldest son to Gawin, being then aged, that after it was entirely written, folded, and endorsed, he had occasion to correct some little thing in it,

and being called in haste to carry it to my Lord, he designed to dry what was newly written, but instead of the sand box, (unwarily) he lifted the ink box, and dropped some ink upon it, yet cleaned and dried it as well as he could, and so brought and read it to my Lord, and presented it to be signed by him, which my Lord being ready to do, observed the blot, refused to sign it, and directed to write it over again, saying it was not fit a paper containing things of such moment should be blotted, which was accordingly done, and then signed and sealed by him, and so delivered to his Lady, at which time it was advised that the first written paper should be kept with the second at least for a wrapper, and for the safety of the other, which was accordingly done by the Lady.—3rd. The will being thus lodged, there was no more use for it, until about eight years thereafter, that the second brother Hans required to have his estate settled upon him according to his father's will. This being urged by his mother, and other friends, on the account that my Lord could not supply him with what was needful for the time (his Lady could and would not spare it), there was a commission brought from Dublin to examine the witnesses to the will about the perfecting of it. Some of them were corrupted by the young lady, and offered to swear that my Lord was not *compos mentis* when he signed it; others, and of greater credit, offered to swear that he was sound in his memory and judgement. My Lord, or rather his Lady and counseller, perceived that the design of making void the will would not then be carried, and proposed to settle an estate upon Hans, to as good a value in other lands, but . . . . . in the lands mentioned by the will, these being the nearest to . . . place of abode, which was agreed unto; and, accordingly, deeds were drawn and perfected, with this narrative, "that there being an estate provided for Hans by his father's will, of such date, &c., it was now agreed, and accordingly perfected, betwixt my Lord and his brother, &c." This affair being thus transacted, my Lord demanded the will and keeping of it from his mother, as being now only of his concern. My Lady Clanbrassill unwarily yielded to it, which being done, my Lord gave it to his servant Swadlin (then chief favorite), and bid him put it up amongst his other papers, which being done, his Lady Alice suddenly withdrew to her chamber, and sent one to direct Mr. Swadlin to come to her. He came instantly, with all the papers they had then use for in his hands; then bid him shut fast the door; then, said she, "Swadlin, give me that troublesome will." He, looking only at the endorsement, gave her the copy of the will; she, likewise so satisfied and in a hurry, tore it all to pieces, and threw it into the fire, where it was quickly consumed. "Now," say'd she, "it shall trouble us no more; " and then went suddenly and very cheerfully to my Lord and the rest of the company, leaving Mr. Swadlin to put up his papers, without discerning the mistake.

For some years my Lord and Lady took their pleasure in great housekeeping and company, none like it any where for plenty and jollity, and great store of company, of all sorts of gentry and nobility. After some time, my Lord and Lady became pinched for want of money, and became inquisitive how their lands were set, and got information that Swadlin had ruined their affairs by taking bribes from the tenants, and so lessening my Lady's rents, and thereupon quarrell with him, and find him without defence, and very guilty of betraying them for his own profit, which was a sad truth, but their faults who trusted to him alone.

Mr. Swadlin is in a great perplexity and contempt, and sets about making off, and to sort his papers and his Lord's, for his own ends, and then finds, among my Lord's papers, that was perfected by Earl James for his will and testament, yet is so enraged with my Lord and Lady, that he will not so much as acquaint

them with it. The contention heightens, and my Lord is persuaded to put a padlock upon Mr. Swadlin's door, where all the papers were, and so dismisses Swadlin from his service, with as much disgrace as he could, and chooses one Js. Hamilton, (a son of one Jas. Hamilton, say'd to be a natural son of Gawin's, but not currently believed, no mention being of it before his death) named, of Ballygilbert, and puts him upon the papers, and to receive his rents. He soon finds the will and conceals it from my Lord and Lady, out of love to the friends of the family concerned therein; yea, lets them know of it, but soon after he sickened and died. My Lord then admits one of his cousins, William (fourth son to my Lord's brother, William), to come upon all the papers in James's custody, on the acct. or pretence, that there had been many affairs transacted betwixt them wherein they had been mutually bound for one another, and that he would make up James his accompts betwixt my Lord and the tenants, &c. The friends of the family (concerned in the will) enquire of him if the will was in his hands; he acknowledged it was so; they then charged him for the preservation of it, and to be accountable for it, when they should need to require it.

I . . . that (since the troublesome will was burned, and especially that my Lord's brother and son were dead) there has been a great deal of business and courtship carried on about this great little court. Some (very few) courted my Lord and Lady out of friendship; others my Lord for my Lady's sake; others my Lady for my Lord's sake, and to bring my Lord to their measures; others their servants for finding out, and framing good bargains for money; and one (more cunning than the rest) left his son (then a lusty stripling of about twenty years of age) to court the Lady, whilst he came now and then to prepare for and frame a lusty bargain (I pretend not to know of what extent), and for some weighty consideration, having the benefit of the patents of the Duffran (the far or greatest part of my Lady's jointure) either for pledge or direction, and having prepared papers or deeds for my Lord's signing, had my Lady's faithfull promise to assist in it, and resolved to make up either by cadjoling or cudgeling (for one heat must do all), prepare their attack upon my Lord, having got him alone. He proving more than ordinary intractable, they go to high words, threaten my Lord uncivilly. My Lady took this ill, and seemed to withdraw from the measures agreed unto; they deal rudely with her, and a great noise heard in the room. Some inferior servants came up and found all in tumult; my Lord directs one of them by a whisper to call for one of his kinsmen then in the house; he being come, found my Lord and Lady all aghast and in great agony; the tumultuous words that were among them; so discovered the matter, which was also formerly under suspicion; took upon him to talk boldly, and in severe language, which quelled the fray. The father and son withdrew, and next morning very early go home, without good morrow of my Lord and Lady, and carry the deeds of the Duffran . . . with them, (as the other unperfected) with little contentment, and less credit. This made a great noise; my Lord's principal kinsmen are sent for and come; my Lady tells how uncivilly (perhaps brutally) my Lord and she were dealt with; a course is taken to command back the deeds; and it was found necessary that the young man should take him to his travels abroad for some years till the noise of this courtship and enterprise should fall under oblivion, which he did. When this is over, there falls anew great care and solicitude how to get money—*i .e.*, how to secure bargains, and the only remedy is, that my Lord shall pass a fine and suffer a recovery, and that the troublesome will be extinguished. For this end great pains and charges are undergone to corrupt the surviving witnesses, and make them swear my Lord, Earl James, was not *compos mentis* when it was pretended to be perfected by him; all which

being sufficiently prepared, it is resolved that my Lord and Lady (then in Dublin) shall come down in great pomp, and bring a commission from my Lord Chancellor (with all the privity they could); and, by virtue of the aforesaid commission, to examine the prepared witnesses, and so have the will found null, for that Earl James was not *compos mentis* when it was perfected. Meantime, immediately before his intended journey, my Lord became unwell (as has been say'd), unexpectedly, at Dublin.

CHAPTER VII

OF THE LAW-SUIT BETWIXT THE FRIENDS CONCERNED IN THE WILL, AND THE LADY ALICE CLANBRASSILL; OF HER MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

Upon my Lord's death, as this Lady lost no time to prepare herself for a law-suit, so it fell out that James of Newcastle was with Sir Hans Hamilton, at Hamilton's Bawn, and they agreed to send by messengers letters to the other three cousins concerned, desiring them to give them a meeting on an appointed time, that they might consult on what was now proper for them, my Lord being now dead without issue, which was done accordingly. In this meeting, Sir Hans laid open the affair, and proposed the question, if we should jointly agree to set on foot, and support, and pursue a law-suit with Countess Alice, for getting the will proved and made effectual? It was say'd she was provided with a will made by Earl Henry, settling the whole estate upon her, and her heirs, &c., and a deed perfected to the same purpose afterwards. However, they unanimously resolved they would join in a suit agt. her title, and for evincing of their own title, at the equal charge of the five, and so to adhere firmly to one another, &c., until the suit should be finished, and then divide their shares equally, according to Earl James's will;—that Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, should follow and manage this law-suit from time to time until it was finished;—that, for the first assay, James of Newcastle, should immediately repair to Dublin to provide lawyers, and by them obtain judgment of the title and estate conveyed to them by the said will, and use what other diligence should be advised;—that he should correspond with Sir Hans by post, and receive his advice, and for this end be supplied with money for the lawyers, and have 10*s* per diem allowed to him for his personal charges;—and that the five should meet together once before every new term for consulting, and getting accounts of what was done, and agreeing upon the sums to be provided for each term. At this time, Sir Hans was very encouraging as to his judgment, and promised his very effectual assistance, and that, before the suit should fail for want of money, he would sell the best part of his estate, and so say'd all the rest proportionably, and that so long as any of them had it, none of the rest should want money for this end. There were no witnesses by them, but, being very near kinsmen, and besides of long acquaintances and great friendship, they were very forward, free, and cleverly in this conjunction and design as was possible for men or friends to be. It was considered that the Lady was very well provided with lawyers against friends, &c., and that in her deeds she had made use of the ablest lawyers then upon the stage, but hoped that her wicked contrivances would not be blessed, yea, such a case not countenanced by men of conscience or honor. Sir Hans further say'd, that the deed which the Lady had would make void the will, and that he was very creditably informed that there was a rasure in the deed which would make it void.

In a short time we got very good constructions from the lawyers of the will, and we doubt nothing the proving of it. The method of proceeding must be—first, that, by an order from the Chancery Court, Earl James's will be produced and settled in Court (which was soon obtained), but the Lady is not put to deposit her Lord's will, or deeds; next, that there be commissions granted for the examination of witnesses which were to be produced for proving of the several wills and deed, and the first struggle was, whether the father's or the son's should have the preference, and it was carried for the Lady; so a commission was granted for the examination of the Lady's witnesses. When the day appointed came, one of the commissioners on my Lady's side was absent, and the commissioners on the friends' side were kept back, so this diligence was lost. The next commissioners were to examine for the friends, and it was judged fit that this work should be done by some officers of the Court; in this the Lady had her choice, and the friends the next . . . or best worst. When they were to come down, my Lady's examinator pretended indisposition by the gout; the other came down, and the friends were advised to proceed with one examinator, which they did, at a vast charge (for the honor of the cause), in Downpatrick, but the Court rejected all this diligence, and denied the benefit of the testimony. In this time it must be allowed that noble widow was much and highly courted by many great persons, and tho' some say'd she was not ill to court, yet having many offers, must make her choice, and this proved to be my Lord Bargany, of Scotland, who in her first Lord's time had made acquaintance with her, and, as some say'd, intimately, and who appeared to her very generous, witty, but, especially, well furnished with money, for which she had now great use. In their first step, he secured to her a jointure of £600 per annum, out of an estate in Scotland which he had sold privately, immediately before he came to Ireland, and she secured his life rent in the estate she possessed, which she had clandestinely settled on her brother, Mr. Henry Moore; and what money she borrowed from him was to be repaid . . . by deeds of inheritance out of her estate!

After some time, another commission is granted to have examinators of the Court, one for each suit; and my Lady and her Lord resolved to come down to Down in great splendour, with many of her city and country friends about her, to attend this affair, especially to manage such as were prepared aright; but it fell out, in the week before the fixed time for their down coming, that their house took fire very suddenly and fiercely, so as with much ado some of the servants escaped with their lives, but almost all things in it were consumed with fire. I myself heard my Lord give this account of it; 1st, say'd he, "I never could find out yet how it took fire;" 2nd, "All in it were instantly and irrecoverably consumed;" 3d, "No other adjoining house received any harm by the fire, tho' some families lost much by putting out of their household goods for fear of it."

When the time came, and all concerned, with their friends and witnesses, the examinators proceed not very hastily, and both sides lived very high in their provisions, and, with their attendants, and making visits to one another, very complimentally, and chargeably, so as sometimes they lost themselves (*videlicit*, their senses) in the complmts., for a whole month together; but the most lamentable tragedy was of the persons sworn, and their testimonies, and the considerations upon which they did so swear, not fit to be expressed without some urgent necessity, tho' it may be told, that my Lord and Lady left their quarters without a farewell, and their charge was not refunded for several months thereafter, and with a great deal of trouble, to the honest innkeeper. After this, the great debate at the Court of Chancery was, how the validity of the testimonies *pro* or *con* should be

judged; at last the Chancellor committed this work to a jury of gentlemen in the King's County, to be by them tried and judged against a limited day, and the verdict to be—"A will, or no will?" The Lady now knew what she had to do, and bestirred herself accordingly, and to good purpose, as one of her greatest agents and intimates told me expressly, so as she had the whole gentlemen of the jury engaged for her, and to do her work in the time of this debate. As she, in her opinion, fortified herself by marrying my Lord Bargany, by whom she might be supplied of money; obliged her own friends by settlement of the estate upon her brothers,—her servants, and agents in the country, by great gifts,—and her counsellors and agents with exhorbitant fees, she endeavored to divide the friends of my Lord's family by some kind proposals. She offered to James of Neilsbrook, £500 per annum of inheratance, and as much money as would pay all his debts, on condition he would forbear to join with the other cousins in their bill and stand by her title, and to another £2000 in ready money; but, finding them generously resolved to stand by one another, and pursue their bill for the will, and the whole estate, she contented herself in the confidence she had of overthrowing the will, and outswearing the friends of the family, some of them being aged, and others of no great estates or skill for law debates, even tho' Earl James's will should be found good; yet fell under some uneasy accidents, for my Lord Bargany straitened her so very much for money, that she could neither live to her mind, nor gratify her friends, nor defray small debts; 2, the loss of apparel and household stuff was very great (about £4000), and she could not get herself recruited to that splendour she designed; 3, she fell under a general obloquy and contempt (which was much heightened by some of her greatest friends), and was severely . . . by the great wits of the time; 4, being thus disappointed, and also under great distemper of body, she fell under a high fever, and rage, and distraction, by it; resented her own folly and too great kindness to her own friends, that made her take unjust courses to defraud her good Lord Clanbrassill's friends of their right; called for the box wherein chief papers were, that she might destroy the deed she procured from her Lord Henry, and those she had made on behalf of her brothers and others, that she might destroy them, (but her mother, the Countess of Drogheda, being with her, would not permit this box to be brought); again and again regretted the infamy and misery she had brought herself to, and the sad state of her soul thereby, and so died, my Lord Bargany being in Scotland; her own friends neglecting her tho' they kept her papers and what else she had), her servants took course to have her corpse sent to Bangor privately, and so buried, without any the least solemnity. This fell out about a month before the time appointed for the jury of the King's County, their determination or judgment of the proof of the will.

CHAPTER VIII

OF THE JOINT PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRIENDS OF THE FAMILY, IN ORDER TO THE WILL AND THE ESTATE, AFTER COUNTESS ALICE'S DEATH

As hitherto, the friends of the family had proceeded according to their first measure by Sir Hans and James of Newcastle's management, in trust for their relations and for themselves; so they now call their other three cousins to consult of what measures should be taken with respect to this exigency of my Lady's death, and they agree to have a meeting at Bangor (the place of Earl Henry's residence, and in the middle of his estate), and to call to them all the chief

tenants of the estate whereof Earl Henry died and left his Lady posessed, and endeavor to persuade them to turn tenants to themselves, that so being in possession of the estate, they might have the stronger plea against such as should pretend any right to the estate by virtue of Countess Alice, her deeds, and so put them to a necessity of parting with their pretended right to them upon easy terms, perhaps easier, at least safer, than a law-suit might prove; and here it was advised and resolved, that each of the friends should provide themselves with so much money as their affairs might require; and here were kind offers of assisting, and being bound for one another, &c. Accordingly, the day of meeting was agreed on, and letters of warning from the five sent to them for keeping of such a meeting with them upon affairs to be intimated. At the time appointed, the tenants met punctually—the tenants, or at least chief of them, came generally; here some time was spent to inform them of the injuries the friends had sustained by the Lady, Countess Alice, her . . . practices; of the undoubted and honest right they had by Earl James's will; that their title was also rational and natural; and that by and of them they might expect all kind and fair dealing, &c.; to all which they agreed very heartily, and were willing to proceed in what methods the friends thought best. At this time some took leases from the five, and possession was peaceably given by my Lady Alice's servants and tenants, of the house and demesne of Bangor, to the five cousins; one of them was sent to Ringhaddy, with commission from the other four, to take possession of it in their names, which was also peaceably given and taken. This conversation continued a fortnight or thereabouts, and the tenants were entertained with meat and good liquors plentifully at the charge of the five. It was now agreed again, that Sir Hans and James should continue to manage the law-suit; and that money should be given them for two terms charges, viz, £40 a piece (which was accordingly soon done); and, that they should meet again, after the two terms, to get account of what was done, either of law or agreements, and consult what might be then pertinent, and state their accts., &c. It was also now agreed, that Mr. David Kennedy, a great friend of all the kinsmen, and brother-in-law to one of them, who was employed from the very first time, and accordingly did attend and assist in all the former terms and meetings, should attend and assist them at the next term.

All things seemed here to proceed very unanimously and lovingly, only Sir Hans and James were not willing to press the tenants to making attornment and giving of possession, lest some few or one might refuse, and that rumors and clamours would rise to our greater prejudice; but they had no ground to doubt of the tenants, their justice, yea, kindness to us, so far as we should need the same, for that we were assured of the chief and leading tenants, and that this was done by their advice and on their assurance.

This was for the time sufficient to plain dealing gentn. that distrusted nothing of such near relations under so honest a cause; but here was the cockatrice's egg laid, which soon after produced incredible mischiefs; for, at this time, one Captain John Baily, with a few chief tenants, had a private cabal, in a secret unsuspected place, with Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, and advised them to stop the attornment of the tenants to the five, and their title, and that these two should procure a title, either from my Lord Bargany or from the Moors, for themselves two, and so shake off the other three, and that, in this case, they would bring all the tenants to attorn to these two, and their title. This was soon agreed to, and put under a promise of mutual fidelity and proportionable kindness, and then under secrecy, which was sealed in a glass of wine and a kiss that went about. As it may be thought strange how this could grow to such a perfection in one night, and become

so pleasant to two gentn. in such circumstances as they were then under, so it is scarce creditable what firm rooting it took, and what growth it had, and fruit it bare, but the proverb is, "A wool buyer knows always a wool seller." Their former education and practices made the advisers ready with such council, and the advised to take hold of it, and practice it effectually, as the following discourse will shew. But here give me leave to digress from my chief scope into the character and account of this captain general of this machination, because he must be often mentioned hereafter, as he had also a great hand in many things past in Earl Henry and Countess Alice their time: —He was born of very mean but virtuous parents, who, in their thriving condition, bred him at schools so far that he was . . . years in the university, but applied himself to . . . . He spent on this account some time under the Marquis of Argyle, in the West Highlands of Scotland, against the McDonalds and the Marquis of Mountrose his party then in Scotland, as . . . to E. James Clanbrassill, under K . . . and P . . . against the Irish in that party; swore to the Solemn League and Covenant; then joined with the Duke of Hamilton in the cessation with the Irish. When that party was beat, he joined with Cromwell's party; was made by them a justice of the peace, and took the test then called positive or negative; kept the Anabaptist meetings, and withdrew from Presbyterians; thereafter (when King Charles the Second returned to his Government) betook himself to the Episcopal way, yet so as at sometimes he professed to be Presbyterian, and heard, yea, communicated with them in the time of Countess Ann Clanbrassill's widowhood; was her great assistant in managing the estate, being entrusted thereunto by Earl James his will; and for it, in Earl Henry's time, he gave his full endeavors and utmost assistance to suppress it, and get the whole estate in his power; and a great contriver with his Lady, and assistant to her for destroying of the will; then turned to Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, against the other three cousins; but still, rationally,—*i. e.*, for his own profit and gain; and indeed, he gained well after Earl James's death (at which time he was judged not to be well worth £100 in all), for ere he died he procured (*viis et modis*) upwards of £400 per annum. He had two sons, and two daughters that became marriageable, and cast off one son, and one daughter without portions, and died with this character, that he was a well-bred, fair-fashioned, subtle, selfish man—a time-server, a flatterer, a Proteus, a self-seeker; in all, his motto might well be, "*non marte sed arte*," or "*viis et modis*,"—a true soldier of fortune, true to himself, and false to all the world.

But to return to my purpose.—According to our late agreement, Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, repaired to Dublin at Term time, with Mr. Kennedy, instructed and provided as aforesaid; gave in a bill to the Chancery for proving of the will in name of the five kinsmen, against Cornet Henry Moore, now invested with his sister (Lady Alice) her title, and called Hamilton, *alias* Moore, whereupon he was called "Cornet *Alias*." The Cornet gives in a cross bill, to which the aforesaid Sir Hans and James gave their answer upon oath, affirming that Earl James his will was (as they verily believed) a good will, duly perfected, and carried a title of inheritance for all that Earl James died possessed of to the five, to be equally divided amongst the five; and that they believed Earl Henry's will to be surreptitious and clandestine, and moreover void by a subsequent deed, whereof they creditably heard and believed that there was a rasure made in it after it was perfected, and words put in it without Earl Henry his knowledge; but, in the meantime (according to the Articles of Bangor), Sir Robert Hamilton (lately become son-in-law to Sir Hans Hamilton), James Sloan, Hugh Hamill (two of Countess Alice's great agents and confidants, converted to Sir Hans, and James of New-

castle, their interest, by the aforesaid articles, and confederates with Captain John Baily), are set on work to agree with Cornet *Alias* for his title and interest in the estate. The last two acted as his friends in persuading the Cornet; the other (or first), as merchant in Sir Hans's name; and at last persuade him to sell and make the agreement for £2200, which is concluded the very day after Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, had sworn and given in their answer to the Cornet's bill; but all this is done with the greatest secrecy, and Sir Hans and James of Newcastle, write to their friends in the country, that they are proceeding very successfully against the Cornet. Meantime, they are perfecting writings, and securing in great friendship, and, with consent, obtain the late bill and answer to be got out of the Court. In process of time, the account of the transaction comes abroad, and it is little doubted, but generally believed, that this bargain is for the behoof of the five kinsmen; yea, Sir Hans, being questioned, say'd it was, and should be so, if they were able to provide their proportions of the money (I am sure, and can swear, he said it to be one engaged for against the time of payment). But the articles of Bangor are yet in force; and the next step is to make agreement, suddenly and with all privacy, with my Lord Bargany's agents, who were empowered by him to sell his interest, viz.—James Ross, of Portavoe, Hugh Hamill, of Ballyatwood, and Hugh Montgomery, of Ballymagown. This, by the assistance of Captain John Baily, was soon and well done on that same morning in whose evening the other three cousins were advertised to meet Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, at Hamilton's-Bawn, the first meeting being at Macherelin. How my Lord was dealt with by his trustees, I leave to his narrative.

I must now divert a little, and crave pardon—yea, I am sorry for it —to give an account of Sir Robert Hamilton, lately mentioned, because he comes often in our way, and in several capacities, in our subsequent account. As to his descent, or parentage, I can give no certain account, in regard his mother, and grandmother (by her), are under various and dismal characters; yet a good man, and Minister too, owned and gave him his education at the University of St. Andrew's. He was early ambitious of being a R . . . or Philosophy Professor, and which he purchased, for anything I know, by fair dispute; but, soon after, by ambition to shew his great parts, put forth in print (after a reprimand given him by some of his friends and masters of the College, who did see them in writing), philosophical theses, which . . . could defend at the public . . . of his scholars, which, being taken notice of by the divines and masters of these two Colleges, were found to be very erroneous and blasphemous, such as "*non est naturaliter impossible . . . cum mare*," and the like. He was advertised to retract these, but would not; whereupon, he was adjudged to deprivation of his office, and his gown (the badge of his profession), for disgrace sake, to be publicly torn over his head, which was accordingly done by public authority, the then Archbishop Sharpe concurring in his authority with this sentence. The disgrace of this put him to abandon his native country, together with fear of further prosecution (least, perhaps, he should have died in his grandmother's bed, and be deprived of a grave and burial), and fly to Holland, and spend some time for diversion and improvements. The next thing we hear of him is, that he comes to England, where, for his improvement in writing, true English, and arithmetic, he serves a brewer, in the quality of clerk to the brewhouse, for some time; thence, creeps into some acquaintance with the Duke of Lauderdale's servants, and, at last, by their kind character, into the Duke's own acquaintance, who (being himself a very learned courtly scholar), finding him to be a sharp philosopher and quick disputant, continues and employs him in some service, particularly being then designed to destroy the liberty of the

subject, and put the Government to absolute monarchy; employs him, perhaps concurs with him, to write a book, by way of problem and thesis, to dispute this point in several particulars, such as that it was lawful for the King of England, and his right, to levy taxes from his subjects without the consent of Parliament, and so to make war and peace at his pleasure, and others of this kind; and, for this end, he goes to Holland to print the book, and bring and disperse copies of it in England. With all, he was the fitter for this service that he had nothing to lose, and purchased great friendship and applause at Court, for which he was often in hazard, and forced to walk by moonlight, but the Court generally sheltered him; yet so as it was found convenient to come into Ireland, with assurance of friendship from Lauderdale (especially) and others. His first appearance in Ireland was in the quality of Doctor of the Civil Law, and as a Counseller-at-Law, and so put on another gown, but his practice proved so little, that it could not maintain his gown and man with the green bag; wherefore, he gets friends to move for him that he be entertained as agent for the Scottish nobility and gentry of Ireland, at the Court of England, and this has but little better success; only this, and his reputed learning, especially of the language of Whitehall, promoted him to a great deal of respect with the gentry, insomuch as he assumes the confidence to court Sir Hans Hamilton's only daughter, and with his countenance and allowance for a time, and great acceptance with his daughter and his lady all along. Sir Hans, after some time's acquaintance with him, and hearing reports of him which were unpleasant (such as we have mentioned, and perhaps worse), endeavored to resist and suppress this . . . but too late; and, importunately, he is drawn and forced to it by his lady and daughter's wishes for it. He, for this, having obtained the honor of knighthood, and a great show of interest at Whitehall, after some fierce resistance, obtains the lady, to the great grief of all her friends, except her mother. And now he dwells with his lady, and has obtained, in one, what he sought for in many years and ways, viz.,—riches, and honor, and a fine lady; yet Sir Hans is shy and unfriendly towards him, and their carriage to one another very variable and unstable. Shortly after, Sir Hans's lady sickened, languished, and died; and, not long after, the young lady died also, leaving one son behind her, so that now Sir Robert must . . . and Sir Hans screw him to his mind; and Sir Hans must make use of him as his occassions require, yet both doubtful of the issue. And what followed of him the subsequent discourse will give account of, as his life and manner of acting is now no secret. Only (1) it may well be say'd of him, that he is consonant with himself—for he took early up with arbitrary government, and sticks well by it; he professed the lawfulness of . . . in a single life, and did accordingly; he professed he should never marry a . . . with it; he resolved to marry his son at thirteen years of age, and did it; he declared (and sent the message by his cousin and council, Hans Trail,) that he would make no agreement with the friends of the family, but what law would conclude and necessitate him to, and has done it. (2) Whether he hath been more wise or fortunate, and what shall be the end of his course, I can but conjecture,—but time will tell.

CHAPTER IX

OF THE AGREEMENTS AND DISAGREEMENTS OF THE FIVE COUSINS IN SIR HANS HIS LIFETIME; HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER

When Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, had settled themselves in their now . . . and titles thereunto; made their friendship with all Lady Alice, her agents,

councels, clerks, &c.; had got all the papers of the estate into their hands, and the estate into their possession, and so much brass to give them confidence to avow what they had done and designed, then they call for the other three cousins to Hamilton's-Bawn, and make a great shew of kind and learned speeches, shewing that since their last meeting, they had purchased Cornet Moore's, and my Lord Bargany's titles, by the advice of their lawyers, who assured them that Earl James his will, if it were proven, could bring no more to them than Lady Ann her jointure, or some life-rents and freeholds that were not mentioned in the common recovery which Earl Henry made, and whereon a fine was levied; that Cornet Moore being resolved to sell his title, and some others resolved and ready to buy it, they found it convenient to make a bargain with him for themselves, it being a title wholly different and opposite to that of theirs by the will, and which, if it were in other men's hands, they might be troublesome and chargeable to us to debate with them, but that they were willing to give us, without law or any charges, yea, make their purchaser's title a guard and defence to the other, that they might have thereby £30 or £40 yearly, of the life-rents during Lady Ann her life; that, by her consent, the jointure lands might be divided, and they might get some possessions from her which might be much improved, by giving long leases, &c. The other three, finding the air of this conversation much altered from what it ought and wont to be, and having no advice from lawyers in this case, and that they had neither friends, means, nor skill in law, to oppose or contend with the other two; considering what vast expence they had laid out in the former suit under their management, endeavored with great calmness to plead as they could, that this seemed not fair dealing; was not according to former communings; would be ill spoken of in the world; would still be a matter of resentment to their families; pressed that they might be included in the bargain; told them they had or could get money to defray their charges of what was agreed for; would be content to give a liberal gratification to Sir Hans for the pains he had been at about it; made very kind offers upon this account; that, for credit sake to all, and for peace and love among their successors, they might proceed as they had begun, &c. It was replied, that the bargain was not so great as was judged, considering the many debts now due out of it; that he judged he should be a greater gainer by what was proposed; but he and his cousin James had engaged themselves to each other, and their fortunes for payment of what was engaged; and that the counting and discounting with so many shares and partners, would be but troublesome and unprofitable; and so renewed their purpose of giving them all that the will at best could bear, and settle the same in articles, and give bonds for performance. It was further offered and urged by the three friends, that they would agree that some other friends of the family might be consulted, and that by their advice they would consent that so much might be taken from the four as might enable Sir Hans (with his own estate) to take and maintain the honor of the family, (which fell with Earl Henry) provided it might be kept in the family, and be . . . on Earl James his will, and the other surreptitious and base title rejected and avoided; but all would not prevail, for Sir Hans told the three plainly, that if they now refused what was offered, they should have nothing by consent, and in these words:—"You have Hobson's choice." The three then seemed to submit, but desired that some other kinsmen, then in the house, might be admitted to hear and help in the discourse, but this could not be admitted; and, instead thereof, the five came out of the room where the former discourse was had, and Sir Hans told them what he had offered, but asked no advice or opinion about it, nor gave any further occasion of discourse or debate about it, but proposed that James of Newcastle, and David Kennedy,

should draw the articles, at least minute the heads communed on, that they might be ready for being perfected at the next meeting, which was agreed on to be within three days thereafter. Thus they then parted, and afterward met by appointment, but no articles nor minute were drawn; James say'd he could not undertake it, and David Kennedy could not take upon him to do it without his assistance; but, on both sides, there was a willing delay, both hoping for better terms, and it was agreed they should meet at the next General Assizes, to be held in the County of Down, at the beginning of it, that they might be done by some able counsel at law, and so perfected. It was also then proposed, that we should take account of my cousin. James of Newcastle, his disbursements and receipts relating to the law-suit.

The three postponed cousins went off with a great deal of grumbling and grief that they should be so served, and yet could not find a remedy. The friends (not related in the suit) were offended, for that they were not called to the conference, and blamed the three for their too easy . . . . The three apologized from Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, their unwillingness, &c., but all were full of trouble, yet found no opportunity for resentment, yea, Sir Robert Hamilton, and Francis Hamilton, their two ladies, and others, appeared very much troubled, yea displeased with the course that Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, had taken, and were very free in private discourses to declare their thoughts to that purpose. Even Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, had much ado to keep countenance in this conversation; but the design was formerly laid, and they were now resolved to stick by and carry on the confederacy of Bangor, and it was a fat bit they carved to themselves,—the others paid for the roast. In the first return, at the Assizes of Down, they came particularly as agreed on; but two or three days must pass or Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, can be got at leisure. At last they meet in haste, and a counsel is brought and commended by the two, as a very able drawer of such writings, one Swift, artist enough, but then known and now famous for making back doors and Welshmen's hosen. Every one gave him a large fee in view, and by consent (within five pence of £5 in all), but what was say'd, or done, or say'd in secret, I pretend not to know. Sir Hans made the narrative, and such as the other four could not contradict; but there was no time to chat out, for Sir Hans was in great haste, and the counsel had but little time. An hour was also appointed for reading his draught; it was particularly kept; the counsel and paper came; it was read, but there was no time considering, amending, or transcribing; the paper is committed to Pat. Hamilton (one of the three cousins); and the friends are to meet in some time and place when Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, should find leisure and conveniency—but no word is here of accounts. A considerable time now goes over without any discourse or advertisement for a meeting and concluding of what was unfinished, yet not without thoughts and designs on either party. At last it falls out, that Sir Hans, James of Newcastle, John Baily, and Pat. Hamilton, are in Dublin. Some discourse falls in betwixt Pat. and the two, about the articles. He is shy and doubtful of doing anything separately from the other two concerned. He consults John Baily, his old friend, and intended father-in-law. The captain protests the greatest kindness and concern for him imaginable, for that he had expelled his then only daughter, because she refused to marry Pat. at his advice and earnest desire, and that he had the same kindness for him as if he had married her, seeing that it was both their desires; and, in the next place, advises him to agree with the two on whatsoever terms he could now reach; that certainly it would be a falling market with him and the other two; for that, to his certain knowledge, Sir Hans and James were so

invested in titles, and furnished with papers and friends (and what not), that it was in their option whether they should give them sixpence or not. Pat., believing all this to be real and certain, intreats him to set the business on foot with Sir Hans and James, that he might be settled to the best advantage. John Baily sets forward about it (being . . . on both sides), and obtains articles something like, yet far different from, what were at first proposed, and to boot (as a special favor for breaking the ice), and under great privacy and agreement, a rent-charge (with a false bottom) for £50 a-year, during Ann Clanbrassill's life, for or in lieu of the life-rents, and that he abate for ever ten pounds a-year of his share after my Lady's death; and, withall, that he actually renounce all title to the estate purchased from Henry Moore, which he did.

About this time came Mr. William Hamilton, brother to James of Neilsbrook, into the country, and designed to assist his brother for investing of a title made to that family by my Lord Claneboy in a Deed of Settlement, whereof he was informed, by a very faithful witness, that it was perfected by him, and whereby the estate was settled on Halcraig's family, failing heirs of his own body—and that there was such a deed is more than probable. On the account of this deed, and what might be found out about it, the aforesaid James hesitated to proceed with the other four in the proof of the will, and, by consent, gave in a several answer to the Lady's bill from the other four. Being in the country, he courteously visited all his relations, and kindly offered his opinion to some of them that were injured for redress, yet modestly, because he found them leaning to Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, their conduct and integrity, they being yet ignorant of what politicks the one had learned in the Green Chamber (about the settlement of the '49 arrears), and Court of Claims, and the other had practiced with his cousin K . . . Usher, of Balsoon—his intrigues with his cousin, Ann Trail, being not yet discovered, as afterwards they appeared. After some time spent, wherein he could make no progress in his design (all the papers of the estate being in such hands, whose interest forbid them to make such discovery, or were perverted by them), he returned full of grief that he could neither be usefull to his brother and family, nor as yet make his friends sensible of the calamitys they were bringing upon themselves, through the exuberant confidence they put upon Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle—but, soon after, they were sufficiently convinced of and penitent for, their error.

CHAPTER X

OF WHAT ENSUED TILL SIR HANS'S DEATH

Matters being so far settled for the time, Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, improve and divide their new purchase, according to the agreement of Bangor, and are, in that estate, the sole landlords, to the value of £1800 per annum—(generally) of chief-rents—and have many merry meetings about it. James of Neilsbrook lyes by in discontent with the articles; Archibald and Pat are promised an account of the disbursements of the life-rents, and that they shall be presently divided, and every one posessed of their share; and so appointments are made from time to time, but still in the County of Down, where the other two have their affairs carrying on, and sometimes to assize them. It's say'd they will settle by advice; but nothing is done but friendly and very chargeable converse, with apologies, new appointments, and fresh promises; for the agreement of Bangor must be now effectually prosecuted, but very prudently, and in these following steps:—1st. An

agreement is made with Sir Robert Maxwell for the lease of the Seven Towns, and his obligation and his Lady's to deliver up the Castle of Killileagh and the jointure (after the Lady's death) to Sir Hans and James, and, in the meantime, they get the Library (then at Killileagh) into their possession; but the Lady is kept ignorant of all till she must be invited to subscribe to the papers, which were many, tedious, and well contrived, and this contrivance to boot, that they are all laid open upon a large table. She, being sensible of the slight already done her, and jealous she might be outwitted by them if she should read them, chooses (which they expected, and were well prepared for,) to decline the reading of them, and to sign them upon their word of honor that there was nothing in them tending in any manner of way to prejudice of the other three cousins, and their title by her Lord's will. Captain John Baily, being one of the party, is chosen to vouch this, and does it, liberally and confidently, and all the parties say it is so; whereupon she signs and seals to all the papers.—2. It was, in pursuance of this, contrived, that there should be a settlement of the estate of this jointure by the co-heirs-at-law, Sir Robert Maxwell, his Lady, and the five cousins, upon Robert Finlay (servant to Sir Hans), and Robert M'Creery (servant to James of Newcastle), on trust for Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, partly for themselves, partly in trust, and for the performance of articles. This is framed and appointed by the general meeting of all, at the assizes time, to be finished; but it fell out, that Sir Hans was then sick and could not attend it, and it could not be managed without him; whereby, as the meeting was useless, so counsel was taken about it by the three. The snare was discovered, and this matter scoffed at, so as it died abortive.—3. It was proposed as reasonable, and the good Lady to promote it, that Gil. How (the only surviving witness who testified of my Lord's being *compos mentis*), should be gratified for his fidelity to us; to this all agreed, and accordingly perfected a profitable lease of some lands in the jointure, to the great joy of the two, whilst the good Lady and the other three were not aware of the design of burying the will, and making the three incapable of proving the will against the two; whilst two other subscribing witnesses had sworn (upon very ponderous and ruinous considerations) that said James was not *compos mentis* at the perfecting of the will, and that, if the three should attempt to prove the will, the third witness could be proved by this grant, or lease, to be bribed.—4. It is pretended and propounded as a great convenience to all the five, that it were fit to value and divide the jointure in five distinct equal shares, and the good Lady is willing to it; and it is discoursed as very advantageous for enabling each of the five to set long leases, levy fines, build, &c. To this end, three captains are chosen to value all the lands, in order to a dividend; but Captain Baily must be one; the other two more (but not both quite) equal.—On this account many meetings are appointed, and doubts enquired and answered, till two years expire, ere they can be ready; and many apologies are made by Captain Baily, who was most defective in meetings—and all are taken well off his hand. At last it is almost perfected, and a lusty . . . is offered of 20,000 acres, besides royalties, castles, mills, tuckmills, towns, woods, &c., and then it is time to set some pretty little engines on foot still in order to the agreement of Bangor, such as—1. Many are set on to ask from the five gratifications for their kindness and good services, (at least offered,) such as Mr. Richardson, James Sloan, Mrs. Trail, several of Earl Henry's servants, Mr. Ferguson, and Captain Baily; Captain William Fairlie must not be neglected; and David Kennedy must have something from the co-heirs.—2. Three Presbyterian Ministers of the estate must (by the Lady's request) have £5 apiece per annum; and by the advice of the two, these must be given them in lands, by long and profitable

leases.—3. There is a debt of Earl James's of £100, now become £300, but may be taken off if each of the five will pay or secure £40—that is £200 for all—4. Of so great a matter, it is reasonable to gratify Sir Hans Hamilton with something suitable unto himself, in spite of his great demerits to us, at such a time. It was given out that it was promised to him, but this could not be proved, yea, was briskly denied, and offered to declare the contrary in his face; at least, he would not join in amicable agreement without it. This last must be considered, and, by consent, some are employed to find out what this must be that will please him; a return is made of something (especially mentioned) which would; and, all lovingly, for peace and love sake, it is agreed unto by the other four, and offered to him on the supposition above-mentioned. He thinks not to be so served, yet will not tell what will please, but declares he will be no longer concerned with us, or them; he will do for himself, and bids others to do the like; with some insulting expressions, refuses to perform the articles, or be concerned in proving the will, but—"Let every tub stand on its own bottom"—"Let those that are first weary complain," &c.—and so the five parted, and never met. At this time Captain Baily was in town, but very sick, and Sir Hans must see him often after this (which was much and variously talked of). All the friends being gone of the town, Captain Baily was pleased to tell a friend, that Sir Hans had yet a blast to blow which would push the three cousins off their feet, and he would soon do it. Within a few days, Sir Hans went to Dublin; his occasions were not known but to near friends; and, ere he finished his treaty with William Moore, he died; and Sir Robert Hamilton, who willingly met him there from England and watched him well, concluded the agreement with William Moore; entered himself executor to Sir Hans (though he made no will), and brought him to his burial-place. Upon hearing of this agreement with William Moore—"This," said the wise Captain Baily, "is the blast Sir Hans designed, and went to Dublin to finish."

As to Sir Hans his character, there is too much given of it already in the account of his actions, and we only add, that, as a person of good endowments, so he acquired a great deal of knowledge by reading, but much more by converse and business, wherewith he was extraordinarily exercised in the last twenty years of his age, he being of the King's Privy Council, and Justice of the quorum, and a captain (then) of a foot company; and with many, as tenants and creditors, he was naturally affable, and generous in his conversation, and housekeeping. He was almost equally related to the Irish, English, and Scotch, and had intimacy with some of all, and he spoke readily and truly all these languages in great propriety of speech. What his way was when one of the trustees for managing the arrears due to the Scottish army, and their affairs for 1649, was judged to be much by ill example, and the injuries falling upon friends and comrades at war, were modestly spoken of; and his carriage in the affairs of his friends about the estate of Clanbrassill, was imputed much to bad counsel, and not a little to his son-in-law:—at least if he had been just to have performed honestly what Sir Hans agreed and covenanted to do, he had saved much of the [dis]honor his name unavoidably sustained, and perhaps will as long as he is named in the world; and this has been often regretted by Sir Hans's friends, that they were sorry they were forced by law-suits to publish his disingenuity, covetousness, and treachery, to the world; and it is certain he was greatly affected in his ill matching of his daughter, and the death of all in a short time, and with universal obloquy, and perhaps too much great contempt for that and several other things which would have been buried with him if his son-in-law had (as it well became him) duly regarded his honor; but, *qui sibi nequam qui b* . . . .

CHAPTER XI

OF WHAT TREATY PRECEDED THE LAW-SUIT BETWIXT SIR ROBERT HAMILTON, JAMES OF NEWCASTLE, AND THE OTHER THREE, AND MADE THE LAW-SUIT UNAVOIDABLE ON THE PART OF THE THREE

I must now remind, that Archibald and Patrick were snared under the articles formerly mentioned; but James of Neilsbrook, upon a reference of the differences betwixt Sir Hans and James of Newcastle, stood under an award of arbitrators, who adjudged them to perform according to these articles, and him to be determined thereby; yet Sir Hans never subscribed to the bonds of submission, nor was James of Neilsbrook satisfied with the award, so as there was no further agreement. Meantime, Archibald got nothing, nor could he get so much as accounts stated with them; but, on the contrary, Sir Hans had ordered his agent to possess himself on his account of an estate which Archibald had in the parish of Ballywalter (whereof a part was inheritance, and a part by lease-hold), and this was done by distraining the tenants till they got possession, which was performed after his death, for that Sir Robert will not quit it, and Archibald was unwilling (and now not very able) to go to law. Yea, further, whereas Sir Hans was due a debt by bond to Archibald, Sir Robert put him to a suit at law, for clearing the account of byepast annuities which he had received, though Archibald never sued Sir Hans nor him for either principle or annuities, and offered frequently to discount without law, but Sir Robert would do nothing but by law. Patrick had for some few years received £50 by a rent-charge on some lands of the Estate of Clanbrassill, and Sir Robert and James of Newcastle stopt it, and received it for their own uses; so now all the three were in the same circumstances, and very much exhausted of their small estates by the charges of the suit which Sir Hans and James managed to no purpose; and, besides, by frequent and chargeable appointments and meetings of the five, from time to time, and from place to place, upon several pretences, at all which times and places Archibald and Patrick were equal charges with Sir Hans and James, though (besides their own estates and employments) they now possessed £1,800 a-year out of the Estate of Clanbrassill, and had their attendants suitable, it being of the agreement of Bangor, to out-weary and expend them, till they should be glad at last to take any small trifle of money the two should be pleased to give them; for they assured themselves the three would never go to law, having neither skill in it, nor money nor friends for it, yea, were not men of the times. On the other side, Sir Robert Hamilton forces himself into Sir Hans his place, and in this manner Sir Hans, in a late settlement, had committed his estates and affairs to be managed for his grandchild's use, to his own brother, Lieutenant Francis Hamilton, and Major Richardson; and all expected this would have continued, for that it was known Sir Hans his great design was to keep it from Sir Robert his handling; but he found agents to persuade these two to break their trust (for to subvert honest wills and break trusts was now their work, and it was but just that Sir Hans was so served as he had done to others), though formerly none appeared more forward to please Sir Hans and slight Sir Robert than they; but "a living dog is better than a dead lion," and withal he had entered himself as executor to Sir Hans; bought William Moore's title; and had procured of the Court of Chancery to be guardian to Sir Hans's grandchild; and so enters upon his whole estate and affairs. Lieutenant H. came into £600, which law could not have given him; James of Newcastle met with a fit comrade, and got a new title over

his head against the three cousins; and Major Richardson was complimented out of his room, and say'd he had no reason to stick by Sir Hans's settlement, when his own brother and cousin (whom he had so much obliged) did forget it. After some time spent in considering how to go about the settlement of the matter, Sir Robert and James of Newcastle are tried by the friends of what course they will take, and they profess liberally a great disposition and desire for an amicable agreement. For this end, a time is appointed, and it is agreed on, that William Hamilton, of Edinburgh, shall be sent for to meet at such a place and such a day. At the time appointed, he and others met, and James of Newcastle tells that he did not expect his cousin William, and so had involv'd himself in business which he could not now neglect, but he would be able shortly to fix another diet; and thus several fixed times are postponed; and being privately attack'd, he did not stick to say he was not now bound by the articles, for that when he entered into them he had no title to the estate; and now hoped that if they should sue him on that account, the Lord Chancellor would relieve him. After some time thus spent, and that Sir Robert Hamilton had often say'd he would not give the other three cobs apiece for their interest by the articles, for that he held by William Moore's title, and James of Newcastle by him; yea, to this effect he spoke to the friends themselves. Whilst matters stood thus with the three friends, they find it unavoidable that they must go to law, and agree together to assay it, entreating earnestly Mr. William Hamilton's conduct and assistance. He resolves to assay it, yet still as to be ready to hearken to all offers and opportunities for peace. As this goes abroad, and that every body's mouth was full of the discourse of this matter, they offered new conferences, especially one at Dublin, where all must meet. At the time agreed on they meet, but none must be present at any discourse but the parties, and Mr. William Hamilton, who had treated for the three. When the discourse was entered on, Sir Robert, and James of Newcastle, would own no articles but some consideration for friendship's sake, and because they had by an unfortunate conduct laid out money in order to the proving of the will, and more to this purpose; all of which the three thought was nothing to the purpose, and so resolved to acquaint Sergeant Osborne with this treatment, and ask his advice. Sergeant Osborne being repaired to, had the view of the articles and bonds, and an account of the present treatment (and something of byepasts), and advised of it, and say'd he would discourse the matter with Sir Robert and James; and, as they waited on him thereafter, it fell out that Sir Robert and James came to the Sergeant's. The three and Mr. William Hamilton withdrew, yet overheard loud and vehement discourse on both sides. At last the three were called in to them, and the Sergeant told them that he found Sir Robert and James persuaded and resolved not to own the articles, but stand on their title by William Moore; and that he was sorry for the difference he found among them that were all kinsmen, and lately of one side and in one bottom, for that he could do us no service. There was also the like diligence used with a person of quality, to whom it was supposed that Sir Robert paid a great deference, which proved of no better success—all to prevent a lawsuit. But, shortly after, James of Newcastle was pleased to come up to the place where the three and Mr. William Hamilton lodged, and told them, "Gentlemen, I am come to unmask myself, and speak barefaced to you, tho' hitherto I was obliged to comply with Sir Robert his methods and discourse. The truth is (say'd he), I purchased a share in William Moore his title for myself, to enable me to perform my share of the articles. If you will pay me for your shares of the purchase money and charges I have been at, I am content to treat with you on these terms, tho' I cannot bring Sir Robert Hamilton to do as I would." The three and Mr. Wm.

thanked him for his freedom, and say'd they would think of what use they could make of his discovery, but at this time no further progress could be made toward agreement. This matter being much noised, especially amongst the friends of the Court, the two offer yet another assay whilst Mr. William Hamilton was in Dublin, making preparations for a law-suit, and it is agreed that on a prefixed day all shall meet at Ballycloughan, the place of James of Newcastle his residence, and that Mr. H., of Bangor, and Doctor H. Kennedy, of Ballycultra, shall be with them. Whereupon Mr. W. Hamilton is sent for, and comes in great haste. At the meeting, great professions of friendship are made; but the communings must not be carried on openly or in the presence of all parties, but the parties keep different rooms; and the two formerly mentioned carry and plead overtures and proposals betwixt the parties, until they seem all to have agreed as things were represented; and for . . . of all, it is agreed unto, that Sir Robert Hamilton and Mr. William Hamilton shall meet at Dublin on a prefixed day, and present the matter agreed on to counsel, and prepare all things for being perfected by the rest concerned; and that, upon their advertisement, all shall come up to finish the matters and papers so prepared.

At the appointed time (or thereabouts), they met at Dublin; but Sir Robert contracted some indisposition, which kept him in his chamber. Mr. William Hamilton paid him several visits, but proposed nothing of business until Sir Robert urged him to it; their first work was to recapitulate the terms condescended on, and they differ so far as that they can proceed no further in the way of treaty, and so give it up, yet, so as Mr. William Hamilton on the one hand prepared diligences for the suit, suitable to Sir Robert his quality (he being then a member of the Privy Council), but, say'd he would expect to hear further from him ere he would serve his letter missive (having lost a former diligence, by the treaty at B. Cloghan). At last, Sir Robert sent his cousin (and, indeed, all their cousins were concerned in the suit), Mr. Trail, with an express commission (which Mr. Hamilton would not receive till he had provided three or four credible witnesses) to tell him he would treat no more with him, but expected (or desired) that he would enter his suit at law, and make use of his summons or letter missive, which, having taken those gentlemen witnesses, he did on that same day, being the very last day they were in force. But the truth is, Sir Robert had been dangerously unwell, and recovered his litigious humor with his strength; yet his retreat was fair, for he denied what Mr. William alleged was agreed to, and Mr. William could neither prove it, nor oblige him to stand to it if he had.

CHAPTER XII

OF THE FIRST PART OF THE SUIT BEFORE CHANCELLOR PORTER, AND WHY IT PASSED IN CHANCELLOR FITTON'S TIME

Whilst all assays and endeavors for peaceable determining of the differences betwixt the two and the three proved ineffectual, and now the three can have nothing but what they can evince at law, the three give in the bill to the Chancellor for proving the will, and that according thereunder they may have, each of them, the fifth part of the estate whereof Earl James Clanbrassill died seized, settled upon them severally and respectively. Sir Robert, and James of Newcastle, put in their answers upon oath severally, and Sir Robert first answers for Sir Hans's grand-child as his guardian, that the whole estate belonging to him and James of

Newcastle, by virtue of a purchase made thereof from Henry Moore, now Earl of Drogheda jointly; then for himself, that the estates belonged to himself, and James of Newcastle, by virtue of a purchase made thereof, from William Moore, brother to the now Earl of Drogheda, but that Sir Hans, and James of Newcastle, had agreed with the three upon certain articles, for performance whereof they were always willing; that as to the will made by Earl James they knew nothing of it, nor were concerned in it. James of Newcastle, answers upon oath that Sir Hans and he had purchased a title from Henry Moore, now Earl of Drogheda; that the whole estate belonged to himself, and Hans Hamilton, grand-child to Sir Hans Hamilton, which he believed was a good title; and tho' formerly he believed, and had sworn, that Earl James's will was good and duly perfected, and conveyed a firm title to the five of the whole estate, yet now he believed it was not so; pleaded also that Sir Hans and he had made articles with the three, who had witnesses, and gave in proofs for their title, but the two produced no witnesses. Upon hearing, the Chancellor say'd, whereas, the two as well as the three had sworn in their answers to Countess Alice Clanbrassill, and Henry Earl of Drogheda, their bill, that the will must be received as good, to them all, but, whereas, their answers proposed new matter, viz., of articles whereof the other had nothing in their bill, he directed their bill should be renewed, and the whole matter of difference should be set forth in their bill, and then he would judge of all, the other party saying also for themselves what they could; the which (as they on both sides) were making ready to do, the Chancellor Porter was laid aside from his office, and ere he had left the city and kingdom, it was moved to him by the three, that he would be pleased to determine the matter, by way of reference, to which all might agree, and settle accordingly. He consented to undertake it; but, the two declined this, having a better prospect in his successor, Sir Thomas Fitton, he being of near kindred to Sir Hans his grand-child, and to James of Newcastle, by their mother, a professed papist, and besides of no great esteem for skill in law, and far less for justice and honor. During his time, all that the three could do was to get (if possible) James of Newcastle, and Sir Robert to answer interrogatories about some known transactions, give account of freehold and other deeds, but it was to no purpose, to expect they should swear to their prejudice; for whatever was of moment, the one knew nothing, and the other remembered nothing of it. In this time it fell out that James of Newcastle . . . in suit of a lady who was kinswoman to the Countess Ann Clanbrassill, which came to visit her before she should be married, and discoursing with her earnestly about it, dissuaded her from it, and by this argument, that he had been very deceitful and injurious to his cousins, and that God would not bless what he had acquired by such unjust ways, and to that effect; nevertheless, she was prevailed with to marry him, but this advice and reason struck heavy upon her; to pacify her on this account, there are new motions proposed for an agreement, and friends are called together, wherein Sir Robert Hamilton impowers James of Tullymore, and James of Newcastle, to determine finally all those differences, and that he would rest satisfied with what they do, or the persons they should agree to as arbitrators, and this under hand and seal. It is also essayed to find out fit persons on both sides, and five persons are nominated on each side, of which two on either side shall have power to determine all, and the adverse party to take out three. With all, it is proposed that James of Newcastle shall acquaint Sir Robert herewith, not of necessity but of good manners, and that they will acquaint the three, and other friends when they shall get Sir Robert's answer; the Lady is convinced of her husband's justice; but they had never the manners to acquaint the three with Sir Robert's answer, or

promote what was seemingly agreed on, that not being their design. But now the tumults and stirs in the country are so hot, that all people's minds employed, and Sir Robert, and James of Newcastle, enjoy the estate peaceably and are confident the three cousins will never shake them out of it, tho' still it is uneasy to them to hear how everybody of sense and honesty cry against their treacherous dealing with the cousins, being entrusted by them, and conducting the business at their charge, and with protestations of honesty.

APPENDIX T

CONDITIONS OF THE ULSTER PLANTATION

(*See Page 505, Vol. I*)

The Lord Deputy for Ireland received from England on the 6th of March, 1608–9, a copy of a paper carefully drawn up and entitled *Collection of such Orders and Conditions as are to be observed by the Undertakers upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster.*

The following is a true copy of the "Collection" above-named, the text of which is printed in Harris's *Hibernica*, 1770, pp. 123–130:

Whereas, the greatest part of six counties in the province of Ulster within the Realme of Ireland, named Ardmagh, Tyrone, Colrane, Donegall, Fermanagh and Cavan, being escheated and come to the crown, hath lately been surveyed, and the survey thereof transmitted to his Majesty: upon view whereof his Majesty of his princely Bounty, not respecting his own Profit, but the publick Peace and Welfare of that Kingdom, by the civil Plantation of those unreformed and waste countries, is graciously pleased to distribute the said Lands to such of his Subjects, as well of Great Britain as of Ireland, as being of Merit and Ability shall seek the same, with a mind not only to benefit themselves but to do service to the crown and commonwealth.

And forasmuch as many persons, being ignorant of the conditions whereupon his Majesty is pleased to grant the said Land, are importunate suitors for greater portions than they are able to plant intending their private Profit only, and not the advancement of the Publick Service: it is thought convenient to declare and publish to all his Majesty's subjects the several quantities of the Proportions which shall be distributed, the several sorts of undertakers, the manner of Allotment, the Estates, the Rents, the Tenures, with other Articles to be observed as well on his Majesty's behalf, as on the behalf of the undertakers, in manner and form following:—

First. The Proportions of land to be distributed to Undertakers shall be of three different Quantities, consisting of sundry parcels or precincts of Land, called by certain Irish names known in the several Counties, viz., Ballibetaghs, Quarters, Ballyboes, Tathes, and Polles; the first or least Proportion to contain such or so many of the said Parcels as shall make up a thousand English Acres at the least; the second or middle Proportion to contain such or so many of the Parcels as shall make up fifteen hundred English Acres at the least; and the last or greatest Proportion to contain such or so many of the Parcels as shall make up two thousand English Acres at the least; to every of which Proportions shall be allowed such Quantity of Bog and Wood as the country shall conveniently afford.

Secondly. The Persons of the Undertakers of the several Proportions shall be of three sorts, viz., 1. English or Scottish, as well servitors as others, who are to plant their portions with English, or inland Scottish inhabitants.* 2. Servitors

* The inland Scots were supposed to be a more desirable race for plantation purposes than the inhabitants of the northern and western coasts of Scotland, who from their position, had been kept, as restless as the waves around them. The

of the kingdom of Ireland, who may take meer Irish, English, or inland Scottish Tenants at their Choice. 3. Natives of Ireland who are to be made freeholders.

Thirdly. His Majesty will reserve unto himself the appointment in what county every Undertaker shall have his Portion. But to avoid Emulation and Controversy, which would arise among them, if every Man should choose his Place where he would be planted, his Majesty's Pleasure is that the Scites or Places of their Portions in every county shall be distributed by Lot.

Lastly. The Several Articles ensuing are to be observed, as well on behalf of his Majesty, as of the Several Undertakers respectively.

Articles concerning the English and Scottish Undertakers, who are to plant their portions with English and Scottish Tenants.

1. His Majesty is pleased to grant Estates in Fee-Farm to them and their Heirs. 2. They shall yearly yield unto his Majesty, for every Proportion of a thousand Acres, Five Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence English, and so rateably for the greater Proportions, which is after the rate of Six Shillings and Eight Pence for every three score English Acres. But none of the said Undertakers shall pay any Rent, until the Expiration of the first two years, except the Natives of Ireland who are not subject to the Charge of Transportation. 3. Every Undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the greatest Proportion of two thousand Acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same by Knight's service in capite; and every Undertaker of so much Land as shall amount to the middle Proportion of fifteen hundred Acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same by Knight's service, as of the Castle of Dublin. And every Undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the least Proportion of a thousand acres or thereabouts, shall hold the same in Common Soccage; And there shall be no Wardships upon the two first descents of that land. 4. Every Undertaker of the greatest Proportion of two thousand Acres shall, within two years after the Date of his Letters Patents, build thereupon a Castle, with a strong Court or Bawne* about it. And every Undertaker of the Second or middle Proportion of fifteen hundred Acres shall, within the Same time, build a Stone or Brick House thereupon, with a Strong Court or Bawne about it. And every Undertaker of the least Proportion of a thousand Acres, shall, within the Same time, make thereupon a Strong Court or Bawne at least. And all the said Undertakers shall draw their Tenants to build Houses for themselves and their Families near the principal Castle, House, or Bawne, for their mutual Defence or Strength. And they shall have Sufficient Timber, by the Assignation of such Officers as the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland shall appoint, out of his Majesty's woods in that Province, for the same Buildings, without paying anything for the same, during the said two Years; and to that end there shall be a present Inhibition to restrain the felling or destruction of said Woods in the meantime for what cause soever. 5. The said Undertakers, their Heirs and Assigns, shall have ready in their Houses at all Times a convenient Store of Arms, wherewith they may furnish a competent number of able Men for their Defence, which may be viewed and mustered every half-year, according to the manner of England. 6. Every of the said Undertakers, English or Scottish, before the ensealing of his Letters Patents, shall take the oath of Supremacy either in the Chancery of

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term "inland" has since given place to the more appropriate one of "lowland," as descriptive of those Scots who came principally from the counties of Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Ayr, Renfrew, Dumfries, Lanark, and Dumbarton.

* The word "bawn" is the anglicized form of the Irish *bo-dhaigan*, or *bàdhùn*, a "cattle-fortress." It was customary among the ancient Irish to construct their bawns or cattle enclosures near their residences in times of peace, and adjoining their encampments in times of war. These enclosures were always formed on a certain well-recognized plan, of trenches and banks strengthened by stakes, or most frequently by growing hedges, to guard against the attacks of wolves and other ravenous animals, as well as the assaults of hostile tribes. The remains of these ancient Irish bawns or enclosures still exist numerously throughout Ulster, although vast numbers of them have been levelled by the farmers from year to year. The term *boaghun* was invariably used in former times throughout the north and west of Scotland to designate the cattle-enclosure connected with each hamlet or village.—Rev. George Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608–1620*, Belfast, 1877, p. 82.

England or Ireland, or before the Commissioners to be appointed for establishing of the Plantation, *and shall also conform themselves in Religion, according to his Majesty's Laws.* 7. The said Undertakers, their Heirs and Assigns, shall not alien or demise their Portions, or any part thereof to meer Irish, or to such Persons as will not take the oath which the said Undertakers are bound to take in the former Article. And to that End a Proviso shall be inserted in their Letters Patent. 8. Every Undertaker shall, within two years, plant or place a competent number of English and Scottish Tenants upon his Portion, in such manner as by the Commissioners to be appointed for establishing of this Plantation, shall be prescribed. 9. Every of the said Undertakers for the space of five years next after the date of his Letters Patents shall be resident in person himself upon his Portion, or place some such other Person thereupon as shall be allowed by the State of England and Ireland, who shall be likewise resident there during the said five years, unless by reason of sickness, or other important cause, he be licensed by the deputy and council of Ireland to absent himself for a time. 10. The said Undertakers shall not alien their Portions during five years next after the Date of their Letters Patents, but in this manner, viz., one-third part in Fee-Farm, another third part for forty years, or under, reserving to themselves the other third Part without Alienation during the said five years. But after the said five years they shall be at liberty to alien to all Persons, except the meer Irish, and such Persons as will not take the Oath, which the said Undertakers are to take as aforesaid. 11. The said Undertakers shall have power to erect Manors, to hold Courts Baron twice every year, to create Tenures to hold of themselves upon Alienation of any Part of their said Portions, so as the same do not exceed the Moiety thereof. 12. The said Undertakers shall not demise any part of their Lands at Will only, but shall make certain estates for years, for Life, in Taile, or in Fee-Simple. 13. No uncertain rent shall be reserved by the Undertakers, but the same shall be expressly set down without reference to the Custom of the Country, and a Proviso shall be inserted in the Letters Patents against Cuttings, Coshiers, and other Irish Exactions upon their Tenants. 14. The said Undertakers, their Heirs and Assigns, during the space of seven years next ensuing, shall have power to transport all Commodities growing upon their own Lands, which they shall hold by those Letters Patents, without paying any Custom or Imposition for the same. 15. It shall be lawful for the said Undertakers, for the space of five years next ensuing, to send for, and bring into Ireland, out of Great Britain, victuals, and utensils for their Households, Materials and Tools for Building and Husbandry, and cattle to stock and manure the Land as aforesaid, without paying any custom for the same, which shall not extend to any Commodities by way of Merchandize.

Articles concerning such Servitors in Ireland as shall be Undertakers in this Plantation, and shall have Power to inhabit their Portions with meer Irish Tenants.

1. They shall have estates in Fee-Farm. 2. They shall yield a yearly Rent to his Majesty of Eight Pounds English for every Proportion of a thousand Acres, and so rateably for the greater Proportions, which is after the rate of ten Shillings for Sixty English Acres, or thereabouts, which they shall inhabit with meer Irish Tenants; but they shall pay only five Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence for every Proportion of a thousand Acres which they shall inhabit with English or Scottish Tenants as aforesaid; and so rateably for the other Proportions; And they shall pay no Rent for the first two years. 3. They shall hold their Portions by the same Tenures as the former Undertakers respectively. 4. They shall build their Castles, Houses, and Bawnes, and inhabit their Lands within two years, and have a competent store of Arms in readiness, as the former Undertakers. 5. They shall have power to create Manors, and Tenures, as the former Undertakers. 6. They shall make certain Estates to the Tenants and reserve certain Rents, and forbear Irish Exactions, as the former Undertakers. 7. They shall be resident for five years, as the former Undertakers, and be restrained from Alienation within the same time, as the former Undertakers. 8. They shall take the Oath of Supremacy, and be conformable in religion, as the former Undertakers. 9. They shall not alien their Portions, or any Part thereof, to the meer Irish, or to any such Person or Persons as will not take the Oath as the said Undertakers are to take, as aforesaid; and to that end a Proviso shall be inserted in their Letters Patents. 10. They shall have Power or Liberty to transport, or bring in Commodities, as the former Undertakers.

Articles concerning the Irish Natives, who shall be admitted to be Freeholders.

1. They shall have Estates in Fee-Farm. 2. They shall pay the yearly Rent of Ten Pounds thirteen Shillings and four Pence for every Portion of a thousand Acres, and so rateably for the greater Proportion, which is after the rate of thirteen Shillings and four Pence for every sixty Acres or thereabouts; and they shall pay no Rent for the first year. 3. For their Tenures, they shall hold as the other Undertakers respectively, according to their portions, with a Proviso of forfeiture of their estates, if they enter into actual rebellion. 4. They shall inhabit their Lands, and build their Castles, Houses and Bawnes, within two years, as the former Undertakers. 5. They shall make certain estates for years, or for Lives, to their Under Tenants, and they shall take no Irish exactions. 6. They shall use Tillage and Husbandry after the manner of the English Pale.

General Propositions to be notified to the Undertakers of all Sorts.

1. There shall be Commissioners appointed for the setting forth of the several Proportions, and for the ordering and settling of the Plantation, according to such Instructions as shall be given unto them by his Majesty in that behalf. 2. That all the said Undertakers shall by themselves, or by such as the States of England or Ireland shall allow of, attend the said Commissioners in Ireland, at or before Midsummer next, to receive such Directions touching their Plantations as shall be thought fit. 3. That every Undertaker, before the ensealing of his Letters Patents, shall enter into Bond or Recognizance, with good sureties, to his Majesty's use, in the office of his Majesty's Chief Remembrancer, in England or Ireland, or in his Majesty's Exchequer or Chancery in Scotland, or else before two of the Commissioners to be appointed for the Plantation, to perform the aforesaid Articles, according to their Several Distinctions, of Building, Planting, Residence, Alienation within five years, and making of certain estates to their Tenants in this manner, viz., the Undertaker of the greatest Proportion to become bound in four hundred Pounds, of the middle Proportion in three hundred Pounds, and of the least Proportion in two hundred Pounds. 4. That in every of the said Counties there shall be a convenient Number of Market Towns and Corporations erected for the Habitation and settling Tradesmen and Artificers; and that there shall be one Free School at least appointed in every County for the education of youth in Learning and Religion. 5. That there shall be a convenient number of Parishes and Parish Churches with sufficient Incumbents in every county; and that the Parishioners shall pay all their Tithes in kind to the Incumbents of the said Parish Churches.

The following *Summary of the Contents of the six Counties* was forthcoming about the same time as the foregoing papers:

Counties 7 [including the county of the city of Derry]; baronies, 32; parishes, 159; Irish counties: persons presentative, 139; vicars presentative, 138; curates, 12.

	ACRES
Errenagh land.—Ardmagh [diocese of] 27,120 [acres]; Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, 30,142; Kilmore, 3,228. In all	60,490
Desmesnes.—Kilmore, 120 [acres]; Raphoe and Derry, 4,148; Clogher, 320; Ardmagh, 3,390. In all	7,978
Ecclesiastical land.—Bishop's demesnes, 7,978 / Errenagh and Termon lands, 60,490	68,468
Abbey land	20,786
Temporal land granted [to towns, schools, forts, etc.]	38,214
Proportions with glebe land lying together, viz., Great, 31 / Middle, 45 / Small, 139 } 215,—	284,829

These figures are all set down exactly as they appear in the Calendars.

The following tabulation is taken from the *Carew MSS.*, p. 235, *et seq.*:

A Summary, View and Distribution of the six escheat counties of Ulster, viz.; Tyrone, Armagh, Coolerane, Donagal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, granted and

disposed by the King in manner and form following, being in all 511,465 acres, [but 503,466 acres accounted for], viz.;

British Undertakers and the Londoners	209,800
Bishops as mensalls	3,413
Bishops as termon and Errenagh lands	72,780
College of Dublin	9,600
Free schools to be placed in several counties	2,700
Incumbents as new endowments for glebe	18,000
Incumbents as glebes anciently held by them	1,268
Deans and other prebends, etc., as lands belonging to their dignities,	1,473
Servitors and natives	116,330
Several persons as abbey lands	21,552
Certain patentees and forts before the plantation	38,214
Corporate towns now to be erected	888
Connor Roe Magwire	5,980
Several Irishmen dispersed as parcel of the concealments	1,468
[Not accounted for	7,999]
Total	511,465

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRECINCTS FOR ENGLISH

	ACRES
Oneylan, Armagh: 11 proportions—4 great, 3 middle, 4 small	16,500
Clogher, Tyrone: 8 proportions—4 great, 1 middle, 3 small	12,500
Omey, Tyrone: 6 proportions—5 great, 1 small	11,000
Liffer, Donegal: 9 proportions—4 great, 4 middle, 1 small	15,000
Clanally, Fermanagh: 3 proportions—2 great, 1 small	5,000
Colinkerman, Fermanagh: 8 proportions—1 great, 7 small	9,000
Loughtee, Cavan: 7 proportions—4 great, 3 middle,	12,500
Total, 52 proportions	81,500

SCOTTISH

Fewes, Armagh: 5 proportions—1 great, 4 small	6,000
Mountjoy, Tyrone: 8 proportions—1 great, 1 middle, 6 small	9,500
Strabane, Tyrone: 9 proportions—3 great, 3 middle, 3 small	13,500
Donegal, Portlogh: 12 proportions—12 small	12,000
Donegal, Boylagh: 8 proportions—1 great, 2 middle, 5 small	10,000
Knockninny, Fermanagh: 7 proportions—1 great, 2 middle, 4 small,	9,000
Magheriboy, Fermanagh: 7 proportions—1 great, 2 middle, 4 small,	9,000
Tullochonee, Cavan: 5 proportions—1 great, 4 small	6,000
Clanchy, Cavan: 5 proportions—1 great, 4 small	6,000
Total, 66 proportions	81,000

SERVITORS AND NATIVES

Orier, Armagh: 12 proportions—2 great, 3 middle, 7 small	15,500
Dungannon, Tyrone: 12 proportions—2 great, 4 middle, 6 small	16,000
Doe, Donegal: 10 proportions—2 great, 1 middle, 7 small	12,500
Fawnett, Donegal: 9 proportions—1 great, 2 middle, 6 small	13,000
Clanawley, Fermanagh: 4 proportions—2 great, 2 small	6,000
Coole and Tircanada, Fermanagh: 10 proportions—10 small	10,000
Tourlagh, Cavan: 8 proportions—2 middle, 6 small	9,000
Estlerehan, Cavan: 10 proportions—2 great, 2 middle, 6 small	9,000
Clonmahone, Cavan: 6 proportions—2 middle, 4 small	7,000
Tollogarny, Cavan: 7 proportions—2 great, 1 middle, 4 small	7,500
Total, 88 proportions. (50,932 acres to servitors, balance to natives)	105,500

CORPORATE TOWNS AND FREE SCHOOLS

Donegal	1,121
Cavan	1,536
Fermanagh	2,160
Tyrone	2,735
Armagh	730
Total	8,282

COLLEGES

Ardmagh Precinct, County of Ardmagh	6,000
Tirhugh Precinct, County of Donegal	4,000
	10,000 *
Total Precincts	27
" Proportions	216
" Acres	286,282

The following baronies were set apart for the twelve London Companies comprising the entire county of Coleraine and portions of Antrim and Donegal:

1. 8,220 acres, Barony of Coleraine.
2. 8,380 acres, Barony of Lymavady (now Kenaght.)
3. 9,220 acres, Barony of Anagh (now Tirkeerin).
4. 15,400 acres, Barony of Loughinsholin.

This aggregated 41,220 acres, of which 2,700 acres were monastery and town lands, leaving 38,520 acres to be divided among the twelve London Companies—the Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Clothworkers, Merchant Tailors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, and Vintners—giving each Company 3,210 acres.†

APPENDIX U

(*Page 567, Vol. I.*)

THE ADAIR MANUSCRIPT

This work was written towards the close of the seventeenth century. Its author intended to bring down the narrative to the beginning of the reign of William III.; for, in the original title-page, he announces a division into four parts—the first extending from 1622 to 1642; the second from 1642 to 1661; the third from 1661 to the death of Charles II., in 1685; and the fourth from 1685 to "this present year," obviously alluding to a period of deliverance, when the history would reach a pleasing termination. Mr. Adair died in 1694; and either death, or the increasing infirmities of age, prevented him from completing his

* This acreage was really close to 96,000. See *Dublin University Commission Report*, 1853, pp. 274–5.

† This portion has since expanded on an average of all the cases into at least ten times that quantity—such goodly increase resulting in part from the very loose and liberal style in which the survey was originally made, although the reclamation of "unprofitable lands" has also materially augmented several of the companies' estates.—Hill, *Plantation of Ulster* 436.

undertaking. The manuscript ends, somewhat abruptly, about the close of the year 1670—or rather before the middle of the reign of Charles II.

This narrative was evidently designed by its author for the press; but the imperfect state in which it was left by him prevented its immediate publication. Many ministers and others, who survived him, were aware of its existence: in 1697, the Synod of Ulster voted a small sum to the Rev. William Adair, of Ballyeaston, for his trouble in transcribing "his father's 'Collections,' containing a history of the Church from 1621 to 1670"; and, in 1713, his successor in the ministry, the Rev. Dr. James Kirkpatrick, of Belfast, bears emphatic testimony to the value of the compilation. He states that he had been permitted to peruse it, and that he had availed himself largely of the information it supplies in the preparation of his *Presbyterian Loyalty*. For many years during the eighteenth century the possessor of the manuscript was unknown; and those who were anxious to consult it sought for it in vain. In 1764, an advertisement appeared once and again in the Belfast *News-Letter*, offering a reward for its discovery—but apparently without any result. At length, about the year 1810, the late Dr. Stephenson, of Belfast, found it among the papers of his friend, the late W. Trail Kennedy, Esq., of Annandale. In 1825, it was for a short period in the possession of the late Rev. Dr. Reid, author of the *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, who with his own hand made a copy of the greater part of it.

The manuscript recovered by Dr. Stephenson was in 1866 the property of the Rev. W. Bruce, of Belfast. It is contained in a bound volume, about eight inches long and six inches broad; and, including a few blank spaces left for the insertion of documents which were never transferred to them, extends to 319 pages. Though the ink in many places is much faded, the manuscript is still legible; several transcribers have obviously been employed in its preparation, and some parts of it can be read much more easily than others. By far the larger portion is written in very excellent round-hand—in all likelihood the penmanship of an amanuensis employed by the Rev. W. Adair, of Ballyeaston.

Mr. Adair was a Scotchman of highly respectable parentage. From boyhood he took an interest in ecclesiastical affairs; and, on the 23d of July, 1637, when the famous Janet Geddes threw the stool at the head of the Dean of Edinburgh as he was proceeding to introduce the Service Book, and when the promoters of the Liturgy were balked by a mob of women, Patrick Adair was in the Scottish metropolis, and a witness of the uproar. When licensed, he came over to Ireland as a preacher; and, on the 7th of May, 1646, he was ordained to the pastoral charge of the parish of Cairncastle, near Larne, in the County of Antrim. In 1674 he was removed from Cairncastle to Belfast, where he officiated about twenty years. For nearly half a century he was a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

A considerable number of the Scottish licentiates who settled in Ireland early in the seventeenth century received ordination from the bishops of Ulster after a Presbyterian fashion. When, for example, Mr. Livingston of Killinchy was ordained, those parts of the established ritual to which he objected were omitted, and old Bishop Knox of Raphoe, coming in among the neighboring Presbyterian ministers as one of themselves, joined with them in the imposition of hands. When Mr. Blair, Mr. Hamilton, and others were ordained, the same course was adopted. These facts are recorded by Episcopal as well as by Presbyterian writers. They are described with much minuteness by Dr. Leland, a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and an accurate investigator, whose *History of Ireland* appeared in 1773. "On the plantation made in the reign of James," says he, "the new colonists had been supplied with teachers principally from Scotland.

They formed their churches on the Presbyterian model, and many refused to accept Episcopal ordination. To quiet such scruples, the bishops, by the approbation of Ussher, their learned metropolitan, consented to ordain them to the ministry, without adhering strictly to the established form, and to admit some of their brethren of the Scottish Presbytery to a participation of their office. Thus the Scottish teachers enjoyed churches and tithes without using the liturgy." Dr. Peter Heylin—a bitter high-churchman, who flourished at the very time when these Scottish ministers were in Ulster, and who, from his position as chaplain to Charles I., had the best means of information respecting all the ecclesiastical movements throughout the three kingdoms—uses even stronger language than Leland when speaking of the Church of Ireland in the early part of the seventeenth century. "The adventurers of the Scottish nation," says he, "brought with them hither such a stock of Puritanism, such a contempt of bishops, such a neglect of the public liturgy, and other divine offices of this church, that there was nothing less to be found amongst them than the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England." He adds, as he goes on to denounce the Puritans who settled in Ireland about this period: "Not contented with the articles of the Church of England, they were resolved to frame a Confession of their own; the drawing up whereof was referred to Dr. James Usher . . . by whom the book was so contrived that all the Sabbatarian and Calvinian rigours were declared therein to be the doctrines of that church . . . and finally such a silence concerning the consecration of archbishops and bishops (expressly justified and avowed in the English book), as if they were not a distinct order from the common Presbyters. All which, being Usher's own private opinions, were dispersed in several places as the Articles for the Church of Ireland, approved of in the Convocation of the year 1615, and finally confirmed by the Lord Deputy Chichester in the name of King James." *

In weight of character and pastoral accomplishments, Blair, Welsh, Hamilton, Livingston, and others were immensely superior to the Episcopal clergy around them; and in scholarship some even of the bishops who oppressed them were greatly their inferiors. Blair, who was a gentleman by descent, had been six years a professor in the College of Glasgow before he came to Ireland; Josias Welsh, the grandson of John Knox, and great-grandson of Lord Ochiltree, had also been a professor in the same university; Hamilton, the nephew of Lord Claneboy, was a man of learning; and few at the present day possess the literary acquirements of Livingston, the great-grandson of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston.

The following is the full title-page of Adair's book, apparently in his handwriting: *A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Government in the North of Ireland, and of the various troubles and afflictions which ministers and people adhering to that way did meet with from the adversaries thereof, and of their constant adherence thereunto notwithstanding. Divided into four parts: The first, which is mainly introductive, from the year 1622 to the year 1642; the second, from the year 1642 to the year 1661; the third, from the year 1661 to the death of King Charles II.; the fourth, from the entrance of King James II. upon his Government unto this present year. Faithfully collected from the records of the Presbytery. Whereunto is annexed—An exact account of the manner of their exercise of that government, in all the parts thereof, for the information of such as desire to be informed.*

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* *History of the Presbyterians*, Book xi., p. 388. Heylin was born in 1600, and died in 1662. Through the influence of Laud he was made Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Charles I. in 1629.

THE NARRATIVE

In the year 1622 comes to Bangor that famous minister of Christ, Mr. Robert Blair, who was the first and greatest instrument for preaching of the Gospel in the North of Ireland. He had been six years Regent in the College of Glasgow, in which time he employed himself in that office not only by diligent teaching of philosophy to the scholars, but training them also in the exercises of piety . . .

So, coming over, and landing at Glenarm, he goes towards Carrickfergus; and, having come within a mile of the town, upon the top of the hill, Bangor in these parts appeared to him; at sight of which the Lord did unexpectedly fill his heart with such sweet peace and extraordinary joy that he could scarcely contain himself, but was forced to lie down upon the grass to rejoice in the Lord, who was the same in Ireland that he was in Scotland.

The next day, coming towards Bangor, it was suggested to him that there being an old man in that place who was a Conformist, [and who] might [have] labour[ed] to obstruct his entry, that old man was now sick, and would not rise again. This suggestion at first he rebuked, not knowing whence it came; but, when he came to Bangor, he found it true, being the first thing was told him uninquired; yet, though he saw the Lord thus clearing his entry, he gave not over to plead that God might obstruct it, and for that end was very plain with the Lord Claneboy, shewing him what accusations had been against him in Glasgow as disaffected to the civil government—though he had fully cleared himself—and that he could not submit to Episcopal government, nor any part of the Liturgy—to see if these things would cause him relinquish his invitation; but that Lord, having had information of the dispute in Glasgow by a minister who was present, was satisfied as to that; and, for his nonconformity, he said he was confident to procure his entry without conformity. However, thereafter he was much satisfied he [had] been thus free; especially when troubles came some years after, neither patron nor bishop could say he had broken with them. . . .

But, before we go farther, it is fit to declare what was at that time the case of this North of Ireland. 'Tis said the most part of considerable lands in Ireland were possessed in ancient times by the English. But the civil wars in England between the houses of York and Lancaster did draw from Ulster the able men of the English nation to assist their own faction in England. Thereupon the Irish in Ulster killed and expelled the remnant of the English out of that province, and, molested all the rest of Ireland; Ulster being in their conceit like the thumb in the hand which is able to grip and hold against the four fingers—Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath.

The civil wars ending in the beginning of the reign of King Henry VII., the suppressing of the Irish rebels was not much laboured by the English party (partly through division at home, and partly through wars with France and Scotland) till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who did much to finish that rebellion, which yet was not fully extinguished—the Scots with Islanders sometimes joining with the Irish, and sometimes acting by themselves against the English—till King James' coming to the Crown of England. The wars lasting so long, the whole country upon the matter did lie waste, the English possessing only some few towns and castles, and making use of small parcels of near adjacent lands; and the Irish staying in woods, bogs, and such fast places. But, in the reign of King James, that distressed land began again to be planted both by English and Scots, the Irish remaining not only obdurate in their idolatry, but also in idleness and rudeness. In this time the parts of Scotland nearest to Ireland sent over abundance of people and cattle, which

planted the country of Ulster next the sea; and albeit, among these, Divine Providence sent over some worthy persons for birth, education, and parts; yet the most part were such as either poverty or scandalous lives, or, at best, seeking better accommodation, did set forward that way. The wolf and wood kern were greatest enemies to the first planters, but the long-rested land did yield to the labourer such plentiful increase that many followed these first essayers. Little care was taken by any to plant religion. As were the people, so, for the most part, were the preachers. The case of the people throughout all the country was most lamentable, being drowned in ignorance, security, and sensuality, which was Mr. Blair's great discouragement to settle in these parts.

However, there were some few godly men in the country before him. There was in the next parish—Holywood—a very godly man, Mr. Robert Cunningham, with whom he became intimately acquainted, to both their comfort and edification. They often visited one another, and spent many hours—yea, days—in prayer. Mr. Cunningham became singular and eminent in holiness and usefulness in the ministry, in a greater degree by Mr. Blair's coming to Ireland.

There was also in the County of Antrim, Mr. John Ridge, of the town of Antrim. There had also been in Carrickfergus a gracious and able man, Mr. Hubbard, under the protection of the old Lord Chichester, who had been Deputy of Ireland, and carried great favour to godly men. Mr. Cartwright had been his tutor in his younger years; but he was dead before Mr. Blair came. My Lord Claneboy procured Mr. Blair's admission to the ministry, having before, at his desire, informed the Bishop of his settled principles against conformity; and besides, Mr. Blair, fearing he had not been plain enough with the Bishop, declared the same to himself at their first meeting—notwithstanding the Bishop declared himself most willing he should be planted there, saying he heard good of him, and would impose no conditions upon him, himself was old, and could teach him ceremonies, and Mr. Blair could teach him substance, only he must ordain him, otherwise neither of them could answer the law nor brook the land. Mr. Blair told him that was contrary to his principles—to which he replied wittily and submissively—whatever you account of Episcopacy, yet I know you account a Presbyter to have divine warrant—will you not receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a Presbyter? This Mr. Blair could not refuse, and so the matter was carried. Being entered into the ministry, he was four times in public preaching every week, with variety of matter and method in all these; and one day or two every week instructing in the grounds of religion, and examining and pressing to family worship in divers quarters of the parish, which he continued the whole time of his ministry there. . . .

About that time Mr. James Hamilton, a learned and godly young man, being a daily hearer of Mr. Robert Blair, shewed much tenderness and ability. He being then chamberlain to the Lord Claneboy his uncle, Mr. Blair and Mr. Cunningham, put him to private essays of his gifts; and, being satisfied therewith, Mr. Blair invited him to preach publicly at Bangor in his uncle's hearing, he knowing nothing till he saw him in the pulpit (they fearing my lord would be loath to part with so faithful a servant). But when my lord heard him in public, he put great respect upon him the same day; and shortly after entered him unto a charge at Ballywalter, where he was painful, successful, and constant, notwithstanding he had many temptations to follow promotion; but he was graciously preserved from these baits, and made a successful instrument in the work of Christ in these parts. . . .

About this time Mr. James Glendenning came to Carrickfergus, where he was

for a time a lecturer. Mr. Blair hearing of him, as much applauded for a learned man, came over of purpose to hear him, and perceived he did but trifle in citing learned authors whom he had neither seen nor read. Mr. Blair was free with him, asking if he thought he did edify the people. He was quickly persuaded, having a vicarage in the country, he should retire presently to it. The man was neither studied in learning, nor had good solid judgment, as appeared quickly thereafter; yet the Lord was pleased to serve Himself of him. When he retires (as he promised) to preach at Oldstone, there he began to preach diligently, and having a great voice and vehement delivery, roused up the people and awakened with terrors; but, not understanding the Gospel well, could not settle them, nor satisfy their objections.

There was at Antrim Mr. John Ridge, a judicious and gracious minister, who perceiving many people on both sides of the Six-mile Water awakened out of their security, and willing to take pains for their salvation, made an overture that a monthly lecture might be set up at Antrim, and invited to bear burden therein, Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Hamilton with Mr. Blair; who were all glad at the motion, and complied at the first, and came prepared to preach. In the summer day four did preach, and when the day was shorter, three. This monthly meeting, thus beginning, continued many years, and was a great help to spread religion through the whole country. Sir Hugh Clotworthy was very hospitable to the ministers that came there to preach. His worthy son, now Lord Viscount Massareene, together with his mother and lady being both of them very religious and virtuous women, did greatly countenance this work.

Mr. Glendenning, who at the first was very glad of this confluence, when his emptiness began to appear, did begin to be emulous and envious; yet the brethren cherished him, and the people carried a respect towards him; yea they were bountiful to him, till he was smitten with erroneous conceits. . . .

And now, having lost this one man, the Lord was pleased to give to the church in these parts three able and gracious men, first, Mr. Henry Colwort, who came over with Mr. Hubbard, formerly mentioned, and was entertained by the godly and worthy Lady Duntreath, of Broadisland, as an helper to an old worthy minister there, Mr. Edward Brice. But, Mr. Glendenning departing, he was brought to Oldstone, where he laboured diligently, and did bear burthen at the monthly meetings, being a man of a fervent spirit and vehement delivery in preaching. This variety of gifts glorified the Giver; for his next neighbor, Mr. Ridge, as he was in his carriage, so [was he] in his doctrine, grave, calm, sweet, and orderly, pressing weighty important points to good purpose.

The Lord was also pleased to bring over from Scotland Mr. Josias Welsh, the son of Mr. John Welsh, that famous man of God, who, both in Scotland and France, was rarely instrumental for converting and confirming the souls of the people of God. A great measure of that spirit which wrought in and by the father, rested also on the son. Mr. Blair meeting with him in Scotland, and perceiving of how weak a body, and of how zealous a spirit he was, exhorted him to haste over to Ireland, where he would find work enough, and he hoped, success; and so it came to pass; for he, being settled at Templepatrick, became a blessing to that people; and, being under great exercise of spirit, spoke vehemently to convince the secure, and sweetly to comfort the cast down.

Also, the Lord brought over to Larne, that ancient servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. George Dunbar, who had been deposed from the ministry of Ayr by the High Commission Court in Scotland, and by the Council was banished to Ireland. So careful was the Lord of this plantation of his in the North of Ireland, that, who-

ever wanted, those in that place might not want. The Lord greatly blessed his ministry. All these three now mentioned, as they laboured diligently within their own charges, so were they still ready to preach at the monthly meetings when they were invited thereunto—so mightily grew the word of God, and his gracious work prospered in the hands of his faithful servants, the power of man being restrained from opposing the work of God.

About that time Mr. Blair perceived Echlin, Bishop of Down, privily to lay snares, being not willing openly to appear—the people generally approving and commending the labours and success of His servants. And first, he wrote to Mr. Blair to be ready to preach at Bishop Ussher's triennial visitation; the [Primate] himself being then in England, but in his room were two Bishops and a Doctor, his substitutes and delegates. If any ask how Mr. Blair could countenance these prelatical assemblies, the ensuing discourse will declare; but it may rather be wondered how these prelatical meetings did countenance such as Mr. Blair, knowing his judgment and practice to be opposite to them in their way; and it should also be considered that the ministers of Ireland at that time were not under an expressly sworn Covenant against them, as afterwards ministers were when the Covenant was engaged into.

Before the appointed day came, Bishop Echlin sent Mr. Blair advertisement that another was to supply the place, so he might lay aside thoughts of it—the message by word thus contradicting his writing that he might leave Mr. Blair in an uncertainty, and so pick a quarrel at his pleasure. Mr. Blair had meditated on 2 Cor., iv. 1 [and preached notwithstanding]. Besides other points he specially insisted to show that Christ our Lord had substituted no Lord Bishops in his church, but Presbyters and ministers both to teach and govern the same; and proved this, first, from the Holy Scriptures; secondly, from the testimony of purer antiquity; thirdly, from famous divines who had been seeking reformation these 1300 years; and lastly, from the modern divines both over seas and in England—closing all his proofs with the consent of the learned Doctor Ussher, thereby to stop their mouths; and finally, he closed with an exhortation, that, seeing the truth was proven clearly and undeniably, they would use moderately what power, custom, and human laws did put in their hands; and so they did indeed, neither questioning him nor any other. Only the Bishop of Dromor, one of the delegates, being brother-in-law to Primate Ussher, spoke to Mr. Blair privately, desiring him also to be moderate over them, as they had not questioned him and so bade him farewell.

This snare being broken, the crafty Bishop fell a-weaving another more dangerous, for he knowing that one of the judges—the Lord Chief Baron—who came yearly to that circuit court, was a violent urger of English Conformity, did write to Mr. Blair to make ready a sermon against the next assizes. This was the more dangerous, because the Judges were to communicate that day, being Easter Day. Mr. Blair comes, prepared by prayer and meditation, committing the matter to the Lord, who has all hearts and mouths in his hand. The Scotch gentlemen there present waiting on the Judges told one of them whom they counted truly religious that they wondered how they could communicate on the Lord's Day, being taken up with civil affairs the whole Saturday. He answered, he wished it were otherwise; and said further, if any one were prepared to preach that day, he would hear him. They answered him (Mr. Blair not knowing of the matter) that the preacher appointed for the Lord's Day would preach on the Saturday also; whereupon some were sent to Mr. Blair upon that effect. He wondered at the unexpected motion; but durst not refuse, there being three or four hours for meditation before the hour appointed for the sermon. Upon the Lord's Day he resolved not to take notice of

their communicating, neither was it expected from him; so, when he ended, he went to his chamber and they to their work, which was ended in the eighth part of an hour. . . .

When Primate Ussher came back to Ireland, the Lord Claneboy did take Mr. Blair along with him to a meeting of nobility and gentlemen where the Bishop was to be, in order to be acquainted with him. The Bishop received him kindly, and desired him to be at his table while he was in town. The next day, coming to dinner, Mr. Blair met with the English Liturgy in his family; but he came not again, leaving his excuse with his Patron, that he expected another thing in the family of so pious and learned a man. But the Bishop excused the matter by reason of the great confluence which was there, and invited him to come to Tredaff [Drogheda], where his ordinary residence was, where he would be more at leisure to be better acquainted. Mr. Blair obeyed the desire, and found him very affable and communicative in conference. . . . Their conference being ended, the Bishop dismissed Mr. Blair very kindly, though he gave him no high titles at all; and he proved thereafter very friendly when trouble came on the ministers of the North, as will appear hereafter.

After all the former helpers the Lord gave, Mr. John Livingston was sent over. He was a man of a gracious melting spirit, and was desired much by godly men about Torphichen, where he had preached as an helper to another, yet was still opposed by the Bishops; but old Bishop Knox of Raphoe refused no honest man, having heard him preach. By this chink he and sundry others got entrance; and, he being settled at Killinchy, in County of Down, the Lord was pleased greatly to bless his ministry, both within his own charge and without, where he got a call; but he continued not long, the troubles coming on.

Likewise Mr. Andrew Stewart, a well-studied gentleman, and fervent in spirit, was settled at Dunegore, and prospered well in the work of the Lord; but his ministry was of short continuance, dying in the midst of the troubles that then came. All this time the Lord was pleased to protect the ministry, by raising up friends to the ministers, and giving them favour in the sight of all the people about them—yea, the Bishop of Down himself used to glory of the ministry in his dioceses. Yet they wanted not difficulties enough. Some of the inferior clergy provoked Mr. Blair to dispute, by letters, about wherein the difference lay between them: but a modest answer—how unsafe it was to do so—did gratify them. After that there was sent a Dean to reside at Carrickfergus, to encounter the brethren and bear them down. But some of them waited him; and, putting some civilities upon him, they invited him to concur with them at the monthly meeting at Antrim. They did not expect he would yield to the motion; yet, by their visit and invitation, they gained so much that he proved not unfriendly.

As for the Papists, they became very bold through the land by occasion of the intended match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, so that in every shire they set up their old convents, and even in the city of Dublin itself; and so the rebellion some years thereafter followed. The Irish priests were ignorant dolts, living in whoredom and drunkenness—yea, one that came from Rome with pardons, and had got a deal of money thereby, when he was brought to my Lord Claneboy, in whose land he was taken, scarce understood Latin. Yet, two Irish friars, who had been trained up in the University of Salamanca, in Spain, gave the ministers a defiance, provoking them to dispute. The particular heads were condescended upon, and time and place appointed, [but] at the appointed day, Mr. Blair coming to assist Mr. Josias Welsh against these two friars—for all their bragging—they appeared not.

They had also an assault from the Separatists. Some of that faction in England, hearing that there was a people zealous for the Lord in the North of Ireland, came to Antrim, where their monthly meetings were, and there set up their dwellings, thinking to fish in these waters. They thought that zealous people would seek after them, and did not call on any—but therein they were frustrated of their expectation; for, seeing they came not to the public worship, none there did own them, or take any notice of them, till the minister of the place sent some judicious Christians to confer with them about cases of conscience. They made the report to the minister concerning these persons, that they thought they did not understand these purposes, nor could they at all discourse concerning the points by them propounded—only they felt a jangling against the Church of Ireland. The next time Mr. Blair came to Antrim, the minister desiring him to go with him, that they might confer with these people, they found them rude and somewhat uncivil —they could not well tell what they held, for they concealed themselves. Yet, in the end, they began to try whom they could seduce, and with one of great tenderness they prevailed not to communicate with the congregation. But immediately thereafter the Lord smote him with distraction, from which he no sooner recovered but he abhorred these seducers—so careful was the Lord to preserve his people within these bounds from all sorts of seducement. . . .

There were also many honest people removed at this time, [1639,] from Ireland to Scotland, partly to enjoy the ordinances, being forced away through persecution; and withal, foreseeing sad things to come on this nation—who continued there a considerable time, in the west country especially. But, in the meantime, during this comfortable respite which the ministers and they had in Scotland, the condition of those remaining still in Ireland grew more hard. For Deputy Strafford, then ruling in Ireland, being a man not only opposite in his principles to the course now on foot in Scotland, but of a severe and jealous temper, began to be jealous of the whole Scotch nation in Ireland, and particularly in the North, [suspecting] that they were on the same design with Scotland, because they went under the same profession of Nonconformists, and were known to be well-wishers to the cause undertaken there; and many of them had gone over there, and joined with the rest in Scotland. This jealousy was not hid from two Scotch Lords (Ards and Claneboy), in the North—on whose lands many of these ministers and people had dwelt,—who found themselves and estates in hazard. And to vindicate themselves that they had no hand in the business of Scotland, there was an oath framed to be imposed on the country as a test of their loyalty (as it was called) wherein they were to abhor the work in Scotland, or any such thing, and obey the King's royal commands. This oath, called by the people "the Black Oath,"* was (it is said) framed by these two noblemen, and recommended by the Lord Deputy to be urged by authority on the country—which was done with all rigour. The

* The following is a copy of the oath called the Black Oath:—"I, —— do faithfully swear, profess, and promise, that I will honour and obey my Sovereign Lord King Charles, and will bear faith and true allegiance unto him, and defend and maintain his Royal power and authority; that I will not bear arms, or do any rebellious or hostile act against him, or protest against any his Royal commands, but submit myself in all due obedience thereunto; and that I will not enter into any covenant, oath, or band of mutual defense and assistance against all sorts of persons whatsoever, or into any covenant, oath, or band of mutual defense and assistance against any persons whatsoever by force, without his Majesty's Sovereign and Royal authority. And I do renounce and abjure all covenants, oaths, and bands whatsoever, contrary to what I have herein sworn, professed and promised. So help me God in Jesus."

generality did take it who were not bound with a conscience; others hid themselves or fled, leaving their houses, and goods; and divers were imprisoned and kept in diverse gaols for a considerable time. This proved the hottest piece of persecution this poor infant church had met with, and the strongest wind to separate between the wheat and the chaff. However, God strengthened many to hazard all before they would swallow it.

In the county of Down, not only divers left their habitations and most of their goods, and followed to Scotland; but others were apprehended and long imprisoned. . . .

The like sufferings befell those of the Scotch nation who were godly in the counties of Tyrone and Londonderry; fewer of them going at first to Scotland, they were subject to the more suffering. Upon refusing the oath, they had their names returned to Dublin, from whence pursuivants were sent to apprehend those who were refractory. Divers were apprehended and taken prisoners to Dublin. . . .

There was, about a fortnight before the rebellion broke out, a meeting at Raphoe, at which there were the two Leslies, prelates of Raphoe and Down, and Bishop Maxwell, now made Bishop of Killala, who had been Bishop of Ross, in Scotland, at the beginning of the stir there (who came here in a disguised habit), and others of their own sort, together with Cullenan, Popish Bishop of Raphoe. Their clandestine consultations were kept close—concerning which, Sir William Stewart did propose some necessary queries to the Bishop of Raphoe, in the name of the country, at a meeting of commissioners of the country, which were never yet answered. Whatever consultations might be amongst them, it is certain there was in those times more fellowship and intimacy between the Popish clergy and these bishops with their curates, than could well consist with Protestant principles.

It appeared, by a declaration of the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, when they first took up arms, that therein they declared themselves friends to the conformable Protestants, and that they intended no harm to them in their persons, religion, or estates, but only did take up arms to subdue the Puritan party, who owned the actings of the Parliament of England and Scotland. The same they declared in a petition they sent over to the King about that time. Yea, a learned pen, about that time, gloried in print that the face of the English church began to alter, and the language of their church to change, so that if a Synod were held without mixing Puritans, there would soon be an agreement.

The managing the war was by the King committed to the Parliament of England at the beginning of the rebellion, and the Parliament, with the King's consent, pursued the rebels with force of arms. Providence so ordered it that what destruction the rebels made at their first breaking out or thereafter, fell upon those alone who were not Puritans (as the more religious and stricter sort of people were then nick-named) and those called Puritans escaped the stroke, having before the rebellion generally repaired to England, and Scotland to evite the sharp persecution of the Bishops; and the few who were left were hid from the bloody hands of the murderers, not without the singular providence of God appearing in their preservation, whereof divers instances may be given very observable (of which we may speak more hereafter). . . .

Besides the business undertaken in Scotland going on, and armies being raised for their necessary defence, Strafford, by the help of four subsidies from the Parliament in Ireland, raised an army of Irish, and some profane and ignorant of the British, of 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, and sent them down hither to the North (in order to the invading of Scotland), where the Earl of Antrim had engaged to get them supported. They stayed a considerable time quartered in this country

much oppressing it, and were, both for their design and carriage amongst the people, called "the Black Band." However, thereafter upon a pacification made between the King and his subjects in Scotland, and at the desire of the Parliament of England, and with the industry of the Lords Justices in Ireland, that Black Band was disbanded in August, 1641, their arms being lodged in the King's store-house, in Dublin—which was one piece of providence for that city on the breaking forth of the rebellion. . . .

Thus this country remained for a short time, till the rebellion broke forth, Oct. 23d, 1641, of which shall be here given but a short account as to particulars. . . .

For the first, it cannot be denied by any having any sense of humanity in them that the cruelties exercised by these barbarous people upon their surprised and secure neighbors were beyond the ordinary wickedness that human nature doth reach to, in not only killing and massacring many of them, but torturing their neighbors living friendly beside them—men, women, and young children—devising ways to put them to painful deaths, as was not only generally known in the country, but attested upon oath by hundreds of persons eye-witnesses to it, many of whom did bear the marks of their cruelty. It is true this inhumanity was not exercised in all places alike but somewhat according to the disposition of the actors. For some did proceed at first in a more cunning way, coming in unto their neighbors' houses and first only disarming them, then taking their goods, then stripping them naked, and shutting them out of their houses, and exposing them to the misery of hunger and nakedness in the open fields in the winter season, and a season which was more than ordinarily tempestuous. And many of these so sent out of their houses—it may be with old rags covering a part of their nakedness—were met by others, and either killed or the remnant of their rags taken from them, insomuch that many women and children in that case were put to wander through mountains covered with snow for many days, and had nothing to feed upon but snow. And yet, some whose lives were spared by the merciless Irish met with miraculous preservation from the immediate hand of God, which I refer to other histories, wherein some of these instances are given.

After this manner they did proceed at first in Ulster, without resistance against a surprised and amazed people; and had, in a few days, not only surprised the houses and goods, with the persons of their neighbors, but by treachery, and under color of friendship, in one night, got into their hands the strongholds and castles belonging to the King. And where any of the inhabitants got into a place of any defence, so that the barbarous rebels could not easily, and without some hazard, reach them at first, sometimes they pretended to give these people some tolerable conditions till they got them out, and then either killed them, contrary to express conditions (as was done in diverse places) or, if they left them go, they appointed other companies of rebels not far off, to meet them and destroy them—which many met with in their way towards Coleraine, Derry, and Dublin.

But this looking somewhat like the ordinary way of enemies, did not last long. For after a little time when they were baited with blood, they did not come to people with any pretence of civility; but at once murdered and massacred and tortured all who came in their way. Some numbers in some places ran to churches or houses; partly for shelter from the storm—partly for some present defence; and divers of these places they put fire to, so that the poor people were burnt quick—as divers hundreds of them in Armagh. Those whom they did apprehend, they brought to steep places and bridges, and forced them into the water and by force kept them from endeavoring to swim, or scramble to the brink of the river,

with their pikes. They also set themselves to destroy the victuals and corn of the country; and the beasts they exercised much inhumanity on, that they might not have an English beast, nor any breed of that kind preserved. Finally burning, killing, destroying all persons, houses, and whatever came in their way was the thing they delighted in.

This endured in Ulster for a month or thereabout, not being yet seconded by their confederates in other provinces, occasioned by their disappointment in their intended surprise of the Castle of Dublin. Meantime, the persons spared or escaping in Ulster were in such consternation that they knew not what to do, and were in a manner petrified. But within a little time the other provinces broke out, and followed the Ulster rebels in their cruelty—first Wicklow, then Wexford, and Catherlough—not pretending to any civility, but falling on with inhuman cruelty at the first upon women and children, and with all the malice hell could invent, as was suitable to the anti-Christian crew against those who adore not the Roman beast. And if through some special considerations of their own they spared the lives of any, either they kept them prisoners in much misery for that time, and thereafter when they began to be resisted and received disasters from the British forces, they returned upon their poor prisoners with a spirit of revenge; or if they let them go, pretending to dismiss them to the towns or cities they desired, these poor people that were let go were in some respects more unhappy than those who were immediately murdered; for, besides the insufferable miseries they met with by the way, they came naked and starved to these places (if, indeed, they came where they intended). Dublin and other places they came unto were not all able to contain the numbers and supply their wants. Multitudes died in the streets and corners of Dublin, Coleraine, and other towns through hunger, nakedness, and nastiness in their rags after sore travelling. Yet some who might have had some supply from persons who particularly knew their former case, were so distracted with their injuries that they neglected their own supply, and in a kind of desperate way, gave themselves up to death and starving. For their misery came on them in such a sudden, and they had been before generally living in such peace and plenty, and not expecting in the least any such desolation and calamity, that it did overwhelm their spirits, and swallow them up in grief and vexation.

The city of Dublin in this time, though at first preserved from the design of the enemy in some sort, yet was not without great fears and troubles, as well as the other parts of the kingdom not yet destroyed. For there was a very considerable part of the city itself ready to join with the rest of the rebels, and not at all to be trusted. And there were daily fears and appearances of the enemy's assaulting the city, men's hearts failing them with fear of the Irish assaulting on all quarters, insomuch that the very face of the city was changed, and had a ghostly aspect. Many Protestants went to England, and though beaten back by many storms, yet would not venture to set their foot on shore again—yea, Papists themselves went out of the city, fearing its surprisal, and in a general massacre, wherein they might not be at first distinguished from others. By this case of Dublin, wherein appeared the only probable safety to Protestants in Ireland, we may easily gather what was the case at this time of all other parts of the kingdom where the enemy raged and ruled without any resistance for a time. For though there had been a standing army in Ireland for many years, yet at that time it was become insufficient for opposing such a general insurrection of bloody rebels, there being only about 2,300 foot and about 900 horse, and many of these Irish and Papists, and more of no religion at all. And, besides, they were so scattered in garrisons in divers places that they could not come together without hazard of being cut off

by the numerous parties of Irish then in arms. And if men could be had, there was then no money in the exchequer to induce men withal. Besides, in the North, amongst the Scotch, their arms had been taken from them before by Strafford, and so they were rendered unable to defend themselves in any kind, except by a few sent from Dublin.

This was the sad case of the kingdom at that time, the Irish nation and English Papists turning mad, raging as bears bereaved of their whelps, and destroying all before them, burning and consuming men, beasts, corn, and the British and Protestants partly destroyed and put to death, partly left in a worse case than death itself, and others standing amazed.

Next, of that which might be supposed to provoke the Irish to this rebellion, and their designs and encouragements, no doubt there were various grounds which Satan and their own wickedness suggested to them. For at first, as they were natives of Ireland, and conceiving themselves and no others had any right to this country, they retained from the very beginning of the English Conquest, and thereafter from the time of the Scottish denization and naturalizing in it, an implacable hatred at both. They saw themselves generally poor and miserable, which was through their idleness, unskilfulness, wasting disposition, and evil-managing; and the British living in prosperity in the land which they counted their own, through their frugality and the blessing of God. Besides, it provoked their evil disposition that they were under the power and government of another nation, and punished frequently for their thefts and robberies. Laws were made against their idolatry and superstition, though these laws for a long time before the rebellion had been very faintly executed, and they had liberty of conscience, as well as other encouragements, as subjects under the King's majesty, and at his special allowance; but there remained always a grudging in their hearts against the British, as their enemies and oppressors. . . .

The special things they pretended for their rebellion were (1), the obtaining their liberty, estates, land, and country, which was, they said, their right, together with the liberty of propagating their religion in Ireland; (2), the King's prerogative, which, they said, was opposed by the Puritan faction in England and Scotland; and therefore, they said they designed to cut off the Puritan faction especially though it is observable, that in executing their cruelty, they made no difference among Protestants. For though Satan had a special anger at the godly party, who then went under the name of Puritans, yet, their interest being complex, and not only for their religion, but that they might enrich themselves with the spoils of others, they did promiscuously spoil and destroy all British inhabitants who had but the name of Protestants. And it is remarkable that, whatever was their special envy against the Puritans, yet fewest of these met with the stroke. For very few Nonconformists were then in Ireland, except in the North and in a few counties there, and these had been driven away into Scotland, and some few to England before, through the persecution of the prelates at first, and then by the Black Oath, so that few of these persons came into their hands. But in the time of the rebellion they are preserved, under God's protection, in Scotland, and some of the English in England. So that the severity of the Bishops was, under Providence, made a means to prevent that stroke upon those especially appointed to destruction; and it lighted upon those who were either persecutors or neutrals, and went on with the iniquity of the times. . . .

In May, 1642, the Scotch army came over, consisting of, I suppose, 10,000 men (though Burleigh says but 2,500) under the command of General Leslie—though he came over but once, and staid a little while, setting matters in the best

order he could, and left the government of the army to Major-General Robert Monro. This army was sent by the States of Scotland as their immediate masters, who ordered them to this service upon a treaty with the Parliament of England; unto which, it is said, the King was at first averse, yet, by the Parliament's importunity, he was prevailed with to give his assent, at Windsor, January 17th, 1642.

This army for their chief garrison, had the town and castle of Carrickfergus, where their chief commander resided with his regiment. The other regiments were quartered in such places of Down and Antrim as the British regiments could spare. Many in England and Ireland have taken liberty to represent this army as having done little service in the country, and not worth the pay they had from England. But all representations of that kind, coming from emulous, envious pens and tongues, ought not to be received. It is most sure it consisted of officers who generally were men of courage and conduct; many of them had been bred in foreign wars, and were bred soldiers; others, who had not been abroad, were men of gallant, generous spirit, who thereafter proved eminent. Some who were then but majors to regiments and captains of companies, became thereafter generals and lieutenant-generals in foreign kingdoms. Doubtless, the fault of most of these officers was want of piety rather than courage, or any accomplishment for that undertaking—though there were also a great many officers in that army truly godly. It is also certain they did many considerable services against the rebels in Ulster, so that they became a terror to them; and most of them laid down their arms, and came in and sat down under their mercy. The truth is, this army was irritated for want of the pay promised them; matters then falling into confusion in England, and the Parliament not being able to support so many armies at home and in divers places of Ireland, they were much neglected, being strangers, and quartering upon the Scotch in Ulster. And no wonder, when the forces sent over by the parliament, in and about Dublin and Munster, did as grievously complain at that time from want of supply, though they were in greater hazard from the rebels. Upon this, they were not only disabled from service, but were forced to take free quarters off the country, in doing which they restrained the officers to a small maintenance, and the common soldiers to a pitiful allowance which was not sufficient for their comfortable subsistence. Yet, their coming over upon a wasted county, where people had generally little or nothing left to themselves—this taking off the country for their mere necessity—became intolerable to the people, and they were reflected on as oppressors—yea, as doing nothing but lying in their quarters and oppressing the country. And yet they themselves were discouraged, and the soldiers just starved—insomuch that some regiments went over to Scotland, without the consent of that State, nearly in a mutiny, and upon mere necessity. And others, such as Hume's and Sinclair's regiment were content to take a call from the State, a little after, to engage against Montrose, then victorious and carrying all before him in Scotland, and most of them were cut off. So that as the country was weary of them, so they were as weary of the country. And indeed in the end, though they had spent much blood, besides travel and misery in the service of Ireland, the remainder of them were badly requited, being forced out of Carrickfergus and Coleraine by Colonel Monck—then under the Parliament of England—and disbanded, without satisfying their arrears (as we may see hereafter). It is certain God made that army instrumental for bringing church government, according to His own institution, to Ireland—especially to the Northern parts of it—and for spreading the covenant, as shall be recorded hereafter. The Scotch army coming hither in the Spring of the year 1642, found much of the country

wholly desolate, except some parts of the County of Down, where there had been two regiments formed by Lords Claneboy and Ards, and so had, in some measure, kept off the force of the enemy. Likewise, some towns in the County of Antrim were preserved, as Belfast and Carrickfergus, with Lisnegarvy and Antrim, through some defence which had been made in these places. But generally in the country, through the County of Antrim, all was waste, and more in other counties, as Armagh, Tyrone, etc. Most of the Londonderry had been preserved, by the great blessing of God upon the defence made by the British, Scotch, and a few English there under the conduct of Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, who obtained signal victories there over the Irish in those parts, a very little after the rebellion began, the particular passages whereof we refer to their proper histories, this narrative being intended only for recording the providence of God toward His church in the North.

It is to be much observed, that the Sovereign Holy Lord in his providence, by this rebellion, made way for a more full planting of the Gospel even in those parts which had met with the greatest cruelty; and where the people had been, against whom the Irish intended greatest mischief and cruelty, both to their persons and professions. For it was so ordered by Divine Providence, that the country being laid waste and desolate in God's righteous judgement for crying sins in the bulk and generality (though most wickedly and treacherously on men's part), the Lord made use of that overflowing scourge not only for emptying the land of many profane and wicked men—haters of godliness, and yet under the name of Protestants—but the Irish themselves were greatly wasted in a few years thereafter by sword and famine, so that the land was much emptied of them, except of some who came in upon protection. And others came out of Scotland in their room who were lovers of the truth—even as it had been ordered before in the time of Queen Elizabeth and King James. The land being overgrown with idolatry and barbarousness, they did rise in divers rebellions, and God made use of that to lay them desolate, and make way for others who professed the Gospel, though only in the way of conformity, yet the truth was preached and many believed. And the Lord had his hidden ones at that time—as appeared in Bishop Ussher and many others—both preachers and professors in and about Dublin; the effects whereof did appear, as formerly hinted, in the Articles of Ireland. But now, God made way for a more full reformation; and as the foundation of a plantation in the country, Providence ordered it so that several officers and soldiers were forced to labour the ground, and keep stocks of cattle in the country; and others, probably inhabitants who were left, did the same. After them, within a while, the inhabitants grew more numerous, partly through the increasing of these in the country, and partly through others coming from Scotland. Meantime the country was destitute of ministers; for the bishops and the party were generally swept away by the rebellion, and now began to be also discountenanced by the Parliament of England. So that from that time forth the Lord began more openly to erect a new tabernacle for himself in Ireland, and especially in the northern parts of it, and spread more the curtains of his habitation. The methods and ways of Providence therein, together with the difficulties met with, and His carrying His work through these difficulties, and over the oppositions from Satan and his instruments (His ordinary way in such cases), shall be the subject of our following narrative, so far as great weakness can reach the declaring of God's great works towards His Church.

The first means God used for this end was the sending over of the Scotch army, consisting of about ten regiments, with whom there came from Scotland divers ministers who were principled and inclined toward the doctrine, worship, and

government at that time in the church of Scotland; as Mr. Hugh Cunningham, minister to Glencairn's regiment; Mr. Baird to Colonel Campbell's; Mr. Thomas Peebles to Eglinton's; Mr. James Simpson to Sinclair's; Mr. John Scott, Mr. John Aird, and others. They, coming along with the army, found it their duty to erect themselves into a Presbytery, and to have their meetings, in order to which they found it necessary to choose ruling elders in the regiments for helping them in carrying on discipline in the army, which the dissoluteness of soldiers did much call for. This motion being communicated to the Major-General, the commander-in-chief of these forces (and to the officers of the several regiments), he did embrace the same, being a man not alienated from the reformation in Scotland, and besides having been sent over by the State of Scotland, who, he knew, at that time did favour the government of the church,—yea, some special noblemen of Scotland who then had great rule there, being colonels of regiments over whom he commanded in chief. They (not being in Ireland themselves) having placed officers over their regiments who were also inclined that way, the motion went on without resistance among, and by the consent of, all the regiments. It is true there were in most regiments of the army (especially in the Major-General's own regiment), officers of bad principles, and worse inclinations and practices, no favourers of religion, nor of the Presbyterian government, nor of the work of reformation, but (as was the title given them in these times) malignants, royalists, cavaliers, &c., much abhorring the setting up of discipline in their bosom, which might have power to censure them for their drinking and whoring. Yet, through the terror of God upon men in these times, they made no open resistance.

The first Presbytery was held at Carrickfergus on the 10th of June, 1642, where were only five ministers of the army and four ruling elders from the four regiments, who had then erected sessions—viz. Argyle's, Eglinton's, Glencairn's, and Hume's. One of their number (Mr. Baird) preached, by desire of the rest, and by appointment beforehand, on Psalm li. and last; another was chosen Moderator; and Mr. Thomas Peebles was chosen Clerk, in which office he remained during his life.

They began with appointing divers of their members to speak to the Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels of those regiments, where there were not sessions, together with the rest of the officers, and others concerned in the regiments, that sessions might be erected. Withal, they appointed each minister to begin examination in his charge; and appointed, also, a fast to be observed the week after, and to be intimated next Sabbath—wherein they were to sympathize with the case of the churches abroad in Germany and Bohemia; the present distraction of England and hazard of God's work there at that time, through the difference beginning between the King and Parliament; and the people of this poor land, who were scarce as brands plucked out of the fire, yet security and profanity remaining among many both in country and army and that God should be cried unto to bless the country with a spiritual ministry, and for a blessing to the going out of the army against the Irish, &c. All these were immediately performed, and so the presbytery did meet almost weekly, though few in number. There were, besides these ministers of the Scotch army, two preachers in the country before, Mr. John Drysdale, and Mr. James Baty ; the one preached to Lord Claneboy's, the other to the Lord of Ards' regiment.

The Presbytery had, upon their first meeting together, written to these noblemen that it were fit these their preachers, being of the same principles with them, should be present. Upon which Lord Claneboy wrote a letter, and Ards sent one of his captains, thanking the Presbytery for their letter, and professing their great

willingness to join in that government, and to have these men admitted to be ministers of their regiments upon that account, and did, during their short continuance thereafter, countenance the Presbytery and these ministers sent from Scotland. Thus these Lords seem to have been convinced of their error two years before in being instruments in pressing the Black Oath—which was soon followed with a sad judgement on the land: and shortly after that they both died. However, these two men passed their trials before the Presbytery, and were admitted ministers, first to the regiments, and thereafter, upon serious deliberation, were placed in parishes of the country which were best planted, and where also the soldiers resided. The ministers, also members of the Presbytery, were appointed to produce their admission to the several charges or regiments by virtue of which they sat as members of the Presbytery—which they all did; as also the ruling elders, that sat in every Presbytery, produced their commissions from their respective sessions. The Presbytery being informed of a minister's practice, who had been a Conformist before in the country, and now had taken the Covenant, that he used to baptize privately, brought him to acknowledge his fault (which he said he knew not was so), and to promise to forbear that practice. Divers ministers and others who had taken the Black Oath, and had been instrumental in ensnaring others in it, and had gone on in a course of conformity and defection, upon an intimation from the Presbytery did come and own their sinful defection, and made the same acknowledgements in those places where they had been particularly scandalous, as Mr. Nevin, at Dunody, &c.

In September, 1642, there were sent over from the General Assembly in Scotland, the Rev. Mr. Blair, and Mr. Hamilton with a commission from the Assembly. They sat in the Presbytery and proceeded as they were chosen—their commission being inserted in the Presbytery-book as fit to be recorded. By this commission may be seen the earnestness of the people of the country for having the Gospel planted amongst them; and also, the zeal and care of the Assembly of Scotland for this poor church, to nourish and encourage it in its beginning, being as a brand plucked out of the fire.

But the occasion of this commission and sending of these worthy and reverend men from Scotland, is to be remembered. For, immediately upon the ministers forming themselves with the ruling elders into a Presbytery, the people planted in the country became importunate with the Presbytery for help in preaching to their congregations, where were any stock of people planted in places that the army were not in, as they could overtake this work. Upon which the Presbytery moved that there should be elderships erected with the consent of these congregations, and that by their help a present supply might be procured, and in due time ministers be settled among them. This motion of the Presbytery was very acceptable to these congregations, as appeared by their immediate and earnest address to the Presbytery for ministers to be sent for that effect, which also was readily done by the Presbytery, who sent ministers to divers congregations who were first in a case for elderships, viz. Ballymena, Antrim, Carncastle, Templepatrick, Carrickfergus, Larne, and Belfast, in the County of Antrim; Ballywalter, Portaferry, Newton, Donaghadee, Killileagh, Comber, Holywood, and Bangor, in the County of Down. And, the elderships being erected in these places, there began a little appearance of a formed church in the country. Upon this there was a motion that commissioners should be sent from this country to the General Assembly in Scotland, supplicating their help for founding and promoting the work of Christ in this wasted church now beginning to rise out of the ashes; and they were sent to the Assembly, at St. Andrews, July, 1642. Upon this petition, these two worthy

ministers—Ireland's old acquaintances—were sent with the commission formerly mentioned. And it may be judged how refreshful and useful in the country they were, who formerly had been eminently instrumental in laying the first foundation there, and for their faithfulness had been driven away, and at their departure such calamities had come on; and now they were witnesses of a new reviving and a rising work out of the rubbish.

The people were very hungry in receiving the Gospel—which before these times had been preached with so great success, and for which both ministers and people had suffered so much—and which was now again reviving out of the ashes. Surely this was a time when the people's joy trysted with the great poverty and deep affliction which lay upon them, having a considerable army quartered among them in a country yet but waste. And though they had some supplies for the army from Scotland and England, yet these did but answer their necessities; happily, they had a bountiful supply from Holland, as a gift and gratuity in these their extraordinary straits. However, the Gospel was sweet to many.

Any persons who at that time were under scandals of any kind, and not properly under the ministry of any in the Presbytery, were received upon their own free offer, to public repentance; but were not compelled, till they became members of some formed congregation — except in case that they required the benefit of sealing ordinances, or in the case of those who had been Conformist ministers and were now taking on themselves to preach. These the Presbytery by an act appointed the people to be warned from hearing or countenancing, till they gave satisfaction, which divers of them did, some before Mr. Blair in Bangor, Donaghadee, and Killileagh; and others before Mr. Hamilton. In this the hand of the Lord is to be observed, that these men who a few years before were deposed and driven out of the country for refusing conformity, should be the first now to receive the acknowledgement and repentance of Conformists. A few who were left from the general scourge, and were more ingenuous than the rest, did willingly appear and make their acknowledgements publickly, both ministers and people. Moreover, Mr. John Drysdale and Mr. James Baty—who had preached for a while to Claneboy's and Ards' regiments, and were on their trials in order to ordination, with the concurrence of Mr. Blair, who presided at the ordination of Mr. Drysdale, and Mr. Hamilton presiding at Mr. Baty's admission (with the army ministers)—were settled in the parishes of Portaferry and Ballywalter, upon an unanimous call from these parishes, rather than among the army. Only in Ballywalter there was a reservation of Mr. Hamilton's interest there, if God should clear his return to that place where he had been minister before. Thus these two ministers, Blair and Hamilton, who had a while before been deposed from their ministry by the bishops, are now employed as the instruments for first planting ministers in the country according to the purity of the Gospel—who were also useful in the army's Presbytery, and were the beginning of a settled ministry in the country.

At this time also, with the assistance of these two worthy men, the Presbytery, upon information of the danger of separation, and the beginning of some heterodox opinions spreading about Antrim by one Thomas Cornwall and one Vernet, did order Mr. Blair, in his visiting these places, to obviate these dangers by warning the people and publickly declaring against them. Also, all the ministers were appointed in public to give warning to the people against those snares. They also summoned the said persons to appear before the presbytery to give a confession of their faith—but none did appear. Thomas Cornwall said he was not subject to the Presbytery, but was a stranger and ready to depart; others, in private con-

ference, did give satisfaction; some were otherwise hindered. However, these opinions did not spread.

There was at this time another fast appointed to be kept on the Lord's Day, November 27, 1642, and the Thursday thereafter, for the troubles of churches abroad; the said distractions in England whence help only could be expected to this country, under God; the discouragement of soldiers through want of necessary supplies, and of the country through their poverty and oppression; the enemy's strength and cruelty yet much remaining; general carelessness and security, with little life and zeal among people; many gross sins breaking forth among some; want of faithful ministers residing in the country to encourage the people and stir them up; and the sinfulness of the army, who should be instruments of deliverance. These days were accordingly kept.

The Presbytery at this time did impose public evidences of repentance upon scandalous persons in their parishes, and where elderships were erected, with as great severity as had been done at any time in the Church of Scotland. And these persons did submit themselves thereunto, though the most part were not properly formed into congregations as yet, nor under the inspection of ministers.

And, whereas, some ministers who had been Conformists, and had come and submitted to the Presbytery did use private baptism and private marriage, the Presbytery discouraged such practices in those ministers, which they had promised to forbear. Yet those ministers, who had given satisfaction for their conformity, and oath, were not received members of the Presbytery, except they were first received and settled in congregations in an orderly way, though permitted to preach where they were invited. At this time, there being one Mr. Black, preacher in Belfast, who intended to give the Sacrament after the way of the Common Prayer, the Presbytery, being informed of it, sent to Colonel Chichester and Earl of Donegall desiring forbearance of that way, in order to prevent scandal and inconveniences among the people. The said Colonel Chichester interposed with him to forbear. They also appointed Mr. Baird to preach every third Sabbath in Belfast, there being the third part of a regiment under his charge quartered there.

The Presbytery also wrote to the commission of the General Assembly in Scotland to hasten over the supplies of ministers appointed by the last General Assembly according to the turns appointed them, the first two being gone. The Presbytery, too, was earnest with the regiments who wanted ministers to supply themselves; and, accordingly, as ministers were presented to the Presbytery, they were put on their trials, and some rejected and some admitted.

At this time, February, 1643, the army being in great straits for want of pay, and the country under great burdens by them, the Presbytery appointed a fast on a week-day and the Sabbath following for an outget for the distressed army and country, and had the reasons contained in the causes of the other fast that was kept. The Presbytery all these times began with preaching before they went about their business, and chose for this time in ordinary the Prophecy of Isaiah. On May 24th, another fast was appointed to be in places on a week-day, and on a Lord's day thereafter, for the former causes, and especially the sinfulness of the army and country continuing, notwithstanding the great distress on both, and that God would bless the expedition of the army going to the field this summer. The Presbytery also sent over one of their number to the Assembly of Scotland, with commission to own their bounty in sending over one supply already, and to supplicate the continuance of the same according to the intention of the Assembly—who did accordingly, and a new supply is appointed by the Assembly, upon which comes over first Mr. Matthew M'Kail. A new fast was appointed in January,

1644, on a week-day and Sabbath following for the causes formerly mentioned, and besides, that God would enable the army gone from Scotland to England to support the work of God there against the Popish and prelatical party who were now prevailing much against the forces of the Parliament there. In February thereafter Mr. George Hutchinson came over by the appointment of the Assembly; and visitations of congregations were used in the ordinary way, both in the army and the few places of the country where ministers were.

In March, 1644, the Scotch army, through discouragement and want of maintenance, purposing to return to Scotland, were taking an oath which the Presbytery judged ambiguous, scandalous, contrary to the covenant, and a divisive motion. They sent two of their number to the meeting of officers at Carrickfergus, to declare the same to them; and, withal, they wrote to the commission of the Church of Scotland concerning the present state of the army and that oath, with their declaration against it. After this came over by the Assembly's appointment, Masters James Hamilton, William Adair, John Weir, and Hugh Henderson, very soon after one another. They were all present at the Presbytery, held Monday, the 1st of April, 1644, showing their commissions, and bringing a letter from the commission of the General Assembly, directing the ministers of the Scotch army to administer the solemn League and Covenant to the army. This was accordingly done. The ministers who had charge of regiments as their congregations, did administer it to these regiments; and the regiments who had no ministers received it from the ministers who had come from Scotland; and all entered into that oath with great appearance of desire and affection—some really—and others went along. I have heard that none refused it but Major Dalzell, in the Major-General's regiment, who then and all his days thereafter, proved an atheist, and an open enemy to the work of God. But though the army-ministers had no commissions, except for the army, yet in those places where the covenant was administered to the army, the whole country about came and willingly joined themselves in the covenant—a very few excepted, who were either some old Conformist ministers, or known profane and ungodly persons—so that there were more of the country become swearers than were men in the army. Yet, because the Black Oath had been generally pressed, and taken by many in the country a few years before, those who had taken the Black Oath were not admitted to the covenant till they at first publickly declared their repentance for it. It was reported by the worthy Mr. Weir—who administered the covenant at Carrickfergus, where least was expected—that there were 400 who had renounced the Black Oath publickly, and taken the covenant; and 1,400 of the army and of towns and places about, besides women, who had not taken the same, and now entered into the covenant. And there were in other places large equal proportions, and more people running into it where it was administered—as in Belfast, Comber, Newton, Bangor; also in Broadisland, Islandmagee, and other places in the county of Antrim, not only where soldiers were quartered, but where they were not quartered. The ministers from Scotland, on their own invitation, did visit them and administered the covenant unto them.

The covenant was taken in all places with great affection; partly with sorrow for former judgments and sins and miseries; partly with joy under present consolation, in the hopes of laying a foundation for the work of God in the land, and overthrowing Popery and prelacy, which had been the bane and ruin of that poor church. . . .

Thus, the ministers having gone about that work in all places in Down, and several places in Antrim, where the Scotch army were quartered, they resolved to

go to Coleraine and the Route also for that purpose, and, according as they had clearness, to go further toward Derry. Mr. Adair and Mr. Weir visited first Antrim, and after that Ballymena, then a small garrison. . . .

From Ballymena they went with a guard of horse toward Coleraine, under one William Hume, of General Leslie's regiment. They went the next day (being Thursday) to the church, and few being present except the soldiers of the garrison, they explained the covenant to them, and left it to their serious thoughts till the next Sabbath, being also Easter day. On this Lord's day the convention was very great from town and country. They expounded more fully the covenant, and, among other things, told the people that their miseries had come from those sorts of people who were there sworn against, and especially from the Papists. The righteous hand of God had afflicted them for going so near the Papists in their former worship and government in the church; and whereas, the episcopal party endeavoured peaceableness with the Papists, by symbolizing with them in much of their superstition; the Sovereign Holy Lord had turned their policy to the contrary effect for their conformity with idolaters—going on in a course which had a tendency at least that way. The first who publickly entered into covenant was the preacher in that town,—Master Vesey, who did solemnly acknowledge the sin of the Black Oath, and the cursed course of conformity with the former times. Such was the day of God's power on men's consciences. For this man proved not sound or steadfast thereafter, nor ever joined with the Presbytery and upon the restoration of bishops did again conform to episcopacy, and died Archbishop of Tuam.

Next, the whole people of the country present did solemnly acknowledge the oath, and by lifting up hands to God entered into the Solemn League and Covenant, with which were mixed prayers and singing of psalms, after the ordinary exercise of preaching was over. There were few of the townsmen who entered into the covenant the first day, but they gave the ministers knowledge that their purpose was on Monday to enter into it. . . . But as this work had little or no resistance hitherto appearing, so now some were stirred up against it. Colonel Mervyn began occasionally coming to Coleraine, and reflecting upon the people taking the covenant, and had almost discouraged and dissuaded some who were upon the way of taking it. Then one Mr. Philips, about Ballycastle [Ballykelly?] (near Newtownlimavady), set himself against it, and did endeavor to dissuade the garrison thereabout from it. And Sir Robert Stewart, with Mr. Humphrey Galbraith, were using the same endeavours about Derry, having heard that the ministers, upon invitation from some people, were coming there.

But a greater opposition met them from Derry; for, coming the length of Muff, they received a message and letter from the Mayor of Derry, one Thornton, and from Colonel Mervyn, prohibiting their coming there upon their peril. Yet, they considering they had invitation from a well-affected people to go there, and that God had signally appeared for them in carrying on that work in all places they had been in, went forward, not intimating to their company their discouragements. Whereupon their convoy leaving them, they went on, and being met by Captain Lawson (one of those who had invited them), they were brought over the ferry to his house, which was without the wall, not knowing how to enter the town. But Providence appeared for them; for Sir Frederick Hamilton, a bold man, and one of a great interest in that country, then occasionally being in Derry, came to the wall, and sent for them and brought them unto the gates to his own house, much encouraging them, and commending their coming forward, notwithstanding the threatenings they received. . . .

In the afternoon the mayor sent Captain Hepburn to the ministers, to desire a conference with them in his own chamber—where they attended him. There he showed them a letter from the Parliament of England, recommending to them the taking of the covenant when it should come to the Scotch army—and withal, a proclamation by those who then ruled in Dublin, prohibiting the taking of it—and declared his great straits what to choose. Whereunto the ministers answered that he should lay the balance—on the one hand the gracious purpose of the Parliament of England for their true good, together with the hopes of support from them, and from Scotland, and their brotherly affection desiring to be in one league and covenant with them; and on the other hand the corrupt disposition of those who then ruled in Dublin, with the experience they had found of their small help, or what could be expected from them. And so the ministers left him, and received another discouraging letter from Sir Robert Stewart, sent by Major Galbraith. . . .

The ministers having been blessed in Derry against much discouragement and opposition in the beginning, went the next day to Raphoe, accompanied by Sir John Cunningham and Lieutenant-Colonel Saunderson (who had taken it in Derry), with many others. There the whole regiment of Sir Robert Stewart did meet them (except himself), and great multitudes from the parishes about. They followed the same way here, and had the same success which they had formerly in other places. The one was necessitated to preach without the church when the other was within, and receive the people to covenant with the same solemnity. . . . .

From that they went to Letterkenny, where the most part of Sir William Stewart's regiment, and many others of that part entered. From that they went to Ray, where on the Lord's day the multitude was so great, that one of the ministers was forced to be without, when the other was within the church. Two ministers, among the other multitude, did abjure the Black Oath and conformity, and entered into the covenant before the people, the ministers keeping their former method in explaining, proving, and answering objections against the covenant. From thence on Monday they went to Taboin, being in the centre of the country, where an extraordinary number of people were met from all places, some fifteen miles off—some who had not taken the covenant in order to take it, and some had taken it, to be further confirmed—and the ministers here made it their work to do both. Here Sir Robert Stewart himself began to draw nearer and confer with the ministers about the covenant—his whole regiment having entered into it before—and some more ministers. There came a letter from Major-General Monroe to the ministers, and another to the Mayor of Derry, which, when he read, he said to some Covenanters with him:—"Now, I will be as arrant a Covenanter as any of you." They come next to Ramelton, where they received the rest of Sir William Stewart's regiment, and very many of Colonel Mervyn's, contrary to his threatenings. Also, one of those who oppossed the covenant at Raphoe—Watson—being the most judicious, did now come in and confess his errors, and entered into it with apparent ingenuousness. From these places they returned to Derry, where Sir Robert Stewart, Colonel Mervyn, and Major James Galbraith came now to hear the ministers preach and explain the covenant. . . .

The garrison of British at Enniskillen had sent to the ministers, earnestly desiring they would come and administer the covenant to them. The ministers delaying to answer, the garrison sent again, and told them if they would not come to them, they (the garrison) would leave that and come to them to take the covenant—there being then a general inclination that way among the most part of people, even among those who were ignorant of religion, or unfriendly to it. . . .

Meantime the mayor of Derry, with some few who had waited on his motions, did desire them to stay a day or two till he could take the covenant. But they, not finding ground for the delay, went to take horse; which he hearing, came after them and entreated them before their departure, to go to church and administer the covenant to him and these few others—which they did. Sir Robert Stewart also declared his resolution to take the covenant, only he put it off upon some considerable reason, alleged by him for that time.

After this they went towards Enniskillen, and the first night to Clady, where the two troops belonging to Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart did meet them to convey them to Enniskillen without hazard. And the worthy gentleman, Colonel Saunderson, went along with them, as at that time the generality of the officers of these regiments were both most respectful to their persons and instrumental in promoting the work they were about. They came along to Enniskillen without sight of an enemy. For the Irish, who were protected, hearing the covenant was coming that way, fled, because they heard that the covenant was to extirpate all Papists, and was against protecting them. And some so suddenly fled that they left their stolen goods, which they used to steal and send privately to the enemy, who then lay in the county of Cavan. Likewise, the enemy in these parts near about, hearing the covenant was coming, which, as they understood, was against the cessation of arms with them (then driving on), they did beat drums through their quarters, and marched bag and baggage, thirty miles into the country

However, the ministers were very kindly received by Lieutenant-Colonel Atcheson, of Sir William Cole's regiment, and all took the covenant, except one poor ignorant minister, and Sir William Cole himself, who said he would take it upon further consideration. However, his whole family took it. Besides, divers garrisons thereabout, as Beleek and Ballyshannon, took the covenant, which kept the ministers two days at their usual work. . . . Mr. Adair being in Derry, Colonel Mervyn came usually to hear, and thereafter propounded his scruples upon some evil considerations on the fourth article of the covenant, which were answered; yet he did not seem satisfied at that time. But within a few days he wrote to Mr. Adair to come to [Strabane?], where the rendezvous of his whole regiment was to be, and he with them would enter into covenant. This appointment Mr. Adair kept, where Colonel Mervyn, with the whole officers, solemnly declared their satisfaction in the covenant, and entered into it, and, while they were doing so, the soldiers who had taken it before, cried out—"Welcome, welcome, Colonel!" From this, Mr. Adair returned with Colonel Mervyn to Derry, being entertained with no small courtesy and protestations of forwardness for the covenant thereafter. . . .

After this work, the ministers, accompanied by special friends, came to the Water Side, to Captain Lawson's house, where, kneeling down, they commended the people to God. They came that night to Ballycastle [*potius* Ballykelly?] near Newtonlimavady, where were numbers of people waiting on them to take the covenant, which accordingly was administered to them. From that they came to Coleraine, where Sir Robert Stewart meeting them with Major-General Monro, did the next day publickly enter into the covenant, together with some few others who had delayed it till that time. So also did Sir William Cole, at Carrickfergus, in his passage for England.

From this the ministers returned to the congregation of Antrim and Down, where the covenant had been administered, partly confirming the people, who had entered into it already, and partly administering it to some who had not taken it before, among whom was the Lord of Ards. . . .

About this time, upon a supplication from many in Belfast to the Presbytery for erecting a Session there, it was recommended to Mr. Adair to perform it—which was done, July, 1644. . . .

At this time, being in or about September, 1644, there was an erection of a new Presytery in Route by divers ministers who had been Conformists, and had taken the covenant of late, who had no sessions nor commissions from any, but themselves concurring together. . . .

About this time, April, 1645, Mr. David Buttle is called to Ballymena, and Mr. Archibald Ferguson to Antrim; and within a while after, the due order of trials past, were ordained and settled in these places. . ..

The parishes of Newtonards and Killileagh supplicated the Presbytery to concur for a call to Mr. John Livingston (being then present at the Presbytery, and formerly a minister in Ireland), to their parishes, each of them endeavouring to have him. Mr. Livingston entered a protestation that these calls be not prejudicial to the interest of Stanraer, his parish and people in Scotland. This motion, however, had no success. For though the parish of Killinchy did many years after that—in the year 1655, or therabout—call Mr. Livingston, and he came to Ireland then for a visit, upon their call, and Mr. Hamilton was also invited to Ballywalter; yet the motions for bringing back these worthy men to Ireland did not succeed. They had been driven out of this country, and were necessitated and clearly called to settle in Scotland thereafter, and became singularly useful there, and subject to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and other church judicatories who would not part with them. However, about this time Providence supplied the defect, partly by sending over a new supply of able ministers from Scotland, one year after another by turns; and thereafter by sending over divers young men, near together about this time, in 1645 or '6. Besides Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Buttle—viz., Mr. Antony Shaw to Belfast (where he was settled and staid for a time, but afterwards was driven away from it by the party then called the malignant party). Mr. Patrick Adair to Carncastle. Mr. Antony Kennedy to Templepatrick, Mr. Thomas Hall to Larne, Mr. John Greg to Carrickfergus, Mr. James Ker to Ballymoney, Mr. Jeremiah O'Queen to Billy, Mr. Gilbert Ramsay to Bangor, Mr. Thomas Peebles to Dundonald, Mr. James Gordon to Comber, and Mr. Andrew Stewart to Donaghadee.

All these within a year or two were settled in these places, other congregations making way for others, and using the means for bringing them from Scotland. . . .

Toward the end of this year (1645) the ministers of Route, formerly mentioned, and others, took hold of a seeming opportunity to interfere with the Presbytery. The Parliament of England, having, in October, 1645, sent over commissioners to Ulster to rule the affairs of this country—viz. Mr. Annesley (afterwards the Earl of Anglesea), Sir Robert King, and Colonel Beal, these ministers applied to them—viz., Messrs. Fullerton, Watson, Vesey, and M'Neil, accusing the Presbytery of bringing a foreign jurisdiction against the laws of Ireland, and that the Presbytery took on them to exercise authority over them, &c. Of this the commissioners gave notice to the Presbytery, sending them a copy of the said libel. And they met with these commissioners at Belfast, by translating the Presbytery thither, where they sent some of their number to the commissioners to give them satisfaction as to these accusations and reflections—which they having done, the commissioners were satisfied. . . . The commissioners also did give order, at the Presbytery's desire, that the covenant should be tendered to such as had not taken it at Carrickfergus, Belfast, Lisnegarvy, &c., which was done accordingly. They also did give a right of the tythe of parishes to as many of the new entrants as did apply to them, and did add the civil sanction to the Presbytery,

and gave commission to cognosce upon the lives and abilities of scandalous ministers in Lagan, encouraging the Presbytery if they found cause to pass censure on them, which accordingly was done. Some said this gratifying the Presbytery was a piece of emulation and State policy, they finding Major-General Monro and the army had a great stroke in this country and in Ulster, partly through countenancing these courses. Therefore, they would not be behind with them in giving all countenance to the Presbytery. However, this did much daunt those sorts of ministers at that time, and did strengthen the hands of the few new beginners. For, at this time (in Down), there were none settled of the country ministers but two, and in Antrim but other two—Mr. Buttle and Mr. Ferguson—and the other party were many in all parts of the country. It is true some unfriends did reflect at this time as if the Presbytery had taken commission from the magistrate to exercise their authority, and some friends did scruple at the first offer made by the commissioners, because then the Erastian spirit much prevailed in the Parliament of England. But the commissioners at the very first assured them it was not to make the Presbytery or their discipline subordinate to the magistrate, but only an accumulative power which they intended, and accordingly did give them by their commission or warrant. Upon this, the appointed ministers and elders went to Lagan, preached daily, erected sessions, took depositions against scandalous ministers, and made way for calling ministers to congregations. And there, the people of the country did accuse divers of these ministers, and brought in witnesses, making evident their lewd lives and unministerial carriage—upon which they were first suspended by the commissioners, and then deposed by the Presbytery. And the people thereafter petitioned the Presbytery, by Captains Hamilton and Kennedy, for supply of ministers by turns, the whole country being then void of ministers, except one—Mr. Robert Cunningham—who had been a Conformist, and then seemed to be serious in the profession of the truth, and was then at Taboin (*alias* St. Johnstone). Upon which the Presbytery did send them ministers, the commissioners also concurring with the desire by turns as they became able and in any measure furnished, and continued the supply till the Lagan got some stock of ministers amongst themselves, as Mr. Hugh Cunningham, at Rye; Mr. William Semple, at Letterkenny; Mr. Thomas Drummond, at Ramelton; Mr. David Gamble, at——; Mr. James Wallace, at Urney, &c.,—all settled in 1646 and '47 . . . .

At this time, in the beginning of June, 1646, the Scotch army under Major-General Monro, together with the British, took the field to seek for the Irish army in Ulster, under the command of Owen M'Cart, who had been bred a soldier in Spain, and came over and gathered together the scattered Irish forces into a body, and was marching toward Sir Phelim O'Neill to join with him against the Scotch and British forces in Ulster. But the British and Scotch armies received a sad blow at Benburb, near the Blackwater. They were wholly routed and many slain, and some taken prisoners, among whom was the Lord of Ards, then a youth. This rout sadly alarmed the country, as well as the army, who were called together in divers companies (together with the scattered forces who had escaped the slaughter) to march to the borders of the country for defence of it against the enemy, if he should pursue his victory at the Blackwater. But the Lord restrained the remainder of the enemy's wrath. Their General, being a bred soldier and a wary man imagined the army and country would be as bears robbed of their whelps, and in a readiness to fight; whereas, indeed, they were but faint-hearted, and in a very evil case to encounter an enemy. But God saw the affliction of his people in the country at that time, and would not destroy the new bud of his own work,

which was but beginning to spring up; and, therefore, he did withhold the barbarous Irish from further pursuing, which they might easily have done. Yea, it is observable that, a while after this, when Sir Phelim O'Neill sent parties to prey upon the country and drive the cows of such as they could, the places where the Gospel was planted, though lying near the quarters where the rebels came, were preserved from plunder. . . .

During the year 1646, and thereafter, the new plantation in Down and Antrim did increase. The Presbytery were constantly employed in taking trials of the young men already mentioned, according to the manner used in the Church of Scotland, and thereafter settling them in their respective parishes. They were somewhat troubled in settling Mr. James Ker at Ballymoney, and Mr. Jeremiah O'Queen (a native Irishman, bred by Mr. Upton to be a scholar), at Billy. In these two parishes of Route, where they were called by the plurality of the people, but opposed by some disaffected persons, particularly Mr. Stewart of Ballintoy, who had some interest in Ballymoney, and Mr. Donald M'Neill in Billy, who, with their party did apply themselves to the commissioners from England yet in the country, and appealed to them from the Presbytery. They had given in divers things in a libel against these two expectants, anent the unsoundess of somewhat they had delivered in their doctrine. In answer to these, the Presbytery in the first place appointed two of their number to go to the commissioners, and inform them of the groundlessness and error of this appeal from a spiritual judicatory to the civil magistrate; and that they presumed the commissioners would not own such proceedings. Unto this the commissioners assented, yet sent this libel to the Presbytery to be examined. This the Presbytery did with all diligence, recommending the examination of it to those of their number who were going to Route to Mr. John Beard's ordination, where the other party might bring their witnesses. But, upon a fair trial, they found nothing to obstruct the settling of these men. . .

Lagan all this while was without one settled minister, except Mr. Robert Cunningham, who preached in Taboin, yet not settled; and, in 1647, Mr. Hugh Cunningham was settled at Ray, being transported from the regiment to that place, upon which the special gentlemen and persons who were concerned for the gospel in the country wrote and sent commissioners from time to time to the Presbytery for supplies. Upon which they were sent, both in the years 1646 and 1647. And most of those who were settled, shortly after their settlement were sent once and again, staying four Sabbaths, and among other things pressed the people of the country to provide ministers for themselves—which, accordingly, they fell about, as they became in a capacity—the ministers and expectants being usually sent to congregations destitute of ministers. . . .

The Presbytery having sent Mr. John Greg as their commissioner to the Assembly of Scotland this summer (July, 1648), the Assembly returned an answer by him, and appointed to supply in Ireland Messrs. Alexander Livingston, Henry Semple, Andrew Lauder, and John Dick. . . .

The number of ministers in planted congregations, growing and considerably spreading unto all parts of the North of Ireland, it was found that the Presbytery could not all meet together in one place, as formerly they had done from the first beginning of church discipline in these parts. Therefore, the Presbytery found it necessary that there should be three different meetings in different parts of the country, for the better and more speedy carrying on the work of God in divers counties; taking order with scandals; and concurring in matters of discipline as particular congregations should require their help. And withal, that these distinct meetings should take trials of entrance within their particular bounds, upon their

finding the calls clear to congregations. These meetings were not constituted into Presbyteries, strictly so called, as acting by power in themselves; but they acted by commission of the whole Presbytery met together—their commission being drawn and subscribed by the clerk of the Presbytery for what they did. These committee meetings had power only to visit empty congregations; to dissuade people from hearing hirelings; to erect and give advice to sessions anent scandalous persons and their repentance; to try what duties ministers and elders performed in their charges; to see what care congregations took to maintain ministers; to inspect expectants' testimonials coming from Scotland, and if approven to license them to preach till the Presbytery [met], but not in relation to trial; to preach and censure doctrine at their meetings; to take account of one another's diligence; and to divide the controversies of the times among themselves. But, on the other hand, they were not to enter expectants upon trial in reference to congregations, till the Presbytery was satisfied with their testimonials. Nor were these young men to be ordained till the Presbytery should have report and satisfaction concerning their abilities after trials were passed.

Thus the work of the Presbytery was facilitated by those meetings commissioned by them. They were then called the Meetings of Down, Antrim, and Route, with Lagan. Besides, the gospel spread into divers counties and places of the North of Ireland, where the purity and power of ordinances had never been known before—such as Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, Cavan; besides a further enlargement of the gospel in Londonderry. Though there were not above twenty-four ministers planted belonging to the Presbytery in the year 1653, yet they had multiplied to near eighty within a few years thereafter [see p. 606, vol. i., Note 3], even in the sight and to the angering of their adversaries on all hands —viz., the old Episcopal party who then complied with the Government and the Anabaptists and other sectaries, who then had special influence upon all affairs.

APPENDIX V

(*Page 617, Vol. I.*)

EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATIONS IN IRELAND

The following list of early Presbyterian congregations and ministers in Ireland is made up chiefly from Dr. W. D. Killen's *History of Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, and embraces the greater part of the early churches.

Aghadowey, county Londonderry: Thomas Boyd, from before 1661 to 1699; James Macgregor, 1701 to 1718, when he emigrated to New Hampshire with a large portion of his charge, and settled at Nutfield (now Londonderry); John Elder, 1723 to 1773; Samuel Hamilton, 1773 to 1788; Archibald Fullerton, 1790 to 1813. Aghadowey Reformed: Matthew Lind, 1760 to 1773, when he emigrated to Pennsylvania.

Aghaloo, county Tyrone: see Minterburn.

Aghalurcher, county Tyrone: see Cavanleck.

Ahoghill, county Antrim: John Shaw, 1658 to 1674–5; Matthew Haltridge, 1676 to 1705; Thomas Shaw, 1710 to 1731; John Semple, 1736 to 1749; James Ker, 1753 to 1757; James Cuming, 1760 to 1809.

Anahilt (or Hillsborough), county Down: John McBroom, from 1662 to 1682; James Ramsay, 1689–94 to 1708; Charles Seaton, 1708 to 1737; Samuel Simms, 1739 to 1746; John Semple, 1749 to 1758; Robert McClure, 1760 to 1802.

ANTRIM, county Antrim: John Ridge, 1619 to 1636; John Livingston, 1642; Archibald Ferguson, 1645 to 1650; James Cunningham —— to 1670; Thomas Gowan, 1672 to 1683; John Anderson, 1685 to 1688; William Adair, 1690 to 1699; John Abernethy, 1703 to 1726; William Holmes, 1730 to 1750; John Rankin, 1751 to 1789; Alexander Montgomery, 1791 to 1820.

ARDSTRAW, county Tyrone: William Moorcroft, before 1671; Adam White, 1672 to 1692; Samuel Holyday, or Haliday, 1692 to 1724; Isaac Taylor, 1718 to 1729; Andrew Welsh, 1733 to 1781; Robert Clarke, 1779 to 1821.

ARMAGH, county Armagh: Hope Sherrid, before 1661; Archibald Hamilton, 1673 to 1692; John Hutchinson, 1697 to 1729; John Maxwell, 1732 to 1763; William Campbell, 1764 to 1789; William Henry, 1791 to 1795; Thomas Cuming, 1796 to 1816.

ARMOY, county Antrim: organized 1768; Hugh McClelland, 1771 to 1813.

ATHLONE, county Roscommon, organized 1704; Samuel Dunlop, 1708 to 1722.

AUGHNACLOY, county Tyrone: Baptist Boyd, before 1697 to 1749; Hugh Mulligan, 1757 to 1786; James Davison, 1787 to 1811.

BADONEY, county Tyrone: Alexander McCracken, 1710 to 1743; Hugh McCracken, 1751 to ——; Joseph Coulter, 1768 to 1789; William Dunlop, 1790 to 1798.

BAILIEBOROUGH, county Cavan: David Simm, 1714 to 1724; —— Wilson, 1726 to 1735; Hugh Mulligan, 1742 to 1757; Alexander McKee, 1761; John Mathewson, 1762 to 1780; Robert Montgomery, 1781 to 1803.

BALLEE, county Down: (now Ardglass): connected with Drumca until 1697; William Smith, 1701 to 1747; Robert Smith, 1750 to 1787; James Patterson, 1782 to 1798; Josiah Kerr, 1799 to 1809.

BALLINDERRY, county Antrim: organized 1672; Archibald Young, 1672; Matthew Haltridge, 1674; David Airth, before 1685 to 1694; John Riddel, 1701 to 1713, or later; John Hasty, 1724 to 1743; Clotworthy Dobbin, 1746; William Rowan, 1751 to 1783; Robert Carlisle, 1784 to 1794; William Whitlaw, 1794 to 1836.

BALLINDREAT (formerly Lifford), county Donegal: William Traill, 1671 to 1682, when he removed to Maryland for five years; John Rowat, —— to 1694; James Pringle, 1695 to 1699; John Ball, 1706 to 1739; John Marshall, 1743 to 1795; James Houston, 1799 to 1839.

BALLYBAY, county Monaghan: Humphrey Thompson, about 1698 to 1744; Alexander Wadsworth, 1744 to 1747; James Jackson, 1750 to 1781; John Arnold, 1782 to 1797; James Morell, 1799 to 1831. Ballybay Associate (or Cahans): Thomas Clark, 1749 to 1764, when the minister and part of the congregation emigrated to America and settled in Washington county, New York; John Rogers, 1767 to 1814.

BALLYCARRY (or Broadisland), county Antrim: Edward Brice, 1611 until after 1634; Robert Cunningham, 1645 to 1698; James Cobham, 1700 to 1759: John Bankhead, 1763 to 1843.

BALLYCLARE, county Antrim: Gilbert Simpson, 1655 until after 1662; Robert Patton, before 1671 to 1679–80; Thomas Tuft, 1681 to 1713; Thomas Wilson, 1711 to 1757; . . . Foote Marshall, 1785 to 1813.

BALLYCOPELAND (Associate), county Antrim (?): organized before 1788.

BALLYEASTON, county Antrim: organized 1676–81; William Adair, 1681 to 1690; Stafford Pettigrew, 1699 to 1718; Timothy White, 1723 to 1749; William Montgomery, 1758 to 1809. Ballyeaston Associate organized before 1788.

BALLYGAWLEY, county Tyrone: connected with Aughnacloy until 1829.

BALLAGONNY (Associate): Joseph Ker. before 1777 to —.

BALLYHALBERT, county Down: see GLASTRY.

BALLYJAMESDUFF, county Cavan: Nathaniel Glasgow, 1721 to 1732; James Hamilton, 1733 to 1756; William Sproat, 1759 to 1789; Samuel Kennedy, 1790 to 1826.

Ballykelly, county Londonderry: William Crooks, about 1665 to 1699; John Stirling, 1701 to 1752; John Haslett, 1752 to about 1757; John Nelson, 1762 to 1765; Benjamin McDowell, 1766 to 1778; Robert Rentoul, 1779 to 1822.

Ballymena, county Antrim: George Dunbar, about 1627 to 1630–34; David Buttle, 1645 to 1665; Adam Getty, 1666 to 1675; James Pitcairn, 1676 to 1689; Joshua Fisher, 1689 to 1694; Thomas Leech, 1698 to 1738; John Brown, 1737 to 1771; John Lindsay, 1771 to 1795; William Hamilton, 1796 to 1811.

Ballymoate, county Sligo: organized about 1759, and first ministered to by Messrs. Nesbit, King, Caldwell, Scott, and Fleming; reorganized in 1850.

Ballymoney, county Antrim: —— Ker, 1646 to 1660; David Houston, 1672; . . . Hugh Kirkpatrick, 1695 to 1712; Robert McBride, 1716 to 1759; Robert Smylie, 1759 to 1768; Alexander Marshall, 1772 to 1799.

Ballynahinch, county Down: William Reid, 1696 to 1708; Henry Livingston, 1704 to about 1713; James McAlpine, 1714 to 1732; Alexander Maclaine, 1735 to 1742; John Strong, 1744 to 1780; John McClelland, 1783 to 1818.

Ballynure (formerly Raloo), county Antrim: organized 1659; Robert Kelso, 1673 to 1674; Clotworthy Brown, 1747 to 174–; William Rodgers, 1751 to 1786; Adam Hill, 1785 to 1827.

Ballyrashane, county Londonderry: Robert Hogsyard (or Hodgeheard), 1657 to 1661; Thomas Harvey, 1673 to 1690–1700; Thomas Elder, 1700 to 1704; Henry Neill, 1709 to 1745; Samuel Buys, 1746 to 1760; John Logan, 1765 to 1816. Ballyrashane Associate (including Derrykeichan and Roseyards): John Tennent, 1751 to 1808.

Ballyroney, county Down: organized, 1708; James Moor, 1709 to 1738; Robert Thompson, 1738 to 1743; Samuel Thompson, 1749–50; Alexander Wilson, 1751 to 1782; William Fletcher, 1783 to 1824. Ballyroney Associate: Thomas Mayn, 1749 to 1806.

Ballyshannon, county Donegal: connected with Donegal until 1834.

Ballyvey (Reformed), county Donegal: William Gamble, 1788 to —.

Ballywalter, county Down: James Hamilton, 1626 to 1636; James Baty, 1642 to 1650–51; William Reid, —— to 1661, or later; . . . John Goudy, 1688 to 1733; Robert Goudy, 1734 to 1761; James Cochrane, 1762 to 1802.

Ballywillan, county Antrim: Gabriel Cornwall, before 1656 to 1661 or later; . . . William Houston, 1700 to 1721; James Thompson, 1718 to 1747; Hugh Gaston, 1748 to 1765–66, when he emigrated to South Carolina; John Abernethy, 1769 to 1774; Robert Thompson, 1779 to 1815.

Banagher, county Londonderry: connected with Cumber until 1755; John Law, 1756 to 1810.

Banbridge, county Down: set off from Magherally in 1716; Archibald MacLaine, 1720 to 1740; Henry Jackson, 1743 to 1790; Nathaniel Shaw, 1790 to 1812.

Bangor, county Down: Robert Blair, 1623 to 1636; Gilbert Ramsay, 1646 to 1670; Archibald Hamilton, 1672 to 1689; succeeded by his grandson, Robert Hamilton, about 1691–93; William Biggar, 1704 to 1728; James Mackay, 1732 to 1747; John Cochrane, 1748 to 1765; James Hull, 1763 to 1794; David Taggart, 1793 to 1808.

Belfast, county Antrim: . . . Anthony Shaw, 1645–46 to 1650–55; William Keyes, 1660 to 1673; Patrick Adair, 1674 to 1694; John McBride, 1694 to 1718; James Kirkpatrick, 1706 to ——; Samuel Haliday, 1720 to ——; Charles Masterton, 1722 to 1745; William Laird, 1747 to 1791; Sinclair Kelburne, 1780 to 1799. Belfast Associate organized before 1788.

Belturbet, county Cavan: organized 1709; Robert Thompson, 1714 to 1721; unable to sustain a minister for more than a century afterwards.

Benburb, county Tyrone: —— Walkinshaw, after 1660; Archibald Hamilton, 1670 to 1672; James Johnson, ——; John Boyd, 1706 to 1712; John Kennedy, 1714 to 1761; Alexander Johnson, 1763 to 1771; James Whiteside, 1772 to 1821.

Billy, (or Bushmills), county Antrim: Jeremiah O'Quin, 1646 to 1657; Gabriel Cornwall, 1656–60 to 1670–80; Adam White, before 1691 to 1708; John Porter, 1713 to 1738; John Logue, 1746 to 1756; Samuel Moore, ——; Hugh Moore, 1779 to 1780; William Douglass, 1783 to 1794; Daniel McKee, 1796 to 1820.

Boardmills (Associate), county Down: Andrew Black, 1749 to 1782; Joseph Longmoore, 1784 to 1809.

Boveva, county Londonderry: Hans Stewart, 1701 to 1737; John Lyle, 1738 to 1765; William Stewart, 1770; Samuel Patton, 1773 to 1774; Francis Grey, —— to 1817.

Braid, county Antrim: see Broughshane.

Breachy, county Meath: see Ervey.

Bready (Reformed) county Londonderry: William James, 1765 to ——; Samuel Alexander, 1783 to ——; James McGarragh, 1789 to 1791, when he emigrated to South Carolina.

Brigh (or Donaghendry), county Tyrone: Archibald Hamilton, 1630 to 1661; John Abernethy, —— to 1675–84; Alexander Osborne, —— to 1688; Robert Hamilton, 1688 to 1691–92; Thomas Kennedy, 1700 to 1746; John White, 1747 to 1787; Thomas McKay, 1788 to 1821.

Broadisland, county Antrim: see Ballycarry.

Broughshane (originally Braid), county Antrim: John Douglass, 1655 to ——; Fulk White, 1687 to 1716; James White, 1716 to 1761; Alexander McMullan, 1756 to 1758; Charles Brown, 1759 to 1810.

Buckna, county Antrim: John Logue, 1756 to 1772, when he removed to America; David Park, 1773 to 1814.

Buncrana, county Donegal: connected with Fahan until 1834.

Burt, county Donegal: William Hempton 1673 to 1688; Andrew Ferguson, 1690 to 1725; Andrew Ferguson, Jr., 1725 to 1787; Hugh Brooke, 1783 to 1839.

Bushmills, county Antrim: see Billy.

Cairncastle, county Antrim: Patrick Adair, 1646 to 1674; John Campbell, 1677 to 1714; William Taylor, 1715 to 1734; John Lewson, 1738 to 1802.

Carlan (originally Donoughmore, or Dungannon), county Tyrone: Thomas Kennedy, Sr., from before 1661 to 1688 and 1693 to 1714; Robert Stuart, 1720 to 1746; William Kennedy, 1754 to 1801.

Carlingford, county Louth: John Wilson, about 1700 to 1729, when he emigrated to America; Alexander Reed, 1731 to 1737; George Henry, 1743 to 1764, when he emigrated to America; Robert Dickson, 1765 to 1804.

Carlow, county Carlow: David Simm, ordained in 1724; congregation became extinct in 1750, and was not reorganized until 1818.

Cardonagh (or Donagh), county Donegal: Robert Neilson, 1695 to 1698; Thomas Harvey, 1701 to 1718; Thomas Strawbridge, 1721 to 1762; Samuel Patton, 1773 to 1775–76; Robert Scott, 1777 to 1803.

Carnmoney, county Antrim: James Shaw, 1657 to 1672; Patrick Shaw, 1673 to 1683; John Munro, 1686 to 1689; George Lang, 1690 to 1692; Andrew Crawford, 1695 to 1726; John Thompson, 1731 to 1764; John Thompson, 1767 to 1828.

Carnone (Associate), county Donegal, Robert Law, 1757 to —.

Carntall, county Tyrone: see Clogher.

Carrickfergus, county Antrim: —— Hubbard, about 1620 to 1623; James Glendinning, 1623 to 1625; John Greg, 1646 to 1649; Timothy Taylor, 1650 to

1665–68; William Keyes, 1668 to 1672; Robert Henry, 1674 to 1690; Archibald Ross, 1694 to 1700; Patrick Adair, 1702 to 1717; James Frazer, 1718 to 1748; David Fullarton, 1756 to 1767; William Blakely, 1770 to 1779; John Savage, 1783 to 1822.

CARRICKMACLIN, county Meath: see ERVEY.

CASTLEBLANEY, county Monaghan: Samuel Hemphill, 1718 to 1741; James Gordon, 1744 to 1750; John Warnock, 1759 to 1770–74; John Davis, 1774 to 1818. Castleblayney Associate: John McAuley, 1755 to ——.

CASTLEDAWSON, county Londonderry: John Tomb, about 1696 to 1718; Hugh Wallace, 1720 to 1738; Robert Henry, 1743 to 1798.

CASTLEDERG, county Tyrone: organized about 1700; John Dunlop, 1710 to 1713; Nehemiah Donaldson, 1716 to 1747; Hugh Young, 1748 to 1789; James Henderson, 1791 to 1818.

CASTLEREAGH, county Down: Hugh Wilson, before 1661 to 1690; James Montgomery, 1690–95 to 1710; Francis Montgomery, 1715 to 1761; Samuel Alexander, 1742 to 1787; Alexander Henry, 1774 to 1806.

CAVANALECK (originally Aghalurcher, or Five-mile-town), county Tyrone: Josias Cornwalls, 1704 to 1728; John Gibson, 1732 to 1738; Thomas Boyle, 1745 to 1780; William Johnston, 1781 to 1812.

CLADY, county Tyrone: connected with Ardstraw until 1741: . . . Thomas Leitch was here in 1799.

CLARE, county Armagh: John McBride, before 1679 to 1694; Moses Cherry, 1697 to 1727; George Cherry, 1725 to 1765; Samuel Livingston, 1765 to 1802.

CLENNANEES (Associate), county Tyrone: Hugh McGill, 1754 to ——; John Bridge, before 1777 to ——.

CLOGHER, or CARNTALL, county Tyrone: Neill Gray, —— to 1691; William Cornwall, 1695 to 1718, when he removed to New England for a season; John Carlisle, 1722 to 1748; William McNeill, 1754 to 1770; Andrew Millar, 1773 to 1831.

CLONDEVADOCK, county Donegal: see FANNET.

CLONIS, county Monaghan: see STONEBRIDGE.

CLOMMEL, county Tipperary: William Cock, 1673 until after 1688; . . . William Campbell, 1789 to 1805.

CLONTIBRET, county Monaghan: organized 1725; William Sloan, 1728 to 1732; James Clarke, 1736 to 1756; James Kinnear, 1759 to 1777; William McFerson, 1778 to 1789; James Goudy, 1790 to 1828.

CLOUGH, county Antrim: Andrew Rowan, about 1650 to 1661; Peter Orr, 1673 to 1706; Alexander Orr, 1709 to 1713; Thomas Cobham, 1718 to 1732; James McCurdy, 1735 to 1758; Joseph Douglass, 1760 to 1795.

CLOUGH (originally Drumca), county Down: Thomas Maxwell, before 1687 to 1705; Hugh Ramsay, 1707 to 1720; Hugh Williamson, 1722 to 1748; John Williamson, 1752 until after 1766; Robert Porter, 1773 to 1815.

CLOUGHERNEY, or TERMONT, county Tyrone: Joseph Hemphill, 1721 to 1747; James Scott, 1752 to 1780; James Ker, 1721 to 1823. Termont Associate: Thomas Dickson before 1777 to ——.

COAGH, county Tyrone: David Thomb, 1711 to 1726; Hugh Sharp, 1732 to 1753; John McClelland, 1755 to 1798.

COLERAINE, county Londonderry: . . . . Thomas Wylie, 1670 to 1673; William Weir, 1674 to 1687; John Abernethy, 1691 to 1703; Robert Higinbotham, 1710 to 1770; Arthur Kyle, 1761 to 1808; Matthew Culbert, 1799 to 1819.

COLERAINE SECOND, county Londonderry: organized 1727; Charles Lynd, 1728 to 1751; John Simpson, 1753 to ——; John Glasgow, 1796 to 1801.

COMBER, county Down: James Gordon, about 1645 to 1661; John Hamilton.

—— to 1689; Thomas Orr, 1695 to 1722; John Orr, 1724 to 1725; Robert Cunningham, 1728 to 1772; William Henry, —— to 1789; John McCance, 1790 to 1837.

Conlig (Reformed), county Down: William Stavely, 1772 to ——. See Newtownards Second.

Connor, county Antrim: Robert Dewart, 1658 to 1661; Thomas Gowan, 1667 to 1671; David Cunningham, 1672 to 1697; Robert Murdock, 1699 to 1702; Charles Masterton, 1704 to 1723; Robert McMaster, 1724 to 1729; Thomas Fowler, 1733 to 1736; James Cochrane, 1738 to 1770; James Brown, 1775 to 1788; Henry Henry, 1788 to 1840.

Convoy, county Donegal: John Crookshanks, before 1660; Samuel Haliday, 1664 to 1677; James Alexander, 1678 to 1704; David Fairly, 1711 to 1776; James Taylor, 1766 to 1831.

Cookstown (originally Derriloran), county Tyrone: John McKenzie, 1673 to 1696; John McCleave, 1701 to 1749; James Hall, 1752 to 1763; George Murray, 1765 to 1795; John Davison, 1797 to 1835.

Cootehill, county Cavan: organized 1718; Andrew Dean, 1721 to 1760; Thomas Stewart, 1766 to 1816.

Corboy and Tully (originally Longford), West Meath: organized about 1675; John Mairs, 1697 to 1706; William Hare, 1708 to 1720; James Bond, 1723 to 1762; Joseph Martin, 1765 to 1767; William Fleming, 1767 to 1784; Robert Rogers, or Rodgers, 1785 to 1791; Joseph Osborne, 1792 to 1799.

Cork, county Cork: organized before 1710.

Creggan, county Armagh: Alexander McComb, 1733 to 1795; Joseph Jackson, 1795 to 1801.

Croghan, county Cavan: see Killeshandra.

Crossroads, county Tyrone: see Mount Joy.

Crumlin, county Antrim: Thomas Crawford, 1724 to 1782; John Gibson, 1783 to 1796; Nathaniel Alexander, 1799 to 1829.

Cullybackey, county Antrim: James McCreight, 1730 to 1757; Alexander McMullan, 1758 to 1772, when he emigrated to America; Robert Christy, 1773 to 1818.

Cumber, county Londonderry: Major Murray, 1718 to 1751; Samuel Patton, 1753 to 1799.

Cushendun and Cushendall, county Antrim: James Stuart, 1708 to 1719; organization became dormant until 1848.

Dartry, county Monaghan: see Drum.

Derg, county Tyrone: see Castlederg.

Derriloran, county Tyrone: see Cookstown.

Dervock (originally Derrykeichan), county Antrim: John Baird, 1646 to ——; Robert Stirling, before 1688 to 1699; Thomas Stirling, 1703 to 1718; John Orr, 1723 to 1745; Joseph Douglass, 1751 to 1799; Alexander Martin, 1790 to 1838. Dervock Reformed, James McKinney, 1783 to ——, (emigrated to South Carolina, 1793.)

Donagh, county Donegal: . . . ; see Carndonagh.

Donacloney, county Down: see Tullylish.

Donaghadee, county Down: —— Nevin, about 1642; Andrew Stuart, 1658 to 1671; Henry Hamilton, 1701 to 1730; James Maxwell Stuart, 1733 to 1743; William Warnock, 1747 to 1768; John Adams, 1772 to 1779; Alexander Goudy, 1780 to 1791, when he emigrated to America, James Knox, 1794 to 1799; John Arnold, 1799 to 1811.

Donagheady, county Tyrone: John Hamilton, 1658 until after 1688; Thomas Winsley, 1699 to 1736; William Armstrong, 1741 to 1761; James Turbit, 1764 to 1783; Hugh Hamil, 1784 to 1803.

Donagheady Second, county Tyrone: Robert Wirling, 1741 to 1765; John McMean, 1762 to 1777; John Holmes, 1779 to 1830.

Donaghendry, county Tyrone: see Brigh.

Donegal (originally Raneny), county Donegal: . . . ; Thomas Craighead, 1698 to 1714, when he emigrated to New England; John Holmes, 1715 to 1744; Andrew Hamilton, 1744 to 1763; Robert Caldwell, 1767 to 1785–90; William Houston, 1791 to 1831.

Donegore, county Antrim: Andrew Stewart, about 1627 to 1634; Thomas Crawford, 1655 to 1661–70; William Shaw, 1671 to 1687; Francis Iredell, 1688 to 1699; Alexander Brown, 1702 to 1758; John Wright, 1755 to 1807.

Donoughmore, county Donegal: Robert Craighead, 1658 to 1688–90; Joshua Fisher, 1694 to 1706; Francis Laird, 1709 to 1742; Benjamin Holmes, 1744 to 1798; Samuel Dill, 1799 to 1842.

Donoughmore, county Down: organized 1705; James Johnson, 1707 to 1765; James Richey, 1763 to 1771; Joseph Hay, 1773 to 1803.

Donoughmore, county Tyrone: see Dungannon and Carlan.

Douglas, county Tyrone: united with Clady until 1831.

Downpatrick, county Down: . . .; John Fleming, —— to 1661; Archibald Young, 1673 to 1690; John Hutchinson, 1690 to 1697; Thomas Jackson, 1700 to 1708; Thomas Nevin, 1711 to 1744; . . . ; William Nevin, ——; . . . ; James Neilson, 1791 to 1838

Drogheda, county Louth: Hugh Henry, 1711 to 1744 . . . .

Dromara, county Down: organized 1713; John Campbell, 1715 to 1724; John King, 1726 to 1762; James Birch, 1764 to 1820.

Dromore, county Down: Henry Hunter, about 1660; William Leggat, 1670–75 to 1694–97; Alexander Colville, 1700 to 1719; Alexander Colville, Jr., 1724 to 1725; James Allen, 1726 to 1752; William Henry, 1753 to 1776; John Cochrane, 1777 to 1779; James Waddle, 1784 to 1815.

Drum (originally Dartry), county Monaghan: William Leggat, about 1670–75; Hugh Kelso, 1704 to 1706; Samuel McGaughey, 1708 to 1722; Matthew Chalmers, 1725 to 1729; Alexander McKee, 1733 to 1761; . . .; James Walker, 1786 to 1825.

Drumachose, county Londonderry: —— Erskine, 1742 to 1761; Jacob Davis, 1763 to 1786; Daniel Blair, 1788 to 1811. Drumachose Associate: Alexander Stewart, 1750 to ——.

Drumbanagher, county Armagh: Charles Heslem, 1740 to 1741; Michael Henry, 1742 to 1789; James Knox, 1789 to 1794; Alexander Patterson, 1796 to 1805.

Drumbo, county Down: Henry Livingston, 1655 to 1697; Edward Bailly, —— to 1703; Thomas Gowan, 1706 to 1716; Patrick Bruce, 1717 to 1728; Andrew Malcom, 1731 to 1763; James Malcom, 1764 to 1775; Hugh McKee, 1776 to 1781; James Macolm, 1792 to 1794; Samuel Hanna, 1795 to 1799.

Drumca, county Down: see Clough.

Drumquin, county Tyrone: connected with Castlederg until 1792; Thomas Anderson, 1794 to 1810.

Dublin—Rutland Square (originally Capel Street, and later, Mary's Abbey): William Jacque, 1672 to 1692; Alexander Hutchinson, 1691 to 1692; Robert Henry, 1692 to 1699; Francis Iredell, 1699 to 1739; John Milling, 1702 to 1705; Laughlin Campbell, 1707 to 1708; Robert Craighead, Jr., 1709 to 1738; James Smith, 1740 to 1745; Charles McCollum, 1744–45 to 1765; William Wright, 1753 to 1762; William Knox, 1765 to ——; John Beard, 1767 to 1777; Benjamin McDowell, 1778 to 1824; James Horner, 1791 to 1843.

Dublin—Ormond Quay (originally Usher's Quay): organized 1717; ——

Arbuckle, —— to 1721; William Gray, 1724 to 1728; Robert McMaster, 1729 to 1754; William McBeath, 1745 to 1755; Thomas Vance, 1755 to 1772; Robert Nichol, 1760 to 1762; James Caldwell, 1763 to 1783; Hugh Moore, 1780 to 1824; William Wilson, 1785 to 1807.

Dunboe, county Londonderry: Thomas Fulton, —— until after 1660; —— Blair, ——; John Wilson, —— to 1684–88; —— Woodside, 1697, to——; Robert Knox, 1719 to 1746; William Cochrane, 1748 to 1762; William Knox, 1765 to 1801.

Dundalk, county Louth: John Wilson, 1700 to 1706 or later; Patrick Simpson, 1317 to ——; . . . ; Colin Lyndsay, 1779 to 1785; Andrew Bryson, 1786 to 1796; William Neilson, 1796 to 1818.

Dundonald, county Down: Thomas Peebles, 1645 to 1670; Gilbert Kennedy, before 1673 to ——; Thomas Cobham, 1678 to about 1704; James Stewart, 1709 to 1748; James Hamilton, 1754 to 1758; William Ray, 1761 to 1765, when he emigrated to America; Hugh Smith, 1766 to 1771; James Caldwell, 1772 to 1814.

Dunean, county Antrim: Joseph Hamilton, before 1670 to 1686; James Scott, 1688 to 1710; John Henderson, 1713 to 1753; Robert Scott, 1762 to 1813.

Dunfanaghy, county Donegal; Robert Drummond, 1702 to 1712; James Cochran, 1715 to 1736; . . . ; David Allen, 1775 to 1812.

Dungannon (originally Donoughmore), county Tyrone: Thomas Kennedy, —— to 1661; George Keith, about 1673; Thomas Kennedy, 1693 to 1714; Nathaniel Cochrane, 1718 to 1735; Adam Duffin, 1744 to 1770; Alexander Mercer, 1772 to 1776; William Stitt, 1777 to 1803.

Dunluce, county Antrim: John Cameron, 1755 to 1799.

Dunmurry, county Down: organized 1676–83; Alexander Glass, 1683; John Malcome, about 1699 to 1729; John Moorehead, 1731 to 1768; John Stoupe, 1772 to 1780; Robert Jackson, 1782 to 1788; William Taggart, 1790 to 1805.

Eglish (Associate) county Tyrone: David Holmes, 1778 to ——.

Enniskillen, county Fermanagh: James Tailzeur, or Taylor, 1675 until about 1681–82; Robert Kelso, —— to 1688–90; John McGuachin, 1695 to 1720; William Hare (or Hair), 1720 to 1745; Thomas Plunkett, 1748 to 1769; James Stoupe, 1769 to 1772; David Young, 1772 to 1775; William Millar, 1776 to 1781; Joseph Denham, 1781 to 1799; Christopher Josias Gamble, 1799 to 1804.

Ervey (originally Breachy) and Carrickmachin (originally Kells), county Meath: John Lee 1703 to 1710; William Patton, 1721 to 1736; David Hutchinson, 1739 to 1744; William Fleming, 1748 to 1767; William Moore, 1768 to 1811.

Fahan, county Donegal: Ninian Cochrane, 1719 to 1748; Joseph Reagh, 1748 to 1770, when he emigrated to America; John Erwin, 1777 to 1796; David Hamilton, 1799 to 1840.

Fannet (originally Clondevadock), county Donegal: Adam White, 1654 to 1672; . . . ; Charles Lynn, 1708 to 1728; John McGachin, 1730 to 1783; James Delap, 1782 to 1806.

Faughanvale (originally Muff), county Londonderry: connected with Glendermot from before 1696 to 1731; James Smyth, 1732 to 1770; —— Dunn, 1771 to 1784; Henry Elder, 1786 to 1817.

Fintona (originally Golan), county Tyrone: Robert Coleheart, before 1704 to 1730; Nathaniel Glasgow, 1732 to 1743; William Moorehead, 1752 to 1806.

Finvoy, county Antrim: Robert Henry, about 1688; Robert Haltridge, 1702 to 1727; David Smylie, 1734 to 1738; Gideon Nelson, 1742 to 1783; James Elder, 1780 to 1843.

Five-mile-town, county Tyrone: see Cavanleck.

Galway, county Galway: William Bigger, 1698; Thomas Hooks, 1702 to ——; Nathaniel Orr, 1707 to 1710; Alexander Hamilton, 1714 to 1722.

Garvagh, county Londonderry; —— Law, before 1660 to 1671–73; Robert Landish, or Landess, 1674 to 1688; James Woodside, before 1700 to 1719; Francis Ross, 1723 to 1751; Robert Elder, 1761 to 1781; Brice Millar, 1784 to 1785–87, when he emigrated to America; Henry Henry, 1788; Gideon McMullan, 1790 to 1793; James Brown, 1795 to 1850.

Gilnahirk (Associate). county Antrim (?): organized before 1788.

Glasslough, county Monaghan: see Glennan.

Glastry (originally Ballyhalbert), county Down: organized about 1720; John McMurray, 1725 to 1750; Thomas Scott, 1752 to 1770; William Steel Dickson, 1771 to 1780; James Sinclair, 1781 to 1830–32.

Glenarm, county Antrim: Alexander Gilbert, 1655; James Fleming, 1658 to 1661; John Anderson, 1671 to 1685; Hugh Crawford, 1687–88; John Lee, 1693 to 1703; James Creighton, 1709 to 1731; Thomas Brown, 1732 to 1754; Thomas Reid, 1756 to 1792; Robert Acheson, 1792 to 1799.

Glendermot, county Londonderry: John Wooll, or Will, 1654 to 1679; James Gordon, —— to 1692; John Harvey, 1696 to 1739; David Harvey, 1731 to 1737; William Hare, 1743 to 1767; James Knox, 1770 to 1798. Glendermot Reformed: Thomas Hamilton, 1772 to ——.

Glendermot Second, county Londonderry: organized 1743; John Holmes, 1744 to 1773; Henry Miller, 1776 to 1820.

Glennan, or Glasslough, county Monaghan: Thomas Gowan, about 1650 to 1661; . . . . ; Patrick Plunket, 1715 to 1760; Samuel Kennedy, 1757 to 1781; John McCurdy, 1783 to 1823.

Golan, county Tyrone: see Fintona.

Grange, county Antrim: originally associated with Dunean Congregation, before 1688; Francis O'Bryan, 1745 to 1752; Robert Scott, 1762 to 1813.

Greyabbey, county Down: Fergus Alexander, before 1650 to 1655–59; the congregation was united with that of Ballywalter until 1733; James Cochran, 1736 to 1739; Hugh Dickson, 1742 to 1771; Samuel Martin Stephenson, 1774 to 1785; James Porter, 1787 to 1798; John Watson, 1799 to 1829.

Hillhall, or Lisburn (Associate), county Antrim: James Hume, 1752 to ——.

Hillsborough, county Down: see Anahilt.

Holywood, county Down: Robert Cunningham, 1615 to 1636; united to Dundonald, 1645 to 1704; Michael Bruce, 1711 to 1725; William Smith, 1729 to 1741; William Rodgers, 1743 to 1751; John King, 1754 to 1777; Thomas Kennedy, 1778 to 1788; Joseph Harrison, 1788 to 1816.

Islandmagee, county Antrim: Edward Brice, 1611 to 1635; Henry Main, 1647 to 1650; William Mill, 1658 to 1661; John Haltridge, 1672 to 1697; Robert Sinclair, 1704 to 1731; Robert Leather, 1733 to 1740; George Heron, 1747 to ——; James Dunbar, 1758 to 1766; —— McAulay, 1769 to 1779; David Ker, 1783 to 1788, when he emigrated to America; John Murphy, 1789 to 1842. Islandmagee Associate: organized before 1788.

Keady, county Armagh: Thomas Milliken, or Mulligan, 1706 to 1734; John Gibson, 1738 to 1776; Joseph Smyth, 1777 to 1795; Henry McIlree, 1797 to 1817.

Kells, county Meath: see Carrickmachin.

Kellswater (Reformed) county Antrim: William Martin, about 1761 to 1772, when he emigrated to South Carolina; William Gibson, 1788 to ——.

Killala (originally Moywater), county Mayo: organized 1695; Samuel Henry, 1695 to 1698; James Pringle, 1700 to 1707; James Wallace, 1709 to 1720;

William Wilson, 1733 to 1781; Isaac Barr, —— until about 1792; Alexander Marshall, 1795 to 1819.

KILLEAD (originally Oldstone), county Antrim: James Glendinning, about 1625; Henry Colvert, 1629 to 1636; Robert Hamilton, before 1660 to 1673; J. Frieland, 1675 to 1716; John Malcome (Lower Killead), 1687 to 1699; Robert Wirling, 1716 to 1726; Hugh Scott, 1733 to 1735; John McConnell, 1737 to 1770; Andrew Hume, 1772 to 1783; Robert Orr, 1787 to 1833.

KILLESHANDRA (formerly Croghan), county Cavan: Samuel Kelso, —— to 1688–89; James Tate, 1705 to 1729; James Hamilton, 1732 to 1733; George Carson, 1735 to 1780; William Millar, 1781 to 1795; Joseph Lawson, 1796 to 1799.

KILLINCHY, county Down: originally united with Killyleagh; John Livingston, 1630 to 1637; Michael Bruce, 1657 to 1661, 1670 to 1689; Archibald Hamilton, 1693 to 1699; James Reid, 1702 to 1753; Joseph Kinkead, 1755 to 1782; George McEwen, 1783 to 1795; Samuel Watson, 1797 to 1835.

KILLYLEAGH, county Down: John Bole, —— until after 1639; William Richardson, 1649 to 1670; Alexander Ferguson, 1670 to 1684; James Bruce, before 1688 to 1730; Patrick Bruce, 1731 to 1732; Gilbert Kennedy, Jr., 1733 to 1744; William Dun, 1745 to 1765; Joseph Little, 1768 to 1813.

KILMACRENAN, county Donegal: connected with Dunfanaghy until 1829.

KILMORE, county Down: organized 1713; Thomas Elder, 1716 until after 1726; Samuel Fugie, or Fergie, 1728 to 1765; Moses Neilson, 1767 to 1823.

KILRAUGHTS, county Antrim: Robert Nelson, before 1702 to 1713; John Cochrane, 1716 to 1748; Robert Ewing, 1751 to 1786; Matthew Elder, 1789 to 1826.

KILREA (originally Tamlagh), county Londonderry: William Gilchrist, —— to 1689; Matthew Clerk, 1697 to 1729, when he emigrated to Londonderry, New Hampshire; Robert Wirling, 1731 to 1741; Alexander Cumine, 1744 to 1748; John Smith, 1749 to 1785; Arthur McMahon, 1789 to 1794; John Smyth, 1795 to 1805.

KINNAIRD, county Tyrone: see LISLOONEY.

KIRKCUBBIN, county Down: connected with Glastry, or Ballyhalbert until 1777; George Brydone, 1777 to 1817.

KNOCKLOUGHRIM (Associate), county Londonderry: James Harper, before 1777 to ——.

KNOWHEAD (originally Muff), county Londonderry: Robert Huey, 1749 to —— (emigrated to America before 1772); Stephen Brizzle, 1776 to 1780; James Patton, 1783 to 1790; Richard Dill, 1793 to 1850.

LARNE, county Antrim: George Dunbar, 1620 to 1636; Thomas Hall, 1646 to 1695; William Leech, 1697; William Ogilvie, 1700 to 1712; James Hood, 1715; Samuel Getty, 1715 to 1724; William Thompson, 1726 to 1763; Isaac Cowan, 1765 to 1787; Robert Thompson, 1789 to 1814. Larne Associate: organized before 1788.

LAYMORE (Reformed), county Antrim: Daniel McClelland, about 1765 to ——.

LETTERKENNY, county Donegal: William Semple, 1647 to 1674; William Liston, —— to 1695; Samuel Dunlop, 1707 to 1762; Joseph Lyttle, 1763 to 1805.

LIFFORD, county Donegal: see BALLINDREAT.

LIMAVADY, county Londonderry: David Wilson, 1696 to 1715; William Conyngham, 1720 to 1740; Joseph Osborne, about 1741; Henry Erskine, 1742 to 1761; Jacob Davis, 1763 to 1786; Daniel Blair, 1788 to 1811. Limavady Associate: organized before 1788.

LIMERICK, county Limerick: —— Squire; William Bigger, about 1688 to about 1700; followed by Messrs. S. Smith, Labun, Wallace, Seawright, and John Pinkerton,

LISBURN, county Antrim: . . . ; Alexander McCracken, 1688 to 1730; Gilbert Kennedy, 1732 to ——; William Patton, 1736 to 1745; Patrick Buchanan,

1747 to 1763; James Bryson, 1764 to 1773; George Kennedy, 1775 to 1779; William Bruce, 1779 to ——; Andrew Craig, 1783 until after 1824. Lisburn Associate: see Hillhall and Moira.

Lislooney, county Tyrone: originally connected with Minterburn under the name of Kinnaird; organized 1714; Samuel Irvine, 1718 to 1729; William Ambrose, 1732 to 1765; George Harris, 1768 to 1785; James McAdam, 1787 to 1788; Joseph Lawson, 1789 to 1796.

Lissara, county Down: John Sturgeon, 1775–76 to 179–; John Reid, 1796 to 1801.

Londonderry, county Londonderry: . . . ; Robert Rule, 1672 to 1688; Robert Craighead, 1690 to 1711; James Blair, 1713 to 1716; Samuel Ross, 1718 to 1736; David Harvey, 1738 to 1783; John Hood, 1742 to 1774; David Young, 1775 to 1803; Robert Black, 1784 to 1817.

Longford, county West Meath: see Corboy.

Loughagery (Associate), county Down: William Knox, 1755 to ——; Samuel Edgar before 1784 to ——.

Loughbrickland, county Down; . . . ; John Mairs, 1687–89 to 1697; George Lang, 1701 to 1741; Charles McCollum, 1744; Timothy White, 1749 to 1756; John Smith, 1757 to 1804.

Loughgall, county Armagh: Hugh Wallace, 1712 to 1720; James Orr, 1722 to 1755; Robert Peebles, 1758 to 1761; Moses Hogg, 1762 to 1802.

Lurgan, county Armagh: organized 1684; Hugh Kirkpatrick, 1686 to 1689; William Squire, about 1694 to 1699; James Fleming, 1704 to 1730; John Menogh, 1732 to 1771; Robert Rentoul, 1773 to 1779; William Magee, 1780 to 1800.

Lylehill or Templepatrick (Associate), county Antrim: Isaac Patton. 1745 to ——.

Macosquin, county Londonderry: ——— before 1670; Thomas Boyd, ——; —— Wilson, ——; —— Elliot, ——; John Laurie, or Lowry, —— to 1689; united with Aghadowey under Thomas Boyd to 1699; James Stuart, 1701 to 1708; William Boyd, 1710 to 1725; John Thompson, 1727 to 1771; Robert Caldwell, 1772 to 1781; James McFarlane, 1783 to 1816.

Maghera, county Londonderry: James Kilpatrick before 1669 to about 1689; John Tomb, 1696 to ——; Archibald Boyd, 1703 to 1716; James Dykes, 1720 to 1734; David Smylie, 1739 to 1780; John Glendy, 1778 to 1798, when he emigrated to America.

Magherafelt, county Tyrone: originally part of Moneymore; after 1692 connected with Castledawson; Hugh Wallace, 1738 to 1761; William Wilson, 1765 to 1785; George Dugald, or Dugall, 1786 to 1810.

Magherally, county Down: Andrew McCormick, before 1656 to 1660; John Hunter, before 1672 to 1688; James Heron, 1693 to 1699; Samuel Young, 1704 to 1718, when he removed to America; John Menogh, 1722 to 1733; James Moody, 1734 to 1740; William Thompson, 1742 to 1756; Isaac Patrick, 1785 to 1814.

Malin, county Donegal: John Harvey, Jr., 1717 to 1733; John Montgomery, 1734 to 1737; David Walker, 1738 to 1766; David Walker (2d), 1768 to 1782; —— Scott, ——; James Canning, 1798 to 1830.

Markethill, county Armagh: Archibald McLaine, about 1700 to 1734; George Ferguson, 1741 to 1782; Samuel Sloan, 1780 to 1793; William Charleton, 1794 to 1808. Markethill Associate: David Arrott, 1749 to 1807.

Millisle, county Down: . . . ; Andrew Greer, 1771 to 1819.

Minterburn (originally Aghaloo), county Tyrone: John Abernethy, —— to 1661: Joshua Fisher, 1675–78 to 1688–89; William Ambrose, 1693 to 1714; Alex-

ander Moore, 1716 to 1724; William Ray, ——; John Ker, 1745 to 1778; Robert Rogers, 1782 to 1785; Hugh Boylan, 1785 to 1807.

Moira, county Down: organized before 1688; . . . ; Samuel Ferguson, 1693 to 1703; James Blair, 1709 to 1713; Samuel Harpur, 1717 to 1726–31; Thomas Creighton, 1734 to 1741; Joseph Mitchell, 1751 to 1774; William Stitt, 1775 to 1777; Andrew Craig, 1778 to 1783; D. Trotter, 1783 to ——; George Dobbin, 1792 to 1796; John Cochrane Wightman, 1798 to 1802. Moria and Lisburn Associate: James Hume, 1752 to ——.

Monaghan, county Monaghan: Robert Darragh, about 1697 to 1712; Thomas McLaine, 1718 to 1740; David Hutchinson, 1744 to 1757; James Hamilton, 1758 to 1775; Matthew Trumble, 1776 to 1821.

Moneymore, county Londonderry: John Abernethy, 1684 to 1691; Henry Crooks, 1697 to 1734; Charles Caldwell, 1738 to 1780; William Moore, 1782 to 1837.

Moneyrea, county Down: . . . ; Samuel Patton, 1774 until after 1799.

Monreagh (originally Taboin, or Taughboyne), county Donegal: Robert Cunningham, 1645 to 1655; John Hart, 1655 to 1685–88; Neil Gray, 1689 to 1715; William Gray, 1699 to 1721; William Boyd, 1725 to 1772; Patrick Davison, 1776 to 1786; Moses Goorley, 1787 to 1794.

Mount Joy (originally Crossroads), county Tyrone: James Patton, about 1775; James McClintock, 1791 to 1849.

Mount Norris, county Armagh: Francis Turretine, 1778 until after 1799.

Mourne, county Down: Charles Wallace, 1696 to 1736; Andrew Kennedy, 1741 to 1781; Moses Thompson, 1783 to 1800.

Moville, county Donegal: Thomas Harvey, Jr., 1715 to 1718; James Wallace, 1720 to 1727; Thomas Harvey, —— to 1747; John Cochrane, 1750 to 1754; Henry McKinley, 1766 to ——; Robert Caldwell, 1784 to 1823.

Muff, county Londonderry: see Faughanvale and Knowhead.

Narrow-water, county Down: united with Carlingford from 1731 to 1821. See Warrenpoint.

Newbliss (Associate), county Monaghan: John Thompson, 1754 to ——.

Newry, county Down: George Lang, before 1688 to 1702; Robert Rainey, 1706 to 1736; James Moody, 1740 to 1779; Boyle Moody, 1779 to 1799. Newry Associate organized before 1788.

Newtownards, county Down: David Kennedy, —— to 1641; John McLellan, 1642 to ——; John Greg, 1650 to 1670; Thomas Kennedy, —— until after 1688; John Smith, —— to 1704; John Mairs, 1707 to 1718; John Mairs, Jr., 1720 to 1725; James Moorhead, 1726 to ——; James Smith, 1739 to 1740; James Huey, 1742 to 1794; James Simson, 1790 to 1799, when he emigrated to America.

Newtownards Second (formerly Conlig), county Down: James Martin, 1753 to 1775, when he emigrated to America; Francis Archibald, 1777 to 1780; James Bigger, 1785 to 1797.

Newtownhamilton, county Armagh: connected with Creggan until 1833.

Newtownstewart, county Tyrone: William Moorcroft, before 1654 to 1661; . . . ; reorganized in 1802.

Oldstone, county Antrim: see Killead.

Omagh, county Tyrone: Samuel Haliday, about 1664 to 1688; James Maxwell, 1699 to 1750; Hugh Delap, 1751 to 1787; Hugh Delap, 2d, 1790 to 1805.

Omagh Second, county Tyrone: Robert Nelson, 1754 to 1801.

Pettigo, county Donegal: organized before 1702; connected with Clougherney, 1721 to 1747; Joseph Hemphill, 1721 to 1747; James Ker, 1752 to 1753; organization dormant until 1792; connected with Drumquin, 1792 to 1827.

Portaferry, county Down: John Drysdale, 1642 until after 1670; Arthur Strayton, —— to 1688; Samuel Shannon, 1697 to 1743; James Armstrong, 1739 to 1779; William Steele Dickson, 1780 to 1799.

Portglenone, county Antrim: originally connected with Ahoghill; separated about 1726; John Hill, 1727 to 1759; Robert Kirkpatrick, 1762 to ——; Alexander Spear, 1773 to 1835.

Raloo, county Antrim: see Ballynure.

Ramelton, county Donegal: Thomas Drummond, 1654 until after 1681; Seth Drummond, 1696 to 1740; Thomas Vance, 1747 to 1755; William Burke, 1759 to 1803.

Ramoan, county Antrim: Daniel McNeill, 1646 to 1661; . . . ; Thomas Elder, 1700 to 1703; John Mairs, 1704 to 1723; Samuel Dunlop, 1724 to 1733; Robert Brown, 1738 to 1767; William Lynd, 1770 to 1822.

Randalstown, county Antrim: John Couthart, 1656 until after 1658; Richard Wilson, 1672 to 1685; John Wilson, 1688 to 1694; William Taylor, 1697 to 1727; William Henderson, 1732 to 1743; James White, 1747 to 1781; Thomas Henry, 1786 to 1823.

Raneny, county Donegal: see Donegal.

Raphoe, county Donegal: organized before 1640; reorganized about 1750; James Gordon, 1751 to 1785; William Ramsay, 1786 to 1827.

Rathfriland, county Down: Alexander Gordon, before 1679 to 1709; Robert Gordon, 1711 to 1762; Samuel Barber, 1763 to 1811.

Ray, county Donegal: Hugh Cunningham, 1644 until after 1661; Robert Campbell, before 1671 to 1722; Patrick Vance, 1719 to 1741; William Laird, 1744 to 1747; James Turretine, 1754 to 1764; Francis Turretine, 1775 to 1778; Isaac Barr, 1778–79 to 1780; Francis Dill, 1795 to 1829. Ray Associate: Robert Reid, 1752 to ——.

Richhill, county Armagh: connected with Vinecash until 1823.

Roseyards, county Antrim: see Ballyrashane (Associate).

Saintfield (originally Tannaghnive), county Down: Alexander Hutchinson, before 1660 to 1690, and 1692 to 1711; Archibald Dixon, 1709 to 1739; James Rainey, 1743 to 1745; Richard Walker, 1747 to 1774; Thomas Leslie Birch 1776 to 1798, when he removed to Washington county, Pa.; Henry Simpson, 1799 to 1849.

St. Johnstone, county Donegal: organized about 1728; William Gray, 1728 to 1729–30; Thomas Bond, 1734 to 1785; William Cunningham, 1783 to 1836.

Scarvargh, county Down: William Ronaldson, 1759 to ——.

Scriggan, county Londonderry: originally part of Boveva; John Adams, 1774 to 1789; Robert Steel, 1798; Joseph Osborne, 1799 to 1800–02.

Sion, county Tyrone: see Urney.

Sligo, county Sligo: Samuel Henry, 1695 to 1727; Luke Ash, 1732 to 1742; Hugh Nesbit, 1756 to 1778; Joseph King, 1784 to 1797; Booth Caldwell, 1797 to 1801.

Stewartstown, county Tyrone (connected with Brigh until 1789): William Henry, 1790 to 1791; James Adams, 1791 to 1801.

Stonebridge (originally Clonis), county Monaghan: Patrick Dunlop, before 1700 to 1704; Alexander Fleming, 1706 to 1750; William Smith, 1752 to 1786; James Whiteside, 1787 to 1802.

Strabane, county Tyrone: Robert Wilson, 1659 to 1689; William Holmes, 1692 to 1715, when he emigrated to New England, and settled at Chilmark, on the island of Martha's Vineyard; Victor Ferguson, 1717 to 1763; William Crawford, 1766 to 1798; William Dunlop, 1798 to 1821.

Stranorlar, county Donegal: Robert Wilson, 1709 to 1727; and —— until after 1735; Joseph Kinkead, 1745 to 1755; Joseph Love, 1767 to 1807.

Tamlagh, county Londonderry: see Kilrea.

Tannaghnive, county Down: see Saintfield.

Taughboyne, county Donegal: see Monreagh.

Templepatrick, county Antrim: Josias Welsh, 1626 to 1634; Anthony Kennedy, 1646 to 1697; James Kirkpatrick, 1699 to 1706; William Livingston, 1709 to 1755; Robert White, 1755 to 1772; John Abernethy, 1774 to 1796; Robert Campbell, 1796 until about 1830.

Tobermore, county Londonderry: James Turretine, 1744 to 1748; and 1750 to 1754; James Whiteside, 1757 to 1798; Alexander Carson, 1798 to 1805.

Tullylish, or Donacloney, county Down: John Cunningham, 1670 to 1688; Gilbert Kennedy, 1704 to 1745; Samuel Sims, 1746 to 1768; Samuel Morell, 1770 to 1772; John Sherrard, 1774 to 1829.

Turlough, county Mayo: organized about 1750–80; Henry Henry, —— to about 1788; Alexander Marshall, —— to 1795; James Hall, 1795 to 1824.

Urney and Sion, county Tyrone: James Wallace, 1654 to ——; David Brown, 1677 to 1688; William Holmes, 1696 to 1734; William McBeath, 1737 to 1745; Andrew Alexander, 1749 to 1808.

Vinecash, county Armagh: Alexander Bruce, 1697 to 1704; William Mackay, 1707 to 1733; William Dick, 1727 to 1740; James Todd, 1747 to 1795; Henry McIlree, 1791 to 1797; William Reid, 1798 to 1824.

Warrenpoint (originally Narrow-water), county Down: organized before 1688; united with Carlingford from 1707 to 1820.

Waterford, county Waterford: William Liston, 1673 to 1676; Alexander Sinclair, 1687 to 1690; organization became dormant until 1854.

Westport, county Mayo: James Hall, 1795 to 1824.

APPENDIX W

FAMILY NAMES IN SCOTLAND

COSMO INNES'S ESSAY *CONCERNING SOME SCOTCH NAMES*

Now that we all have Surnames, we are apt to forget that it was not always so. We cannot easily realise the time when John, Thomas, and Andrew, Mary and Abigail, were each satisfied with a single name, nor reflect that the use of two is not a refinement dating from an obscure and unknown antiquity, but quite within the reach of record and history.

The Normans are thought to have been the first to introduce the practice of fixed surnames among us; and certainly a little while before the Conquest some of those adventurers had taken family names from their chateaux in Normandy. "Neither is there any village in Normandy," says Camden, "that gave not denomination to some family in England." But that these Norman surnames had not been of long standing is very certain, for at the Conquest it was only 160 years since the first band of Northmen rowed up the Seine, under their leader, Hrolf, whom our history books honour with the theatrical name of Rollo, but who was known among his people as "Hrolf the Ganger."

But whether in imitation of the Norman lords, or from the great convenience of the distinction, the use of fixed surnames arose in France about the year 1000, came into England sixty years later, or with the Norman Conquest, and reached us in Scotland, speaking roundly, about the year 1100.

The first examples of fixed surnames in any number in England are to be found in the Conqueror's Valuation Book, called Domesday. "Yet in England," again to quote the judicious Master Camden, "certain it is, that as the better sort, even from the Conquest, by little and little took surnames, so they were not settled among the common people fully until about the time of Edward the Second."

We had our share of those dashing Norman adventurers who introduced among us the customs of chivalry and the surnames they had adopted from their paternal castles across the channel. They made a rage for knighthood in both ends of our island, and turned the ladies' heads. An English princess declined to marry a suitor who "had not two names;" Henry I. wished to marry his natural son, Robert, to Mabel, one of the heiresses of Fitz-Hamon. The lady demurred:

> "It were to me a great shame
> To have a lord withoutên his twa name."
> *Robert of Gloucester.*

"Whereupon," says Camden, "the King, his father, gave him the name of Fitz-roy, who after was Earl of Gloucester, and the only worthy of his age in England." Our Countess of Carrick, who laid violent hands on Sir Robert de Bruce and married him, must have been of the same mind with Mabel Fitz-Hamon. And here in Scotland they became the favourites and companions of our sovereigns; witness the courtiers who surrounded David I. and his grandsons, whose names—Brus, and Balliol, De Morevil, De Umphravil, De Berkelai, De Quinci, De Vipont, De Vaux, and a hundred others—still thrill on our tongues, and bring up stories of knightly feats of arms, of the battle-field, and the tilting-ground.

On the Continent, especially in France, this style of surname, showing its territorial origin—especially where marked by the *De*, so much valued by our neighbours—is considered as almost the absolute test of *gentry;* and many a pretty French woman has given herself and her fortune in exchange for little more than the empty sound of the aristocratic prefix. With us it has never been so; and our difference is not merely of language. We have never recognized the principle of raising these territorial names into an aristocracy of gentry—a top cream of society. We have no higher names in England—not even De Vere, Clifford, or Nevil,—than our Spensers, Fitzgeralds, Stuarts, Butlers, names which cannot have a territorial origin.

The era of fixed surnames does not rest only on the authority of Camden. It can be proved by a thousand records, English and Scotch. It seems to me it is almost sufficiently proved, when we can show the race of Stuart—already first of Scotch families in opulence and power—distinguished by no surnames for several generations after the Norman Conquest. Alanus dapifer, whom we now know (thanks to George Chalmers) to have been a son of the great Norman family of Fitz-Alan, was content to distinguish himself in Scotland by the addition of his office alone. His son styled himself Walter Fitz-Alan, and Walter's son was called Alan Fitz-Walter, with the addition of Senescallus Scotiæ—Steward—Stuart—from their hereditary office, which soon became the fixed surname of their descendants.

In like manner when they complied with the fashion of armorial bearings, which was not till two generations after their settlement in Scotland, they adopted the fess chequee (the checquer, used for computing before the introduction of Arabic numerals, in allusion to their office at the Exchequer table.) Much later,

the ancestors of the princely line of Hamilton were known as Walter Fitz-Gilbert and Gilbert Fitz-Walter before it occurred to them to assume the name their kinsmen had borne in England. But you must allow me here, and for the present, to rest it on my mere assertion, that surnames were first used among us in the twelfth century, and came into general use in the following one. It disposes of a host of fables in which our forefathers delighted, and some of which were not unworthy of the first decade of Livy.

And so much for the Time.

As to the derivation of surnames, I beg you to remember that places were named before families. You have only to examine any of those names which serve for lands and also for persons to see this plainly. If you found the name of Cruickshanks or Prettyman, Blackmantle or Great-head, you would not hesitate. These are evidently coined for persons, and you find no such names of land or for the double purpose. But then you can have as little doubt that names like Church-hill, Green-hill, Hazelwood, Sandilands, were first given to places; and when you find them borne both by lands and persons you will conclude the persons took them from the territories. In general, then, when a place and a family have the same name it is the place that gives name to the people, not the family to the place. This rule, which will not be disputed by any one who has bestowed some study or thought on the subject has very few exceptions. I may point out some of these afterwards. In the meantime, this enables you to banish, without hesitation, another class of fables — the invention of a set of bungling genealogists, who, by a process like that which heralds call canting,—catching at a sound—pretend that the Douglases had their name from a Gaelic word, said to mean a dark grey man, but which never could be descriptive of a man at all—that the Forbeses were at first called For beast, because they killed a great bear—that Dalyell is from a Gaelic word, meaning "I dare"—that the Guthries were so called from the homely origin of gutting three haddocks for King David the Second's entertainment when he landed very hungry on the Brae of Bervie from his French voyage. In honour of the loyal hospitality of his entertainer, the monarch became poetical, and pronounced

"Gut three,
Thy name shall be!"

These clumsy inventions of a late age, if they were really meant to be seriously credited, disappear when we find from record that there were very ancient territories, and even parishes, of Douglas, Forbes, Dalyell, and Guthrie, long before the names came into use as family surnames. Hector Boece is answerable for many of these fables. It is he who invented the Forbes etymology and the story of the bear. It is he who brought the *homo agrestis* with his two sons and their plough-yokes to stay the rout at Luncarty and gave them the name of Hay, a century or two before our great nobles had surnames. Later authors, with whom goes honest Nisbet, take a bit of Hector's fable and add a circumstance:—The old countryman, after the battle of Luncarty, lying on the ground, wounded and fatigued, cried: "Hay! Hay!" which word became a surname to his posterity.

The old fabler is careful to hang his narratives on popular pegs; and be sure whenever he makes some prodigious assertion he quotes "the annals" ostentatiously. Thus, when his visionary Dane King Camus is to be disposed of, he provides him an honourable burial, with the sculptured stones of Aberlemno for a monument. To that local association he adds the personal one of the origin of

one of our most distinguished families. He makes the hero of the field, a gallant youth named *Keth, egregius adolescens* Keth *nomine*, UT AB ANNALIBUS TRADITUR; and he then and there bestows on him the lands in Lothian, which did, in truth, some centuries later, give name to the family of Keith Marischal. In the same way he plays with the name of Scrimgeour; and invents a fancy pedigree for the Stuarts. The story of Graimus (the ancestor of the Grahams) breaking through the Roman wall he gives on the authority of his great ally Veremund—UTI VEREMUNDUS PRODIDIT. It is the same with places and whole countries, as Buchan, where he deals in Gaelic etymons—Ross, which he derives from certain Irish soldiers called Rossi, who helped to resist the Romans—Caithness, from *Cathus insignis populi dux* of the same age—all without foundation in chronicle or tradition, and contrary to probability and reason.

But passing from these vulgar fables, it cannot be doubted that the great majority of our gentle names are territorial and local. Of those now extant only a few are the surnames imported from Normandy. The names of Bruce and Barclay, Lindsay and Sinclair, indeed, if not so great as they once were, still mark houses of ancestral nobility. But how many have gone down the stream and left no trace! Take the single district of the Border. The De Vescis, the De Morevils, the De Viponts, the De Normanvils, the Avenels, the Randolphs—greater than all, the De Balliols—are names now unknown even in the traditions of Tweedside, where their forefathers ruled as princes. I fear it is against Mr. Aytoun's theory of the high antiquity of our extant ballads that these names are not found in them. Only the De Sulises have had the fortune of being sung in Border minstrelsy, where they are not represented amiably, being of the unpopular, indeed unpatriotic faction. The other names have either disappeared or have suffered a change of a curious kind. The grand old Norman name of De Vesci is now Veitch. De Vere, once still greater, is with us Weir. De Montealto has come through several steps, till it has rested in the respectable but not illustrious name of Mowat. De Monte-fixo is Muschet. De Vallibus—De Vaux—De Vaus—by the simple blunder of turning a letter upside down, has assumed the shape of Vans; while De Belassize, carrying us back to the times of the Crusades, has in our homely mouths degenerated into the less euphonious name of Belsches.

It would seem as if the surnames taken from places at home were of a hardier growth than those Norman appellations which tried a Scotchman's tongue. Our own local names have changed less—indeed hardly at all—from the places that gave them birth. The Morays, Crawfurds, and Cunninghames, the Dunbars, Homes, and Dundases, the Wemysses and Moncrieffs, can still point without hesitation to the castles or lordships from whence they had their surnames. (See some lists of territorial surnames of Scotch families in the Note.)

It would be useful, but beyond my present purpose, to give the localities of our more noted names. You must not hope to find them confined to the district where they took their birth. The Campbells, to be sure, who first settled in Argyle, still predominate there; but a name almost as great, that of Gordon, has left no trace in their native Merse, while they have colonized the northern shire of Aberdeen, rising upon the ruins of the ancient race of Strathbolgy. The De Moravias (Murrays), at one time the great lords of Moray, have scattered into Sutherland and Perthshire, and left no landed man of their name in the province where they once ruled, and so with many others. The Sinclairs are still in Caithness, their ancient Earldom; the Rosses in the county which gave them their name; but the Burnetts and Irvines on Dee-side, the Frasers in the Aird, and the Chisholmes, their neighbors, all transplanted from the south, have thriven more vigorously in their

beautiful northern glens. Scott has given us a rhyme that assigns wide bounds for the Kennedys (Scott's memory had played him somewhat false. The distich in the earliest shape we have it, and which was undoubtedly his original runs—

"Twixt Wigtoune and the town of Aire,
And laid down by the cruives of Cree;
You shall not get a lodging there,
Except ye court wi' Kennedy.")

who, I think, were at first bailies of the great Earls of Carric. The Grahams of the Debatable Land, the Annandale Johnstons, the Elliotts and Armstrongs on the East Marches, the Scotts, and the Kerrs, have only changed their peel towers of fence into palaces, and cultivate the valleys where their moss-trooping fathers lived on

"the good old plan
That they should take that have the power,
And they should keep who can."

I am not sure but the middle and lower classes of the agricultural population are more stationary in or about their hereditary settlements than the lords of the soil; but we have not so good means of testing the permanency of their names. *

Though the majority of our ancient family names are territorial, we have many large classes of exceptions, and the origin of the most of them is not doubtful. I have said that surnames came into pretty general use among us in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I wish you would turn back with me through the few intervening centuries, and fancy yourselves dwelling in a Scotch town in the time of King William the Lion, or his son Alexander II. The place to which you will be pleased to bear me company is a little burgh by the sea-shore, and where a river's mouth gives shelter to a few rude fishing-boats, and one or two barks of larger size, whose decks and taller masts show them to be seagoing craft, native *busses*, or *farcosts* of Bruges or Antwerp, unloading wine and fine clothes, and waiting for a return cargo of Scotch wool and hides, with some barrels of salmon. Our fancy burgh consists but of one straggling street, leading from the little haven up to the ditch and drawbridge of a turreted castle, which the King has built for the protection of his burgesses, whom he greatly cherishes. The houses of the burghers are low, but built of stone, with tall gables to the street, thatched and warm.

Half way up the street, and with a little space around it, stands the small squat church which has been lately built, of stone, after the new fashion. Not far from the church is the town hall, where the burghers meet to take counsel; the cross, for royal and burghal solemnities; the tron, or weigh-house; the tolbooth, where toll and custom dues are taken; the jail and stocks, for repressing the contumacious rather than for punishment, which was summary. Beside the river stand mills of more than one kind, some for corn, others for dressing cloth and skins, driven by the stream by means of a simple machinery.

Well, we must not pause longer upon the buildings. Who dwell in this little Scotch "Fair-port" of the thirteenth century? I don't ask their pedigree. It is mixed enough; but all show the stalwart limbs, fair complexion, open countenance of the northern peoples. There are Scots and Picts, Britons and Saxons, Angles and Danes, now mixed together, and rapidly adopting a common tongue, which is one day to speak good sense, not without some music, over half the world. What are they doing, these burghers? Much to the same purpose as their descend-

* A list of all the parishioners of the parish of Leochel on Donside who voted in the election of a parish clerk in 1524 is preserved. The minister finds all their names still in the parish in 1860, excepting one or two only.—*Teste Jos. Robertson.*

ants of our times. They plough, and sow, and reap, and bake, and brew. They spin, with rock and distaff, it is true, not with the spinning-jenny, and weave and stitch their coarse cloth into coarse clothes. They buy and sell, too, though in a small way. Depend upon it, they love and hate, and marry, and fight, and die and are buried just like ourselves.

Now, in all these acts and events of their little lives, how are our burghers distinguished from each other? Remember, at the time of our visit, fixed surnames—what we call family names—do not yet exist. Each man and woman has only the name given at baptism, and these are not numerous enough to serve the purpose of a growing society. The apostles' and New Testament names, and those of the favorite personages of the Old, are soon exhausted. The known saints and martyrs of the Church come to an end too. The men of the north have a hankering after their old heathenism, and have named their boys and girls after the heroes and heroic ladies of their mythology. Still, population and transactions increase rapidly; and numbers bearing the names of John and James, Andrew and Thomas, Thor, Oggu, and Leysing, Orm, Grim, and Grimketil—jostle each other most inconveniently, and compel the adoption of a remedy. What is it to be? The territorial fashion of the Norman and Saxon lords, who form the rural gentry around them, does not suit them, for they have not much concern with land—at least not as proprietors. But numerous methods offer, when the necessity of the thing becomes manifest.

Among the foremost of our townsmen are foreigners or travelled Scots. These take the names of English, now written Inglis, Fleming, French, Welsh (an epithet which is recognized in its Latin shape of Wallensis, and gives rise to the illustrious name of Wallace). Some bear the surname of Ireland, and even of Cornwall. Oddly, some of our people who have wandered into England return among us bearing the name of Scott, which had been given them there. Most of these are moss-troopers on the Border, not addicted to letters; but one has already gone beyond his age in science, and earned the reputation of a warlock. In after years they are to produce a greater wizard. (Michael Scott, the wizard of Balwearie, was knighted by Alexander III. five hunderd years and more before the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* was published.)

Next, there is the distinction of size—John Mickle and John Little, or John Small; More and Beg in Gaelic, but I presume only personal appellations, not family names, till some Highlander so distinguished for personal qualities came to settle among the surnamed Saxons, and left his name to descendants not all of his own stature. Need I tell you that we have still Micklejohns of the size of ordinary mortals; and that Littlejohn, who once hunted with Robin Hood in Sherwood Forest, now bakes excellent pies in Leith Street. A Northman, who was the first coloniser of Ednam in the Merse, was named Thor. His seal, to be seen in Mr. H. Laing's shop, represents Thor himself, seated, with his good sword on his knees, and, lest the likeness should be doubted, the legend around is—*Thor me mittit amico*. But another Thor had the lands of Tranent in this shire. So to distinguish himself, the Merse man calls himself—even in charters and most formal writs—Thor Longus,—Thor the Long. The Longs were good men in England, as you may read in Clarendon,but not better than the Langs and Laings of Scotland.

Then we have the colours—the families of Blacks and Blackies, Whites and Whytocks (Dow or Duff and Bain, in Gaelic), Greys, Browns, Reds (Reids, Ruddimans), Greens. *Blue* is rare, and no man chooses to be yellow.

Stark, and Stout, and Strong, and Strang (the Strangs of Balcaskie, in Fife, had sent an offshoot into Orkney, which produced our first Scotch engraver. He

thought fit to do his name into English, and became Sir Robert Strange), and Jolly, tell their own history, and we have no difficulty in understanding how they became hereditary. Some names expressing disagreeable qualities are more difficult to understand, since at the period of assuming fixed surnames, the individual ought to have had a vote in applying his own appellation. Our east coast fisher-towns are dependent upon to-names (*agnomina*) for distinguishing individuals. A very curious paper in *Blackwood's Magazine* (March, 1842—why are there no such papers now?),—among other peculiarities of the "Fisher Folk," gives the following:

"The fishers are generally in want of surnames. There are seldom more than two or three surnames in a fish-town. There are twenty-five George Cowies in Buckie [Cowie is the name of an ancient fishing-village]. The grocers in 'booking' their fisher customers, invariably insert the nick-name or *tee*-name, and, in the case of married men, write down the wife's along with the husband's name. Unmarried debtors have the names of their parents inserted with their own. In the town-register of Peterhead these signatures occur: Elizabeth Taylor, spouse to John Thompson, *Souples*; Agnes Farquhar, spouse to W. Findlater, *Stouttie*.

"It is amusing enough to turn over the leaves of a grocer's ledger and see the *tee*-names as they come up: Buckie, Beauty, Bam, Biggelugs, Collop, Helldom, the King, the Provost, Rockie, Stoattie, Sillerton, the Smack, Snipe, Snuffers, Toothie, Todlowrie. Ladies are occasionally found who are gallantly and exquisitely called the *Cutter*, the *Bear*, etc. Among the twenty-five George Comies in Buckie there are George Cowie, *doodle*, George Cowie, *carrot*, and George Cowie, *neep*.

"A stranger had occasion to call on a fisherman in one of the Buchan fishing-villages of the name of Alexander White. Meeting a girl, he asked:

"'Could you tell me fa'r Sanny Fite lives?'

"'Filk Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle Sanny Fite.'

"'Filk muckle Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle lang Sanny Fite.'

"'Filk muckle lang Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle lang gleyed Sanny Fite,' shouted the stranger.

"'Oh! it 's "Goup-the-Lift" ye 're seeking,' cried the girl, 'and fat the dervil for dinna ye speer for the man by his richt name at ance?'"

Mr. Forbes Irvine, who directed my attention to this very curious paper, has also supplied the following note from the records of Justiciary. At the Spring Circuit, Aberdeen, in 1844, John Geddes, *alias* "Jock Jack," was indicted for assaulting John Cowie, "*Pum*."

The *locus delicti* was near the villages of Port-Gordon and Buckie, on the Banffshire coast.

Some of the witnesses were:

Margaret Cowie, "Pum" (daughter of the person assaulted).

John Reid, "Joccles."

James Green, "Rovie."

John Geddes, "Jack son."

Alexander Geddes, "Duke."

John Reid, "Dey"—all described as fishermen.

The first Wiseman must have stood as high in his own esteem as his eminent namesake of Westminster. Goodman and Goodall (perhaps Goodale) are also self-complacent names.

I do not find our ancestors named after the saints of their birthdays (as in France), but many have names from the seasons of birth, as Spring, Summer, Winter, Yule.

Another class of distinctive names is the patronymic. Of two Johns one is the son of John, the other of Thomas, the one becomes John Johnson, the other

John Thomason or Thomson,—For a time they fluctuate. Alan the son of Walter had a son Walter, who called himself Walter Alanson, just as, I believe, they do in Shetland to this day. (I am informed by Lord Neaves, who was formerly Sheriff of Shetland, that within a few years patronymics were very common in those islands, and vary every generation. Thus, he used to see produced in the Registration Court titles in favor of Magnus Johnson, whose father was called John Magnus' son (the original of Manson), and so alternately for many descents. The women in those families were known only as Mary, John's daughter, etc.) But gradually the race find it convenient to take a fixed surname from one well-known ancestor. This process gives rise to a large class of surnames, and no doubt very ancient, though the manner of it destroys the proof of sameness of lineage arising from identity of name, as it is evident several Johns and Thomases might give rise to different families bearing the same name. The Norman fashion was to place Fitz (or filius) before the ancestral name, and some great families in England and Ireland retain this form, which is also approved for the name of the hero in sentimental novels. But with us, the Norman fashions, like the French language, were of short prevalence. We preferred indicating the descent by the mark of the genitive case, or the affix of the word son. Thus, Adamson, Adams, Adie, all mean the same, Anderson is the same as Andrews. Richardson, Richards, Dickson, Dickenson, Dick, Dickens, Dickie, are different ways of expressing the descendants of Richard. whom his friends called affectionately Dick. (It is curious how many of these patronymics are derived from affectionate diminutives, as Dickson, Wilson, Watson, Robson, Jackson, Tomson. Is it connected with the practice which, were it not so common, would seem affected, of writing the Christian names in diminutive shape, even in deeds and papers of importance, which was in use chiefly, I think, about the time when such writings began to be drawn in the vernacular? Wyntoun speaks of "Schir Davy de Lindesay," and of "oure kyng Dawy," but that was perhaps the received shape of the name in our speech. So, perhaps, we must not judge of the common fashion from the familiar nicknames given in our old family histories, as Wylie Wat, and Christell for Christopher, but we cannot, in such a matter. refuse the authority of the records of Parliament, which give us (temp. Jac. III.) "Robin Balmanno," "Sanders Chalmers," etc.; and, in the same reign, we have a process of treason against the Homes and other followers of Alexander Duke of Albany, where the person indicted under the names "Symonem Salman," and so forth, are cited by their ordinary recognised names of Sym Salmon, Will of Leirmont, Pait Diksone "the laird," Dik of Rowlis, Dik of Ethingtonison, Ringan of Wranghame, etc.) So Johnson, Jones, Jack, Jackson. So Davidson, and Davy; Rodgers, and Hodges, and Hodson; Sim and Simson, and so through the whole catalogue of names formed upon this principle, which are very numerous. Other patronymics are not so obvious in their origin. Pray notice, Lawson is not the son of law, or of the lawyer, but of Lawrence, just as the son of Magnus in our northern isles becomes Manson. Laurie is another shape of Laurenceson, Kennedy of Kenneethson or M'Kenzie.

Of this family, though of later origin, are the Highland partonymics—those which marked descent by the prefix *Mac*, expressing *son*, which continued fluctuating much longer than the *sons* of the lowlands, and most of which were only fixed into unchanging surnames in the last century. It is understood, I believe, that they assert the descent from some herioc or famous ancestor—a plain advantage over the unpretending sons of Tom, Dick, and Jenkin. The O of the Irish, literally grandson, and the Ap of the Welsh, in like manner, express, abstractedly, descent.

In 1465, an Act of the Parliament of Ireland, ordained "that every Irishman dwelling betwixt or among Englishmen, in the counties of Dublin, Myeth, Uriel, and Kildare, should go like to one Englishman in apparel, and shaving off his beard above the mouth, should swear allegiance, and should take to him an English surname of a *town*, as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale; or *colour*, as White, Blacke; or *arte* or *science*, as Smith or Carpenter; or *office*, as Cooke or Butler, and that he and his issue should use the same."

As to a similar change in Wales, I will take leave to quote Master Camden once more. "In late years, in the time of King Henry VIII., an ancient worshipful gentleman of Wales being called at the pannell of a jury by the name of Thomas Ap William Ap Thomas Ap Richard Ap Hoel Ap Evan Vaghan, etc., was advised by the judge to leave that old manner; whereupon he afterwards called himself Moston, according to the name of his principal house, and left that surname to his posteritie." That was the exception, however; and a more common practice among Welsh families is to take one of their many ancestral names, with a prefix of *Ap*. The *Ap* is sometimes absorbed oddly into the ancestral name; thus Ap Rice becomes Price; Ap Richard, Pritchard; Ap Owne, Bowen; Ap Hugh, Pugh.

Though our Highlanders in their names generally put forward descent of the clan from some heroic or even mythical personage, some tribes have a different manner of surname. The M'Nabs (sons of the abbot) seem to have their ancient name as representing the old Abbots of Strathfillan or Glendochart, who had become secularized, and appropriated the lands which belonged to the monastery. Some such descent may be expressed in the name of M'Pherson, which means the sons of the parson, M'Vicar, and other clerical surnames, as well as in M'Intosh, the sons of the chief, and others; while some of the greatest septs, not content with the name recognized among Celts, have another by which they pass in the outer world, as Cameron, Fraser, Campbell.

I must leave to more competent hands the curious subject of our Highland and Island surnames, and the endless variety of shapes they assume. I would submit only one or two observations:

1. The greatest clans were not the earliest to assume uniform fixed surnames, instead of fluctuating patronymics. The Macdonalds and others had no recognized general surname till almost within the last century. The earliest fixed Macs I have met with in record and charter are M'Gilleane (M'Lean), M'Leod, M'Intosh, M'Neill, Mackenzie, M'Dowal, M'Nachtan.

2. Where the settlement of a powerful southern family within the Highland border is followed by the sudden spread of their name through the neighboring glens, we may presume—not that the former inhabitants were extirpated, but that the native population (having in truth no surnames) readily adopted that of their new lords. Even after surnames had become common in the Highlands, we find the adoption taking place by written compact. I have seen petitions of some small clans of the Braes of Angus to be allowed to take the name of Lyon, and to be counted clansmen of the Strathmores. Many families and small tribes of Breadalbane in the sixteenth century renounced their natural heads, and took Glenurchy for their chief. Many more, in Argyll and the Isles, must have suffered a change from awe of Maccallummore. The Gordons are hardly settled in the "aucht and forty dauch" of Strathbolgy when the whole country round is full of men calling themselves Gordon.

But this is digression; and I must pray you once more to return to our thriving Scotch burgh of the thirteenth century.

The Church, with its establishment, has originated several of our names. Men

merely dwelling there are called "at Church" or " of Kirk"—shortening, by the common process, into the surnames of Church and Kirk. Clerks, so called from their learning, however they spell their name, are not necessarily in orders, and will leave honourable families descended of them. Bishop and Parson, Friar and Monk, are surnames, perhaps marking patronage. Proctor is a church officer. Jore—Dewar —Deuchar, is curiously connected with the custody of relics. In the choir are Singers, Sangsters (shortened into Sang). Of this class I suppose is the name of St. Michael, Michel, Mitchell, and of it, too, perhaps of the Celtic section of the inhabitants, are men who take the fine names of Gillies (servant of Jesus), and Gilchrist (Christ's servant), Gilmichael, Gilmory, or Gilmour (servants of St. Michael and Mary), Gillecalum and Malcolm (servant of Columba), as well as Gillescop and Gillespie (the Bishop's servant).

The medical profession is represented already. John Barber not only trims the beard but breathes a vein, draws a tooth, and performs other surgical offices. His descendant, bearing his name, is to sing the glorious career of Bruce—the Scotch Odyssey. Another practitioner (I suppose he would now be called physician) is the Leech. He holds lands and gives service as Medicus Regis, the King's Leech, and the surname of him and his family has become fixed as Leech; kindred to which is probably the name of Leechman.

The Merchant Guild has many members. They are in truth the capitalists of our burgh, and have fixed surnames known on the High Street, "where merchants most do congregate." Among these are Merchant, Mercer (sometimes Messer), Monypenny, Chapman, Cheape, Seller, Scales, Clinkscales.

Down at the mills by the river side there is a busy population. John of the Mill has become John Mill. Another has taken the name of Miller. The unpopular office of gathering in the multures or mill dues gives the name of Multerer, afterwards to become Mutter. Walkers are not named from their pedestrian feats, but from the walking or fulling mill where cloth is dressed, which affords the good name of Fuller also. The sturdy burgher who put the salmon into barrel for exportation, and also barrels our good home-brewed ale, is known as William Cooper. His man who hoops the barrels is John Girdwood. The English call him Hooper. The officer who stamps the barrels (and I would have you know that the "brand of Aberdeen" passed current through Europe in the fifteenth century) is named the Brander. Some of his descendants are people of good account round Elgin at the present day. He is sometimes known as John Brand "for shortness;" and we have a respectable colony descended from him, and using that surname, on the coast of Forfarshire.

Beside these worthies in the cooperage is another important trade, that of curing and dressing the skins of our cattle. Here we have people bearing with good right the names of Barker, Tanner, Currier (sometimes shortened into Curry), and Skinner.

You will not doubt that there are, in our thriving community, several Butchers, whose name is generally written as well as spoken Butchard; Bakers in plenty, whom we call Baxters; makers of ale, of both sexes, who think their Scotch name of Brewster quite as good as the southern Brewer; shoemakers and weavers, in the vernacular, Suters and Websters. The dyer is with us a Litster. The Southrons have borrowed the name (making it Lister) without knowing its meaning. We have in our village Cooks, Kitchens, and Kitcheners, Tailors, Turners, Saddlers, Lorimers, (*i. e.*, bridle makers), Glovers. Of workers in wood we have Wrights (whom the English call Carpenter), Cartwrights, Sievewrights, Joiners, Sawyers. The old trade-name of Glasenwright is to die out, but we have numerous Masons, Sclaters, Plumbers, all affording respectable and enduring surnames.

Two important handicrafts at the time of our imaginary visit are soon to disappear, leaving only their names to their posterity. The maker of bows, the chief arm of war, is called Bowyer and sometimes Bowmaker (one of that family is to be known a century later as Abbot of the Monastery of Inchcolme, and continuator of John of Fordun's Scotch Chronicles). The arrow-makers (whom the French name Flechier, from *fleche*), are with us known as Fletchers, a name that is to survive and flourish long after their good weapons have given way before "the villainous Saltpetre."

The chief artisan of the community is the Smith, a stalwart man, whose descendants are to increase and multiply till they replenish the earth. We must not quite take our idea of him from the modern attendant of the forge and anvil, nor even from Longfellow's fine portrait of the village blacksmith. Among our forefathers, as among the ancient Greeks, the Smith's was a craft of mystery, if not of magic. Remember, he forged the armor that guarded the heads of warriors, and welded the sword of such temper that it scorned enchantment, cut through iron and brass, and yet severed a hair upon the water. In the ancient laws of England, the Smith's person was protected by a double penalty. In Wales he was one of the great officers who sat in the hall with the King and Queen. In our own Highland glens I have heard more legends of supernatural smith-work than ever I could gather from Ossian. We must not wonder, then, that the family of Smith is large, nor that it assumes many forms of spelling in our low-country talk, as well as the shape of Gow, and probably Cowan, among those whose mother tongue is Gaelic. (The punctilio of orthography is of very modern date. Our grandfathers, and still more, our grandmothers, used wonderful license, not only with their neighbors' names, but with their own. In the sixteenth century, when writing had become a common accomplishment, a man often spelt his own name six or seven different ways in a single letter. The surname of the Stirlings (of Keir) is found in their family papers, spelt in sixty-four different manners. No wonder that the name of Smith should run through the shapes of Smith, Smyth, Smythe.)

Amidst some business and bustle, there is still much leisure in our infant society; and how can the long evenings by the winter fire be better whiled away—when the wine gets sour, and chess and tables tedious—than in rehearsing the deeds of valiant ancestors or the adventures of a pilgrimage or crusade! He who has composed the romance or lay, does not always sing it. The Bard and the Harper are alike honored; and both are to leave descendants, though the former may change their spelling for the worse, and both may, I fear, depart from the calling that gave them their surnames.

The historian of an extant family of the ancient name of Baird, not satisfied with such a probable connection with the Muses, claims for them kindred with Boiardo, the Italian poet. But we had Bairds or Bards, landed men, much earlier than suits that poetic origin. A more tempting etymon from Bayard, the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, had not occurred to the Auchmedden historian.

The necessity of some distinction before surnames are common, gives rise to a curious custom in our burgh. Men distinguish themselves and their dwellings by signs or cognizances. It is not only inns and shops or booths that exhibit these emblems; burghers and gentry of all classes do the same. This gives us a class of names common to France, England, and Scotland. John at the Bell becomes John Bell, and the Lamb, a favorite cognizance, in connection with the symbol of Saint John, originates the family of Lamb, and its affectionate diminutive Lamby —a name once of good repute as a native name in Angus, though those who bear it in modern times have sought a French origin, and spell it L'Ami. The same

custom gave rise among our neighbours in the south to the name of Angel, and even the strange one of Devil, neither of which we have affected. But we have Kings and Bishops, and even a few Popes in our Presbyterian Scotland—names probably to be traced to a similar origin. A little clan of these last, pronounced Paip, exists in Caithness and Orkney. (Alexander Pope, whose Christian name smacks of a Scotch descent, did not repel the advances of his Caithness namesake. Mr. Paip, who claimed him for kindred. Against the theory in the text is the fact, that the Norsemen called Christian priests *papas;* and some of the islands are named *Papey* from early settlements of such.) I conjecture that the same practice has given origin to many of our names commencing with Saint (in a country town of Spain the booths of the traders are distinguished by oval medallions of saints swinging in front—St. James, St. John, St. Andrew—each known by his received cognizance, but without name inscribed, either of saint or shopkeeper), and probably it is to this custom that we owe a large class of names that are not otherwise easily to be accounted for—I mean the family names derived from names of animals. Even if we suppose that some accidental relation to the animals suggested the names of *Hare* and *Dog* (which we spell absurdly Doig), *Brock*, our Scotch shape of Badger, and the well-known names of *Swan*, *Eagle*, *Heron*, *Peacock*, and *Craw*, we cannot adopt such an origin for the surname of *Oliphant* (the Scotch shape of Elephant), or of *Lion*, the name of the noble family of Strathmore, whose family tradition does not point to any foreign source, but who can hardly allege an encounter with the royal beast in the forests of Angus. They bore for their coat armour the Lion of Scotland, and may perhaps have exhibited a lion over their gate, as we know, as they constructed in the shape of a lion that curious silver cup still preserved at Glammis, and which is the prototype of the "blessed bear of Bradwardine." (The affixing of cognisances on their houses by citizens, not traders, is well known to the French antiquary. It was common in Spain, and seems to have been often used in England. I have not seen *evidence* of the practice in Scotland, but we were not slow to follow the fashions of our neighbours in such matters.)

But now we have set up our burgh with a good stock of surnames, and we must leave them to increase and multiply, or to decay, as it may happen, for I have only time to offer you a few observations upon names which did not originate in burgh or town.

Where names are seeking, people are naturally called by the name of the place where they have been born or live. So you cannot wonder that, in our own dear country, we have many *Hills* and *Glens*, *Craigs*, *Woods*, and *Forrests*. *Mountain* is a more English form of *Hill*. We have the hills too near, and like them too well, to give them grand sounding names.

The *Moor* has given names to families in all the three kingdoms. With us they have enjoyed our usual license of spelling, but the origin and sense of the word is the same whether it is spelt as the good Sir Thomas *More* used it, or like the Irish Anacreon, Moore, or our antique Scotch *Muir*. I have observed that, in all its shapes, the name connects itself with literature. One of our best Greek scholars of the last century was Professor Moor of Glasgow. Our foremost Grecian now is a Mure. (It must be remembered this was written in 1857. William Mure of Caldwell, the accomplished historian of Greek literature—accomplished in a way so rare among Scotch country gentlemen, died in the spring of 1860.) The author of Zeluco, and his more illustrious son (Sir John Moore) added an *e* to the name "for a difference," and some such cause has produced the various reading, *Moir*, still distinguished for the strong propensity to literature.

Of names derived from office, first in this country comes *Stewart*, variously spelt, though, as I have already told you, it was not till after several generations that the Fitz-Walters and Fitz-Alans took that name, destined to become so illustrious, from their office of steward of the royal household.

We have names derived from all other offices of high and low degree. The office of keeper of the Wardrobe gave name to a family of Wardropers, since shortened into Wardrop, just as Forrester was cut down to Forrest. The keepers of the Napery became Naperers (cut down to Naper). (*Na peer non pareille*—is the childish etymology of the genealogists for the name rendered illustrious by John Napier of Merchiston, and borne by many a gallant man of our own time.) The great office of Ostiar, or Durward, gave name to a powerful family, now extinct or sadly decayed; but, even yet, the Deeside peasant believes that the church bell of Coul rings of its own accord when a Durward dies; and I am inclined to trace another old Angus name to the same source. The Doorward may have become Huissier, and Huissier easily took the Scotch shape of Wischart.

I beg you to observe that the dignity of the office has no bearing on the grandeur of the family that adopted it for a name. The name of Sheriff is by no means higher than that of Dempster (the Dempsters had their name from their office). Keraldus was hereditary Judex (translated Dempster), first of Angus, then of the Court of the Kings of Scotland; and a long line of Dempsters held the lands, called from their ancestor Keraldston (now Carriston), in virtue of that office, the duties of which they discharged in Parliament. Judex was perhaps done into *Justice* in the South, though the latter was the mere organ for pronouncing the sentence of the court, while the former was, and still is, a high officer of the Crown. The great office of Chamberlain gave rise to the different shapes of the name of Chambers, and Chalmers, and Chamberleyn. Constable is not so high a name with us as in England; but Baillie has acquired respect from being borne by some good men and most amiable women. The Memoir of Lady Grizel Baille (I hope the book is as well known as it deserves to be), is better than a patent of nobility. I must not detain you with other official names. We have Marshalls in middle life, and Porters quite as high. The first tailor who did me the honour to dress me in man's apparel was a Chancellor. Mr. Laird is no more dignified than Mr. Tennent. The Gentleman, the Knight, and the Barron, are quite on a level.

Rural pursuits and occupations predominate among us. Thus we had Tennant, Farmer, Carter, Shepherd, Shearer, Harrower, Tasker, Thrasher, or Thrashie. Grieve, and Fairgrieve, (Grieve may have its origin in a higher office, perhaps the Shire-grieve or Sheriff. Beside Elgin, and again near Forres, there are estates called "Greeship Lands," which I take to have been attached to the office of Sheriff when there were sheriffs and courts at each of these burghs). Bowman was the man in charge of the *Bow*, or cattle; Husband, he who cultivated the portion of soil which derived from him the name of husband-land, a measure known in the Merse and Lothian. Granger has his name from looking after the grange, or homestead of a farm.

We had naturally many names from hunting and the chase. We had no Grosvenors, but we have Todhunter, not quite equivalent to a Leicestershire master of hounds, now shortened into Tod, Hunter and Fischer, Falconer, and Fowler. The Falconers called their domain Halkerston (Hawker's town), and a family of reputation derived its surname from the town of the Fowler—Fullerton. The park-keeper became Parker, and the officer in charge of the warren, Warrener, or Warrender, equivalent to the Norman De Warrenne. The guardian of the forest took many shapes of name—Forrester, Forster, Foster, Forrest, and even Forret.

We have Archers, and Stalkers, and Spearmans, the last speaking perhaps of more warlike occupations.

I have said that the rule of persons being named from places—not places from persons—has a few exceptions. The most remarkable is Hamilton; we can mark in records the race of Fitz-Gilbert settling down into the fixed surname of Hamilton, and, soon afterwards, the piece of land, then called the Orchard, probably a portion of their demesne of Cadyow, acquiring from them the name of Hamilton, which has since attached to the dependent village, as well as to the palace, now richer in noble works of art than any other in Scotland.

A much more common way of affixing personal names upon lands was by subjoining the word town or the French *ville* to the family name. The settlers of Teutonic speech took the former; the Normans, who used French, the latter. Thor, Orm, Dodin, and Leving, Edulf and Edmund, known as early settlers in Lothian, have left their names in Ormiston, and Thurston, and Duddingston, and Livingston, Eddleston and Edmonston; names of places, most of which have again conferred territorial names on extant families.

The Vill of the Norman settler has sometimes among us taken the shape of *well*. Maccus, a personage of large possessions in the reign of David I., seems to have used both modes of denominating his land. One of his places he called Maccuston, now Maxton; another Maccusville, which soon became Maxwell. Afterwards, his descendants, or at any rate the holders of his lands, took the territorial style of De Maxwell. A third step has been taken in this case, by again adding town to the family name and producing Maxwellton. Boswell and Freshwell are formed in the same manner.

One word on the confusion occasioned by *translating* names. From the French *Le-fevre* and *Marechal* have come some additions to our own large clan of Smiths, and De Bois has given us many Woods. We made De la Roche and De Rupe into Craig. Two brothers, Frenchmen by descent, but settled in an American town, are even now Mr. De le Rue and Mr. Street. But the change was worse when our scholars made the pedantic attempt to render our homely names classical. The Matriculation book of our Edinburgh University in the seventeenth century is subscribed by a student whom mortals called Blyth, but who, aiming at something higher, writes his own name Hilarius; while another, christened Colin Caldwell, subscribes the oaths of admission as Colinus *a fonte gelido*.

This became still more intolerable when the classical affectation adopted a Greek dress. We have almost lost memory of the real name of one of the great leaders of the Reformation, whose paternal name of Schwartzerdt (black earth) has permanently merged in its Greek shape of Melanchthon; while another has gone through the double process of translation through Latin into Greek, passing in at one end of the mill as Didier, and coming out Erasmus. A well-known instance of our own is similar. Wischart, the historian of Montrose, chose to read his name as Wise-heart, and then to Helenize it into *Sopho-cardius*.

Of late years we have changes of a different kind, and from other motives. If you will allow me, I will take my examples from our Irish cousins, whose mixed Celtic population, and some other circumstances not altogether unlike our own, give rise to curious tricks of transmutation. Irish names are translated into English. Thus, Shannach is Fox. Mac-Clogh-ree is now Kingstone. But much more common is the Irishing of Norman-English names. Thus, a known personage, Joscelin de Angelo (first done into *Nangle*), is succeeded by MacGostelin, which in one or two descents becomes Costello, a name now known in literature. Sir Odo

the archdeacon had a son Mac-Odo, now vulgarized into *Cody*. Sir Waleran Wellesley gave rise to a sept of *Mac-Falrans*.

Of another class is the change (whether founded on evidence it is not for me to pronounce) by which an Irish gentleman of the name of Morris, living in Paris, became De Montmorenci, and persuaded his Irish relatives to follow his example. They acquired at least a good name; but the descendants of the *premier baron Chretien* called a council of the family, and published an Act enumerating all those whom they recognized as genuine—in which the Irish cousins were not included.

One more story from across the channel. A Dublin citizen (I think a dealer in snuff and tobacco), about the end of last century, had lived to a good age and and in good repute under the name of *Halfpenny*. He throve in trade, and his children prevailed on him in his latter years to change the name which they thought undignified, and this he did by simply dropping the last letter. He died and was buried as Mr. Halpen. The fortune of the family did not recede, and the son of our citizen thought proper to renounce retail dealing, and at the same time looked about for a euphonious change of name. He made no scruple of dropping the unnecesary *h*, and that being done, it was easy to go into the Celtic rage, which Sir Walter Scott and the Lady of the Lake had just raised to a great height; and he who had run the streets as little Kenny Halfpenny came out (in full Rob Roy tartan I trust), at the levees of the day as Kenneth MacAlpin, the descendant of a hundred kings.

But to return and to conclude. In one sense it may be true that the age of chivalry is gone. The high-born knight no longer puts on his armour of proof, and rides down the *jacquerie* (Froissart's name for the peasantry, the class composed of the "*Jacques bon-hommes*") unblamed. We look for better things of gentle blood now. But we value it all the more. Without absurdly glorifying ourselves, we have some reason to be proud of our Scotch names. Whilst we give up without a struggle the antiquity claimed for families by our genealogists—whose youngest fable dated from Malcolm Canmore, while there were not wanting some who ascended to Noah—we can boast that we have among us many still bearing the names, and descended of the little band of heroes that fought with Bruce. What is more; I think we can say that while we are alive to the interest of a long descended line of worthy ancestors, as much as our neighbours, we keep that feeling in our hearts and do not blazon it to the world. It never interferes with the transactions and affairs of every-day life. Above all, there is no exclusion of new blood. I suppose the descendants of a James Watt or a Robert Burns would not change the honour of their descent for the highest name of Norman chivalry.

SOME SCOTCH SURNAMES DERIVED FROM LANDS IN SCOTLAND

Abercrombie, Aberdeen, Abernethy,[1] Ainslie, Allardice, Alves, Anstruther, Arbuthnot, Auchinleck, Auchmutie, Aytoun, Balderston, Balfour, Ballindean—Ballantyne—Bannatyne, Ballingall, Balneaves—Balnevis—*de villa nativorum*—shortened into Neaves, Balsillie, Bassinden, Berwick, Binning, Blacadder, Blackburn, Blackhall, Blackwood, Blair, Borland, Borthwick, Bog, Boig, Boog, Boncle, Briggs—Bridges—like Vipont—Pontiff, Braackenrigg, Brisbane, Braidwood Broadwood, Brodie, Brounlie, Brunton, Buchan, Buchanan, Buntine—Bontine, Burnett—Burnard, Burton, Burn,—Burns—Burnes—Burness, Byres, Calder—

[1] One of Scotland's noble names derived from ancient church lords. The Abbot, secularizing, appropriated the lands, and his descendants took their surname from the benefice.

Cawdor—Caddell,[2] Calderwood, Cairncross, Callander, Cameron, Carkettle, Carlisle, Carmichael, Carnegie, Carrick, Carron, Carruthers, Carstairs, Carswell, Cathcart, Cheislie, Chisholme, Clapperton, Clayhills, Cleghorn, Cleland, Clephane, Cochran, Cockburn, Colquhoun, Colvil—vulgarized Colvin, Copland, Cowie, Craig—Craigie, Crauford, Cranstoun,[3] Crichtoun, Crombie, Crosbie, Cullen, Cuninghame, Dalgarno, Galgleish, Dalmahoy, Dalrymple, Dalyell, Dean—Dein—Deinis, Denham—Denholm, Dennistoun—Danielstoun, Dingwall, Dinwoodie, Dollas—Dallas, Don, Douglas, Downie, Drummond, Drysdale—Dryfesdale, Duffus,[4] Dunbar, Dundas, Dunlp, Durham, Durie, Dykes, Easton, Eccles, Edington, Edmonston, Elphinston, Erskine, Fairholme, Fairie—Ferry, Fairlie, Fiddes—Futhes—Fuddes, Fife, Forbes, Forrest—Forrester—Foster—Forster, Forsyth, Fotheringham, Foulis, Fultoun, Fullarton (*de villa aucipis*), Gardyne—Gardiner—Jardine, Galbraith, Galloway, Garioch, Geddes, Gifford, Gladstone—Gledstains, Glasfuird, Glendonwyn—Gledinning, Gourlay, Govane, Gordon, Guthrie, Graham, Gray, Greenhill, Greenlies, Grote, Halket—Halkhead, Hadden—Halden, Hagart—Hogarth, Halcro, Halkerston (*villa aucipis*, the messuage of the Fauconers), Hall (*de aula*), Halyburton, Hedderwick, Hepburn, Heriot, Herris, Hislop, Home—Hume, Hop-pringle—Pringle, Horsburgh, Houston (*de villa Hugonis*), Howburn, Howden, Hutton, Hyndshaw, Innes, Irvine, Jellybrands, Johnston, Keir—Kerr—Carr, Keith, Kells, Kennoway, Kilgour, Kincaid, Kincardin, Kinloch, Kinnaird, Kinnear, Kirkaldie, Kirko, Kirkpatrick—Kilbatrick, Kirkwood, Knowes—Knox—Knollis, Kyle, Kyninmonth,[5] Laidlaw, Lamont, Landels, Langlands, Law, Lawder, Learmonth, Leask, Leith, Lennox, Lentron, Leslie—Lescelin, Letham, Lichton—Leighton, Liddell, Linkletter, Linton, Lithgow, Livingston (*de villa Levini*), Lizars (*de Lysuris*)—

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[2] The northern Cawdors were disguised as Cadells and de Cadella even by our old chroniclers, and they have kept that variety permanently in the South. So Lincoln, in Norman French, took the shape of Nicolle. There are Napiers, in the North, vulgarly called Lepers—*euphoniæ causa!*

[3] We almost forgive the old condemned *canting* arms of our heralds, for the sake of the Cranstoun's crest and motto—a crane fishing—and "Thou shalt want ere I want."

[4] The old lordship and castle of the De Moravias, which give name to the people called Duffus, are themselves generally referred to a Gaelic etymon. In charters older than might be supposed, I find the place written *Dufbus*, suggesting the homely origin of *columbarium* or dove-cot.

[5] The old bishops of St. Andrews, in the twelfth century, had their great officers named like those of royalty. Odo was the bishop's seneschal; Hugo, pincerna or butler; William, the chamberlain; Gamelin, the doorward; Geoffry, the dapifer; William, the marischal. From that Odo the seneschal, descended a race of Odos and Adams, who held the office hereditarily, and, in progress of time, took the surname of Kininmouth, from the lands attached to their hereditary office. One of their descendants, James of Kinninmond, of that ilk, knight, in 1438, presented a claim of right to certain Fife notables, acting as friendly arbiters between him and the Lord Prior of St. Andrews in these words: "Rycht worschippfull lord and derast maistir, Jamys of Kyninmond of that ilke, youre humble servand rycht mekly besekis youre hee lordschip, and your worschipfull convent, and youre discrete consale, at the reverence of God, that ye wald do me law and resoune in favorabill manere in thir poynctis: That is to say, that the pirtenence that I want of the lordschip of Kyninmond, in the first Monniacky medow, sen I am possessit of part of it, considering that it did yow never proffit. *Item*, sen Ovirmalgask is fundin a tenandry in yowr awin court of the fornemyt lordschip, that I miche have fre recourse thereto, with youre emplesance. *Item*, youre bailyery, landsteuartry, marschalry, I clame thir poynctis in fee and heritage, with houshald for me and twa gentilmen, twa yemen, with the boyis folowand my wyfe, and twa gentillwomen with hir, with sic houshald as afferis; a falcoune and a goishawk; a braiss of greuhundis, and a coppil of rachis; the best chaumer, the best stabill, next my lordis, with fourty pund of fee folowand thir offices. And in all thir fornemyt poynctis that I micht half a gracious and a favorabill deliverance, but prejudice, I besek youre hee lordschip and grace at the reverence of God, our Lady and Sayncta-drow."

Lesows, Lockart—Loccard—Lockhart,[6] Logan, Logie, Lothian, Lumsden, Lundy—Lundin, Lyall, Lympitlaw, Lyne, Maine, Maistertoun, Maitland—Maltaland,[7] Manderstoun, Manfod, Majoribanks, Maxton, Maxwell, Meggat, Meldrum, Melvil—vulgarized Melvin,[8] Menzies,[9] Methven, Middleton, Milliken—Milligan, Mothermwell, Moffat, Moncrieff, Moncur, Monro,[10] Monteith—Menteath, Morton, Moscrop, Mow—Molle, Murray—Moray, Mutray, Nairn, Nevay, Newall, Newbiggin, Newton, Nisbet, Norie, Ogill, Ogilvie, Ochterlony, Ogstoun, Ormiston, Orr, Orrock, Osburn, Pantoun, Pargillies, Park, Patullo, Peddie—Pepdie, Peeblis, Pennycuik, Pentland, Pitblado, Pitcairn, Pittendreich—Pendrich—Pender (?), Plenderleith, Pollock—Polk (Pook), Pont, Porterfield, Preston, Primrose, Provan, Purdie, Purvess, Rait, Ray, Ralstoun, Randell, Rankeillor, Rankin, Rattray, Redpeth, Reidheuch, Rentoun, Riddell, Riddoch, Rigg, Rochead, Rollock—Rollo, Rolland—Rowane, Ross, Roxburgh, Rule, Rutherfurd, Ruthven, Rynd, Saintserf—Sydserf, Sandford, Sandilands, Sands, Sauchie, Schaw, Scougall, Scouler, Scorggie—Scroggis, Scrymgeour, Seaton, Selkirk, Sempill, Sheill, Shives, Shoreswood, Sibbald, Skene,[11] Skelton, Skirling, Skirving, Smailholm, Smeaton, Smollet, Snodgrass, Sommervil, Spalding, Spittal (*de hospitali*), Spottiswood, Spreull, Stenhouse, Stirling, Stobs, Stodholme, Strachan, Stratherne, Stratoun, Street, Struthers, Suittie—Sutty, Sutherland, Swinton, Symontoun (*de villa Symonis*), Thorburn—Thorbrand—Thornebrand, Thorntoun, Tindall—Tynedal, Todrig, Torrance, Touch, Touris, Trail—Troil, Traquair, Troupe, Tulliedeff, Tulloch—Tullos, Tweedie, Tynto, Tyrie, Uchiltree—Ochiltree, Udney, Udward—Uddart, Urie—Ure, Urquhart, Waddell, Walkinshaw, Wardlaw, Wark, Wauchope, Wedderburne, Wemyss, Whitehead, Whitelaw, Whytford, Winzett, Winlaw, Winram, Wotherspon, Wood, Wryttoun.

A FEW EXTANT SCOTCH FAMILY NAMES DERIVED FROM PLACES IN ENGLAND OR NORMANDY

Balliol,[12] Barclay—de Berkelai, Bethune—Beton—Beaton, Boyle, Bruce, Brus, Byset—de Byseth—Bisset,[13] Campbell,[14] Charteris—de Chartreux—*de domo*

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[6] The last spelling has given rise to the "canting" arms of the lock and the heart, and to the myth about the ancestor of the Lockharts securing the Bruce's heart which Douglas perilled in the fight with the Moors.

[7] The old pedigree writers have sought a French origin for this name, in *mau talent*, without proof or much probability.

[8] Translated in old charters, *de mala villa*. The name Melvin, on the north-east coast, is pronounced Mellon. Of old there was a family in the North, styled Bonville, *de bona villa*.

[9] I don't know this place; the name is ancient with us, and seems the same with *de maneriis*, Manners.

[10] It is with some doubt that I place the name among Scotch local surnames, though the family has been very long settled in Ferindonald.

[11] A seal of the Laird of Skene, affixed to the homages (*temp.*, Ed. I.)—giving three dirks or *skeens*, shews the antiquity of "canting" arms with us. The name is territorial, the lordship forming the parish of Skene.

[12] I fear this great name is extinct. Some have supposed it to survive in Baillie.

[13] Lords of Lovat, and of great power in the North as well as in Southern Scotland, before their tragic fall in 1242. They are said to have migrated to Ireland, and to have left descendants there. A branch remains in Aberdeenshire.

[14] This name, now so numerous and powerful, first appears on record in the end of the thirteenth century. The earlier history of the family, and the origin of the name, are unknown. It is not local, at least, not derived from any Scotch locality (for Castle Campbell, formerly the "Castle of Gloom," took its name from the family in virtue of an Act of Parliament), and I am not aware that the peculiar and very ancient heraldic bearing (the *Giron*) affords any probable theory of connection with Continental or English families. Like all names of families settled in the Highlands, Campbell is claimed by the Seanachies as Celtic, and an etymology and legend are furnished on demand. The appearance of the Campbells (already evidently full-blown gentry), at the same time with numerous Norman settlers; their alliance with the Norman Bruce; the sound and spelling of their name, which seems only another shape of Beauchamp, leave little doubt that it is Norman. It would require some evidence to get over the presumption.

Carthusianorum—Charter house, Cheyne,—leChene,[15] Corbet,[16] Cumin—Cumming —Comyn,[17] Grant—Graunt—le Grand,[18] Haig, Hamilton—de Hambledon,[19] Hay—de la Haye, Lindsay—de Lindeseye, Lyle—De li'sle, Lovel,[20] Maule,[21] Montgomery,[22] Mowbray,[23] Mortimer—*de mortuo mari*, Mowat—*de monte alto*, Muschet—*de monte fixo*, Muschamps—de Muscamp,[24] Norvel—de Normanvil (?), Ramsay—de Rameseie, Russell, Ross—Ros—Rose—de Roos,[25] Sinclair—de Sancto Claro, Simeral—Somervil—Summerville, Umphravil—de Umphraville,[26] Vans—Vaus—Vaux —de Vaux, Veitch—de Vesci (?),[27] Vipont—*de veteri ponte*,[28] Weir—de Vere.

FROM WILLIAM ANDERSON'S *GENEALOGY AND SURNAMES.*

PERSONAL OR DISTINCTIVE NAMES

The Scottish Laurie is "crafty," "cunning," like a fox; it may also originally have been a diminutive of Lawrence.

The Scotch name, Rougheid, means rough head, evidently in reference to the state of the hair.

Other surnames derived from striking personal peculiarities, besides those mentioned, are Starkie, strong-bodied, a Scotch name; Begg, from a Gaelic word meaning little, and More, also Gaelic, great or large. . . . The Scotch name, Lizars, is from lazar-house, an hospital for lepers,[29] the name being originally Laz-

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[15] Reginald le Chen, father and son (giving between six cross crosslets a bend charged with three figures, perhaps mullets), early settlers in the North, seem Normans, but the derivation of their name is uncertain, perhaps akin to *Du chesne*.

[16] An old name in the South. Their cognisance was a *Corbeau*.

[17] One of the numerous families ruined by their adherence to the Balliols and the English party in the wars of the succession and independence. Fordun says, before their fall there were thirty-two knights of that surname in Scotland, including, I presume, the lords of their three great earldoms, Buchan, Badenoch, and Menteth.

[18] The first who appear on record are Laurence and Robert, "called Grant"—*Dominis Laurentio et Roberto dictis Grant*—witnesses in the bishop's court A.D. 1258. At a later period the Grants are found settled on the barony of Strathspey as church vassals, until at the Reformation they acquired it in property.

[19] The English (Leicester) pedigree of Hamilton is only guessed. They had been for three generations settled in Scotland before taking any fixed surname. Their power and consequence were of comparatively late date, not, I think, before the royal marriage, by which they acquired the earldom of Arran.

[20] The Lovels were considerable lords in Angus, the North, and on Tweedside, now, I suppose, extinct.

[21] The Maules, themselves Normans, derived their chief possessions from inheriting, through an heiress, the property of the great family of De Valoniis, *de Valoines*.

[22] The Montgomeries, like so many of the Ayrshire and Renfrewshire families, came as followers of the Stuarts. They had grants from them, both in their Lothian territory and in their great western lordships.

[23] No doubt a branch of the great English-Norman family, settled early at Barnbougle, and sent a cadet to the opposite Fife coast.

[24] A great name of old in Teviotdale; now, I suppose, extinct.

[25] Distinguished from the Scotch Rosses by giving the three water-budgets for arms, instead of the Lions of the old earls of Ross.

[26] I have set down the name of the great Norman barons, who held Redesdale "by the sword," and became earls of Angus by marriage with the heiress of the old earls and marmors, among extant names, because in this, as in so many other instances, the grand old name may lurk unobserved in the misunderstood appellation of some peasant's or burgher's family.

[27] The early seals of the De Vescis, before marshalling arms on shields had become common, have a bunch of *vetches* for a cognisance.

[28] A good old name on the Borders; now, I think, extinct, unless it has taken some humble shape.

[29] The name McClure is none other than *mac lobhair* (lowr), the leper's son. —Maxwell, *History of Dumfries and Galloway*, p. 297.

arus, destitute of help,—lepers were supposed to be incurable. In Edinburgh there was an eminent physician of the name of Lizars, who acquired no small reputation for his skill and ability.

The English Bonner, and the Scotch Bonar, are derived from the French word *bonair*, good look, grace; *debonnaire*, affable, kind, gracious. The Scotch Bonars are descended from one Sir Guilhem de Bonare, who settled in Scotland before 1200.

The Scottish Gellatly is go-lightly, and Ker, English Carr, stout.

The Scottish name, Purdie, is also said to mean proud as well as surly, rude, and a little, thickset fellow. . . . The Anglo-Saxon name, Snell, means smart, agile, hardy; in the Scotch, keen, bitter, biting, as "snell winter."

The English and Scotch surname, Stark, is strong, as are the Dutch Sterk, and the Scotch Wight, as "Wallace Wight."

NAMES FROM COLOR OR COMPLEXION

From color and complexion many surnames owe their origin in all languages. Among Scottish names are Bain, Roy, Reid, Boyd, and Dow, also Duff, derived from the Gaelic words Baine, white or fair; Ruadh, red; Buidhe, yellow-haired; Dubh, black.

The Scotch Fairbairn is fair child.

The Scottish name, Glass, is grey, or grey-haired.

The Scotch Ruddiman, and the English Scarlet, bear their own signification.

SURNAMES FROM ANIMALS

From animals, either in natural history or in armorial bearings, or from shopkeepers' signs, numerous names have been derived. . . . Doig is a Scottish name.

The Scottish Cheyne, formerly written Chein and Chien, is from the French word *chien*, a dog. Sir Reginald le Chien was great chamberlain of Scotland from 1267 to 1269.

The horse has given origin to several names.

The name of Horsburgh is Scotch. A family of this name has been settled from an early period in the county of Peebles, where it has continued in an unbroken line till now. . . . In old writs, the name is variously spelled Horsbroc, Horsbroch, Horsbruk, Horsburgh, and Horsbrugh, this last being now adopted by the family.

The Galloway name of Coulthart is one of great antiquity, and has assumed many forms. Coulthard, Coulthurst, Coulter, Coultram, Coltran, Coltherd, Colthurst, Coltart, Coltman, Colter, and Cather, are but variations of the same name.

The German name, Fuchs, and the Scotch name, Tod, both mean Fox, which is an English surname. Families of the Scotch name Wylie carry a fox in their arms, in reference to their name, the fox being the wiliest of all animals.

From the French La Vache, the cow, comes the Scotch name, Veitch. It was borne by an Anglo-Norman family, who early obtained lands in the county of Peebles, Scotland, and who had three cows in their shield.

Turnbull is a Scotch name, borne by a border clan of moss-troopers, whose "location" was in Roxburghshire.

The chief of the Turnbulls, who belonged to a branch of the ancient family of Rule, had his principal residence at Bedrule Castle, in the county of Roxburgh.

The Scottish families of Oliphant and Elphinstone carry an elephant in their arms, as relative to their names.

The English Crow and Crowe, and the French Corneille, are all the same. The Scotch name, Corbet, also means a crow, or raven, and families so called carry a *corbeau* (French for a raven, Scottish *corby*), in their arms, in reference thereto.

The English name Cranmer, is crane's mere, or lake, and the arms of the Scotch name of Cranstoun are three cranes, while the crest is a crane sleeping with its head under its wing, lifting up a stone with one foot. The name of Heron is also a Scotch one. . . . The Scotch name of Cockburn, in the true, or rather false, canting style of heraldry, also assumes three cocks in the shield, although the name itself has nothing to do with them, having been originally a corruption of Colbrand.

The name Pepdie, meaning Papingo, an old Scottish word for peacock, has been changed to Peddie. The Scotch name, Fairfowl, has reference also to the peacock.

The Scotch name of Garvie has three garvies, a species of sprat, in the family shield, as those of Ged, and Geddes, Ged being the Scotch word for a pike, have three pikes. Families of the name of Fisher have three salmon.

The Scotch name of Loch—in English, lake—in allusion to the name, carries a swan devouring a pike.

SURNAMES FROM WEAPONS AND INSIGNIA OF WAR

A large class of names are derived from the weapons and insignia of war, such as Sword, Steel, Arrow, Armour—the maiden name of the wife and widow of Robert Burns, the poet.

The Roman name, Marcellus, means a hammer, the same as martel. The Scottish surname, Maule, however, is of Norman origin, and was assumed from the town and lordship of that name in France.

Among Scottish surnames, to which a fabulous legend has been attached, to account for its origin as a name, is Skene, in Gaelic, *sgian*, a dirk or dagger. . . .

Considering that there is Loch Skene in Moffatdale, also the loch, as well as the lands of Skene in Aberdeenshire, a Loch Skean in Connaught, a river Skene in Meath, and that the ancient name of the Kenmare river, in Kerry, was Skene; also, taking into account the existence of a large tribe of Irish Skehans, and the town of Skeen in Norway, just opposite Aberdeen; there can be no doubt that the wolf or wild boar story, in spite of the family Arms, is a pure myth, and that the name is territorial, and not derived from the weapon called a skene or dagger, as has been heretofore unquestioningly believed, but from the lands of the name, either in Aberdeenshire, or wherever else they may have been situated at the time the name was conferred.

SURNAMES FROM TRADE, OFFICES, AND OCCUPATIONS

The surnames derived from offices, trades, professions, and occupations are numerous, and many of them are common enough. Among these are Chamberlayne, in Latin Camerarius, hence the Scotch names Chalmers and Chambers. . . . The Scoth name Lorimer, is from a French word signifying a maker of briddle bits, stirrups, and other saddlers' ironmongery. . . . The Scotch Souter, and the English Chaucer, signify a shoemaker. . . . The Scotch Biggar is builder.

The Scottish name, Purves, is supposed to be derived from the French word *pourvoyeur*, a purveyor or provider, the verb being *pourvoir*, to provide, to look to.

The Scotch name, Muter, means a taker of multure, or mill toll.

The surname, Milligan, which is common in Galloway and Dumfriesshire, and some other parts of Scotland, appears to be of Irish origin. . . . The name is sometimes spelled and pronounced Milliken, and is doubtless territorial. There is a Milliken house and park in Renfrewshire, belonging to Sir William Milliken Napier, Bart.; and a Mulliken or Mulligan in Ireland.

The surname of Smith explains itself. Under its different forms of spelling and pronunciations, as, for instance, in German Schmitz or Schmidt; Dutch, Smitt; French, Smeets; Saxon, Smid (hence smiddy or smithy); English, Smith, and Smythe, also the English Smyttan, and the Scotch Smeton and Smeaton.

The Scotch surname of Naesmyth, generally spelled Nasmyth, is erroneously supposed to be an abbreviation of Nailsmith.

The Scotch name of Ferrie, sometimes spelled Farie, and Ferrey, has been supposed to be an abbreviation of Ferrier, but a respected correspondent of the author, of this surname, is of opinion that the name was originally adopted by one who kept a ferry. In and about Glasgow, the name was at one time, and may be yet, a common one. In the parish of Rutherglen, in the neighbourhood of that city, a family of the name of Farie has been settled for about six hundred years.

The English name of Spencer is steward or butler, from *spens*, a buttery, whence the Scotch name of Spence.

The Scotch Pottinger is apothecary.

The old Scottish name of Mercer is, in French, Le Mercier. In Latin it is Mercator.

The name of Mercer is a very ancient one in Scotland and England, and in Ireland there was a William Mercier, Bishop of Connor, in 1353–75.

Two families of the name have been settled in Scotland from a very early period, the Mercers of Innerpeffry, in Strathern, and those of Aldie, in Perthshire.

The Scottish name, Pringle, is supposed to signify a pelerin or pilgrim, and families of this name carry in their shield escallop shells, the badge of a Pilgrim, which is also a surname.

The Scotch surname of Clerk, English, Clarke, and both pronounced Clark, is derived from the word clericus, the designation anciently given to the clergy, and such persons as could read and write.

GENITIVE NAMES AND DIMINUTIVES

The most ancient method of distinguishing different individuals of the same family consisted in adding their father's name to their own. In Scripture, the use of the father's name, or patronymic, is given in this form: Caleb, the son of Jephunneh; Joshua, the son of Nun. Many English, German, and Danish names end in *son*, *sohn*, and *sen;* for example, Johnson, Robertson, Williamson, Mendelssohn, and Thorwaldsen.

The Welsh, after the fashion of all primitive nations, had no surnames. Ab or Ap was their usual prefix to a father-name, which was very apt to become a contracted member of the name itself. With the initial letter omitted, the final one became part of the name, and thus formed many of the modern surnames peculiar to Wales. As instances, Powell came from Ap Howell; Price and Pryce from Ap Rhys; Prodger from Ap Roger; Pugh from Ap Hugh, Pritchard from Ap Richard, and Probert from Ap Robert. In Bevan and Bowen the *p* is changed to *b*, these names being derived from Ap Evan and Ap Owen. The only instance of a similar prefix in Scotland, that I can remember, is that of Hop-Pringle, son of the pilgrim.

Another class of Welsh surnames, with the same meaning, are those which, to the baptismal name, add an *s* for son, as Simons, son of Simon, shortened to Sims; Phillips, son of Phillip, shortened to Philps and Phelps; Williams, son of William, shortened to Wills and Willis, and similar names. Next to Jones (son of John), the most numerous name of Welsh origin is Williams.

Among other surnames, chiefly of Welsh origin, thus formed by the paternal name being put in the genitive, son being understood, may be mentioned, Adams, Andrews, Edwards, Roberts, and Harris, the last for Harry's or Henry's.

Among the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland, Mac is used for son, as MacDonald, son of Donald; MacPherson, son of the parson; MacNab, son of the abbot; MacIntyre, son of the carpenter, in Gaelic, *Mhic an T'Saoir ;* MacKinnon, son of Finguin; MacNeill, son of Neill; MacKenzie, son of Kenneth; Mackinlay, son of Finlay; MacGregor, son of Gregor; MacIvor, son of Ivor, pronounced Evor, hence MacKeever; MacKay, son of Aodh, or Hugh; the Galloway names of MacKie and McGhie, are the same, differently spelled and pronounced; MacLachlan, son of Lachlan; and similar names.

In Ireland O, literally *Oye*, signifying grandson, was prefixed to the father-name or clan designation, as O'Neill, O'Carroll, O'Connor, O'Donnell, O'Connell, O'Grady, O'Kelly, O'Hara, O'Leary, O'Meara, O'Brien, &c.

The French use the feudal and aristocratic *de* and *des*, of; thus, as relating to land or country, D'Orleans, De Jersey, De Montmorenci, etc., and as indicating filial or family relationship, d'Andre, son of Andrew; des Isnards, of the Isnards; des Laurents, of the Lawrences. The prefix *de*, however, is not always a mark of ancient family or aristocratic birth, as it is sometimes assumed, before their names, by persons of upstart pretensions and newly-acquired dignity. The Italian *di*, *de*, or *dei*, and *degli*, have the same meaning, as di Cola, son of Nicholas; dei Buoncompagni, sons of the good companion.

The Normans prefixed to the father-name the word Fitz, being old French for *fils*, son, as Fitz-Simon, Fitz-Hugh, Fitz-Gilbert. In England, when this word i, applied to a paternal or family name, it invariably denotes illegitimate descents as Fitz-Hardinge, Fitz-George, Fitz-Herbert, etc. The use of this old Norman prefix is now entirely confined to England. In France, there is a Duke de Fitz-James, but he is of English descent, the first of the name being the celebrated Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick, natural son of James II. of England, and VII. of Scotland. The surname Fitzroy, originally borne by the illegitimate scions of royalty, was first given to a natural son of Henry II., and it means, son of the king. At the period when it was first conferred, surnames were so uncommon in England that it was considered a great honor to have one. In the year 1110, Henry II. married one of his illegitimate sons to a rich heiress of a noble family, of the name of Fitz-Aymon. The lady was of a rhyming turn, and when the king told her that his son's name was Robert, she replied,

> "It were to me a great shame,
> To have a lord without twa name."

On which Henry conferred upon him the name of Fitzroy. Charles II. bestowed the same name of Fitzroy on his son, the first duke of Grafton, by the Duchess of Cleveland. King William IV., following their example, named his children by Mrs. Jordan, Fitz-Clarence, from the title he bore, Duke of Clarence, before ascending the throne.

The Polish termination *wicz*, or Russian *witsch*, has the same meaning as the

French *fils*, or English son; thus, Peter Paulowicz the son of Paul; the Cæsarowitsch, son of the Czar, a title given to the Prince Imperial of Russia.

One of the largest classes of surnames, under the genitive form, are those derived from the father's baptismal name, with the addition of son, as Henderson, son of Henry; Polson, son of Paul; Mathison, son of Mathew; Watson, son of Walter; Williamson, Richardson, &c. With regard to the name of Anderson, son of Andrew, from the saltire, or cross of St. Andrew; in the shield as borne by families of the name, of Lowland origin; in Scotland, it may also be taken to denote a son of St. Andrew, that is, a native Scotsman.

Many English surnames have the terminations of *kin*, *lin*, *ot*, *et*, and *cock*, as well as of *ie*, these being diminutives of forenames; as Lukin, little Luke; Perkin, whence Perkins and Peterkin, little Peter; Nicklin, little Nichol or Nicholas; Tomkin, Tomkins, Tomlin, and Tomlinson, little Thomas, and the son of little Thomas; Dickie, little Dick; Dickens, son of little Dick; Simpkins, son of little Simon; Bartlett, little Bartholomew; Paulett, little Paul; Philpot, little Philip, and Philpotts, son of little Philip; Alcock, little Hall or Harry; Wilcock, whence Wilcox and Wilcoxon, and Wilkins and Wilkinson, little William and the son of little William; Hancock, little Hans or John; Robie, little Robert; Ritchie, little Richard; Adie, little Adam; Edie, little Edward; Blackie, little Black; Blaikie, another form of the name, may be little Blake, in which case it would change its meaning from black to white,—Blake, as already explained, signifying pale. These, and such like, are called Nurse-names, from their being supposed to have been applied to their first bearers in childhood. The Scotch name Lammie, is little lamb; but it has been Frenchified into L'Ami, the friend.

The Scottish name of Christie is of considerable antiquity, and is supposed to be a diminutive of Christian, which was early adopted as a baptismal name.

The Galloway name of M'Kerlie is derived from Carroll, or O'Carroll, an Irish petty king or chief, who obtained lands in Carrick, Ayrshire, since called Carolton or Carleton. His descendants afterwards possessed Cruggleton Castle and lands in Wigtonshire, and the name of the owner, in the thirteenth century, is spelled Kerle and Kerlie. It has also been spelled Kerly, M'Carloe, M'Carlie, and M'Kerly. The name M'Kerrell is believed to be another form of M'Kerlie, although the M'Kerrells of Hillhouse, Ayrshire, claim to be of Norman origin, as the name of Kiriel occurs on the roll of Battle Abbey.

The surname of MacGuffie, sometimes written MacGuffy, is mostly confined to the south-west of Scotland and the northeast of Ireland. The epithet *Guff*, in the Scottish language (Goff, in the English), is still used as a synonym for fool, so that MacGuffie may be supposed to mean, as a correspondent suggests, the son of a fool; or, taking the terminal syllable of *og* or *oig* into account, as in the following name, the son of youthful folly. The name, however, has neither a Scotch nor an English derivation, being purely Celtic and Gallovidian, whatever may be its meaning. It is a name of frequent occurrence in Galloway.

The name McGuffog or McGuffock belonged to an ancient Galloway family, the direct line of which is now extinct. They possessed lands both in central and western Galloway. . . . Although so similar, McGuffog and MacGuffie are distinct names.

Another Galloway name, that of McCulloch, is said by Sir Andrew Agnew, in his History of the Agnews, to have had the following origin. In the time of the Crusades, a Scottish warrior, carrying in his shield a boar, which in Gaelic is *Cullach*, was conspicuous for his personal daring in the Holy Land. On his return to Scotland, William the Lion, as a reward for his prowess, granted him Myretoun, now Mon-

reith, and other lands in Wigtonshire, and he adopted as his patronymic the word Cullagh, his old battle badge. His son was thence styled M'Cullach. Sir Andrew Agnew's statement is to be taken with considerable reservation. The MacCullochs are one of the oldest septs in Galloway.

The name M'Micking, also a Galloway surname is Celtic, and means John's grandson. It is MacIan with another descent, Mac-mac-Ian. M'Ewan, MacKichan, and several similar names, are all alike descendants of some Ian or John, of bygone days.

M'Micking, is sometimes spelled and pronounced M'Meekin and M'Micken. MacMillan is from the Gaelic, *Mac Mhaoil-avin*, and means "the son of the bald man."

The name MacLennan is derived from Ennan, otherwise Adamnan, literally little Adam, the termination being an Irish diminutive. The Highland clan MacLennan claim to have got their name from MacGill'inan, son of Gillie Phinan, who was named after Saint Finan, in process of time corrupted to MacLennan.

McNaught is also a Galloway surname, and has no connection with or relation to McNaughtan, which is purely a Gaelic name The McNaughts of Kilquarity carried as their Arms, Sable, an escocheon chequy, argent and azure, between three lions' heads erased, of the second, langued, gules.

The surname of MacGeorge, also belonging to Galloway, or at least settled there for the last two hundred years, is merely a change from MacIoris, the ancient Irish name adopted by the Berminghams, Barons of Athenry, from whom the Galloway family is descended.

Many Galloway surnames are derived from Ireland. Most of the following unquestionably are corruptions of older names, viz., M'Lurg, M'Geoch, M'Cracken, M'Caw (probably originally M'All), M'Harg, M'Whinnie, M'Whannel, M'Master, M'Quaker, M'Keand, now M'Kean; M'Nish, M'Kinnell, M'Cubbin, M'Reikie, M'Gill, and M'Gachen. M'Bride is son of Bridget; and M'Credie, the son of Reddie.

The original meaning of the Gaelic name Macaulay is *Mac Aulaidh*, the son of Olave. M'Bean or MacBain, also Gaelic, was derived either from the fair complexion of the progenitor of the Lochaber clan of the name, or from their living in a high mountainous country—*beann* being the Gaelic for a mountain. MacCorquodale, anciently MacTorquil, is the son of Torquil; MacEachin, the son of Eochin or Hugh; and MacGillivray, in Gaelic, *Mac Gilli bhreac*, the sons of the freckled lad. MacIntaggart, now M'Taggart, is son of the priest; and M'Clery, son of the cleric; MacIntosh is son of the leader.

SURNAMES FROM TREES, PLANTS, WATERS, AND RIVERS

Various are the surnames derived from the vegetable world, and some of them have become historical.

A rare Scotch name, Malliherb, carried in the shield three leaves of a nettle, as equivocally relative to the name. It seems to have been originally Norman.

The Scotch name, Foulis, originally Norman, is derived from the French *Feuiles*, leaves, and those who bear it carry three bay leaves in their family shield.

The Scotch name of Shaw is a small wood, called in England a copse. That of Walkinshaw, derived from the lands of Walkinshaw, in Renfrewshire, has for Arms, Argent, upon a mount a grove of fir trees, proper; Crest, a dove with an olive branch in its beak.

Several names end in wood, as, Atwood, at the wood; Bywood, beside the wood; Underwood, under the wood; and Netherwood, beneath the wood, in Eng-

land; seemingly having originated in places of residence or birth; and Spotswood, originally Spottiswood, Calderwood, Carwood, or Carvewood, Blackwood, &c., in Scotland. Families of these Scotch names carry trees, or branches of trees, in their Arms, as relative to their names.

The Scotch name, Scroggie, has for Armorial bearings, Or, a chevron, azure, between two scrogs, that is, branches of a tree wanting leaves, in chief. Families of the name of Rowantree, have for Arms, Argent, on a chevron, between three rowan-tree branches, slipped, proper.

The English name Stockdale and the Scotch Blackstock, have three stocks or trunks of trees, the one eradicate, that is, pulled up by the roots, and the other couped.

Aikman in Scotland, Acton in England, and names with a similar beginning, as Aikenhead and Akroyd, are derived from the Saxon word *ac*, an oak.

The English name, Berkley, the Scotch form of which is Barclay, is birch-field.

Boys and Boyce, anciently de Bois, mean wood or forest. The real name of the Scottish historian, Hector Boethius, was Boece or Boyce.

The Scotch name of Cumming carries three garbs, or sheaves, of the plant called cummin.

Another Scotch name, Fraser, has three cinquefoils, usually called *fraises*, French for strawberries, as *fraisier* is for the strawberry plant, from which the name is thought to have been derived.

In the Ragman Roll of those nobles and barons of Scotland who swore a voluntary or enforced fealty to Edward I. of England in the years 1291 and 1296, this name is spelled in seven different ways—viz., Frazer, Fraser as now, Fresar, Frizel, Frisele, Freshell, and Frisle. The first of the family in Scotland was an Anglo-Norman. Those who contend for a Celtic origin for the name say that it is a corruption of *Frith Siol*, forest tribe or race. In Gaelic, the clan Fraser are called "na Friosalaich." The Fraser arms are what are called canting arms, and are more modern than the name.

Walcot and Woolcot are wood cottage, and Waldegrave, woodreve, or steward of the forest, and Woodroofe and Woodrow, the Scottish form of the name, are the same.

The Scottish name of Lindsay—originally Anglo-Norman—called by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, "ane surname of renown," is limetree isle.

The celebrated French name of Duguesclin is, of the elbow of the stream. The Scotch name Dunlop, though territorial, is taken from a locality which has much the same meaning, being the hill at the bend of the stream.

Another Scotch territorial name, Dalrymple, is said to be derived from the Gaelic *dail-a-chruimpuill*, the vale of the crooked pool, the village of that name in Ayrshire lying on a bend or turn of the "bonny Doon," which, however, is not a pool, but a river. Gazetteers and statistical writers in Scotland appear to have a partiality for Gaelic derivations, and when one has been hit upon in any case—and in most cases in the Lowlands they are mere guess work—they follow each other like a flock of sheep, taking things for granted, without inquiry and without thought. The name is Saxon, and not Gaelic, being derived from the words *dahl* and *hrympel*, from the rumpled appearance of the locality itself, the surface of the parish of Dalrymple being composed of numerous rising grounds, or little mounds or knolls.

Among other Scotch names derived from rivers are Strachan, anciently Strath Aan, the valley of the Aan, in Kincardineshire; Strathern, the valley of the Earn, in Perthshire; Blackadder, a corruption of Blackwater, a Berwickshire stream, so

called from the prevailing dark tinge of its waters; and Dallas, the valley or dale of the Lossie, which takes its rise in the parish of Dallas, in the county of Elgin. A Gaelic origin has also been claimed for the name, *i. e.*, *Dal-Uisk*, "the water valley," but this is extremely unlikely. Tweed, Tweedie, and Tweeddale, Clyde and Clydesdale, Don, Leven, and Blackburn, are also Scotch surnames.

SURNAMES FROM COUNTRIES, TOWNS, AND LANDS

These are very numerous, and of varied character. The illustrious name of Scott tells of itself whence it came, being Scot spelled with two t's. Inglis is the Scotch form of English, and the name of Welsh, strange to say, has also become a well-known patronymic in Scotland. The surname of Fleming is from the Low Countries. About 1126, Baldwin de Flemyng, fifth Earl of Flanders, was the founder of the first family of the name in Great Britain. Coming from Flanders to Scotland, he brought over with him several followers, his countrymen, who settled in that kingdom. Being very wealthy, he lent money to King David I., and assisted him and several of his courtiers with arms and subsidies. Several others of this name are mentioned conspicuously in history, viz., Jordanus le Flamange, Willielmus Flandrensis, or Le Flemang, and Sir Michael le Flemang, Knight. This last, a near kinsman of Earl Baldwin, was the founder, in England, of the family of Fleming of Rydal Hall, Westmoreland, who possess a baronetcy of the creation of 1705.

At a later period in the twelfth century, several colonies of Flemings came over to Britain, and settling in various localities, contributed largely, by their skill in agriculture and other industrial arts, towards the improvement of their adopted country and its inhabitants.

A few of their descendants are still occasionally found in Cornwall, Glamorganshire, Pembrokeshire, Devonshire, and thinly scattered through the northern counties of England. The headquarters, however, in Britain, of families of the name of Fleming were, and continue to be, in Scotland.

The senior branch of the first family of Flemings that came, was that of Barrochan in Renfrewshire, having been directly descended from Earl Baldwin. Although never titled, their ancestral lands descended in the same family, without a lapse for 700 years, from father to son, until, at the death of the last laird, in 1852, and a few years later by the deaths of his two sisters, all unmarried, the family became extinct, and the estate passed, in 1863, to a distant relative of the name of Hamilton.

The Scotch name of Windygate, of that ilk, carried in the shield a portcullis, as relative to the name. The surname of Yates or Yetts also carries gates in their Arms. In Teviotdale there was anciently a family of Yetts of Yetton.

The Scottish surname of Wēddell is derived from the old lands of Wedale, "the vale of woe," now the parish of Stow, which is partly in Selkirkshire, but chiefly occupying the extremity of the long south-eastern wing or projection of Mid-Lothian.

The celebrated Scottish surname of Douglas, like many others, has been traditionized in such a way that nobody of the name can tell one thing or another in regard to it. Hector Boece, "the father of lies," who did not even keep to his own name, but called himself Boethius, is the fabricator of most of the legends relative to the old historical names of Scotland, and this of Douglas among the rest. In the eighth century, so runs the tradition, during the reign of Selvach, or Solvathius, king of Scots, one Donald Bane, or Donald the Fair, of the Western Isles, made an irruption into the Scottish territory, and put to the rout

the forces collected to repel his invasion. They would have been totally overthrown, had not an unknown and nameless warrior, with his friends and followers, come from some undiscovered country to their aid, and speedily changed the fortune of the day. Donald the Fair was soon disposed of, being slain off hand, and the victory secured to the king. When his majesty, or whatever he was called in those old days, inquired to whom he owed his deliverance, one of his attendants, Gaelic, of course, pointed out the anonymous warrior, with the words, *Sholto Dhu Glas*, "Behold the dark man." The king, it is said, rewarded him—he could not have done otherwise—with a large tract of land in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, which, continues the legend, with the river by which it is traversed, was denominated *Dhu-glas*, or Douglas, after him. The name, however, was derived from the river, and not from the man. According to Chalmers, it was called "*Dubh Glas*," dark blue, or azure, that being the colour of its waters. According to that writer, the first of the Douglas family was Theobald the Fleming, who, between the years 1147 and 1166, received a grant of land on Douglas water. His immediate successor was the first to assume the surname of Douglas.

An examination of authorities leads to a different origin for the name than that assigned by tradition. The original name was Dufglas, and the first of the name on record was William of Dufglas, who, between 1175 and 1199, witnessed a charter by Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, to the monks of Kelso. The derivation of the name, in fact, is entirely unknown. Even Hume of Godscroft, in his History of the Douglasses, is forced to admit that "we do not know them in the fountain, but in the stream; not in the root, but in the stem; for we know not who was the first mean man that did raise himself above the vulgar." The present head and representative of the historic house of Douglas, is the Duke of Hamilton, Brandon, and Chatelherault.

There is scarcely a local surname in Scotland, but to it has been ascribed an origin altogether different from the truth, founded on that love of the marvellous, and fondness for the fanciful and romantic, to which ignorant people are at all times prone. The name of Hay, the family surname of the Earl of Errol and the Marquis of Tweeddale, is said, by tradition, to have been adopted from the interjection of "heigh, heigh," uttered by the peasant founder of the family at the battle of Luncarty, in 942, when, assisted only by his two sons, he succeeded in beating back a whole army of Danes, for which he was rewarded with a large district of country in Perthshire. Such is the genealogical legend of the origin of these noble families. In Normandy, however, there were lands and a lordship denominated Hay, and in the roll of adventurers who accompanied William the Conqueror into England, le Sieur de la Hay is expressly mentioned, with others of the same name. Besides, the Scottish interjection, if it was an interjection at all, would have been "hech! hech!" and the Danish army must have been an army of phantoms to have been "beat back" by an old man and his two sons, capable only of panting at such a critical moment.

Dalziel is another ancient surname derived from land—the barony of Dalziel in Lanarkshire—which has been subjected to traditionary fable, like the others mentioned.

The Scottish surname of Crawford, from lands of that name in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, is supposed by some to signify the road or passage of blood, and the Saxon word, ford. But this derivation attempts to combine a Celtic and a Saxon word, which directly contravenes one of the most important rules of etymology. A more probable derivation is the ford of crows, these birds having always been known to frequent the neighbourhood.

Symington, a west of Scotland surname, is derived from lands in Ayrshire, and also in Lanarkshire, originally conferred on Symon Lockhart, who held them under Walter, the first Steward of Scotland, and was the ancestor of the Lockharts of Lee, and other families of that name. From him they acquired the name of Symonstoun or Symington. Families of the name of Symington have a tradition that they were originally Douglases from the upper ward of Lanarkshire.

The Anglo-Norman name of Lyle, Lyell, or Lyall, originally L'Isle, is the Isle. The Scottish name of Innes—British, *Ynys*, Gaelic, *Inis*, means an island. In Scotland the word *inch* signifies a small island, and Inches is also a surname.

To return to some Scottish names. The surname of Brodie belongs to an ancient family or tribe in the county of Elgin, so very ancient indeed, that, as Dr. Shaw says, in his *History of the Province of Moray* (page 146, edition 1827), "the antiquity of this name appeareth from this, that no history, record, or tradition (that I know of) doth so much as hint that any other family or name possessed the lands of Brodie before them, or that they came as strangers from another country.

The good old Scottish name of Guthrie was derived from lands in Forfarshire, belonging to a family of the name, the oldest in that county.

The clan name of Buchanan, taken from lands in the county of Stirling, means the little cattle-growing district, derived primarily from the Latin word *bos*, an ox. The surname of Buchan has the same origin in a larger sense. From the Spanish word *bucan*, dried ox, or flesh, came the term buccaneers. The etymology of the name of Buchanan is thus given in *Bleau's Atlas*, published in Holland in 1653:—"The word, which signifies a possession, is composed of Muk or Buch, meaning a low place, and Annan, of the water, and denotes low grounds near waters." The parish of Buchanan has water on three sides of it, being bounded on the north by Perthshire and Loch Katrine; on the south by Dumbartonshire, from which it is separated by the Endrick river; and along the whole of its western side by Loch Lomond. One head branch of the Forth also has its source in the upper end of the parish.

The Scottish surname of Murray, originally Murreff or Moravia, was derived from the province of Moray, in the north-east of Scotland. A rebellion having broken out in Moray in the year 1160, it was quelled by King Malcolm IV., who transported all who had been engaged in it, including the greater part of the population, to the distant district of Galloway, and gave their homes and their lands to others. In consequence of this dispersion, the name of Murray is rare in the province from which it was originally derived, but it often occurs in the counties south of the Grampians. In the form of Murray, the name is quite a common cognomen in Scotland.

One of the counties of North Wales is named Montgomery. This is a Norman surname belonging to the Earl of Eglintoun and other ancient families in Scotland, England, and France. The first known of the name, was Roger de Montgomeric, "Count of Montgomerie before the coming of Rollo" into the north of France, in 912. A native of Neustria, his ancestors were probably, for many generations, settled in that province, which, when conquered by the Northmen, was afterwards known as Normandy. The first who settled in Britain was Roger de Mundegumbrie, a kinsman of William the Conqueror. He obtained great distinction under the Norman banner in France, and accompanying William into England, commanded the van of the invading army at the decisive battle of Hastings, in 1066. From the Conqueror he received large grants of land, and was created by him Earl of Chichester and Arundel, and also of Shrewsbury. In a short time he was lord of no fewer than fifty-seven baronies throughout England, with extensive posses-

sions in Shropshire. To the town and county of Montgomery, in Wales, his name was given, as that part of the country had become his property, after he had taken the castle of Baldwin in that principality.

The first of this surname who settled in Scotland was Philip de Montgomerie, having come with the Earl of Huntington, afterwards David I., in 1113. He received large possessions in Renfrewshire, still held by his descendant and representative, the Earl of Eglintoun.

The Scottish surname of Gordon, according to a traditionary story, long implicitly believed, is said to have been given by Malcolm Canmore, who began to reign in 1057, to a strange knight without a name or retinue, who opportunely and unexpectedly arrived in Scotland, just at a time when the borders were greatly infested by a wild boar, which he killed, or *gored down*—hence his name. For this service the king gave him a grant of land in Berwickshire, which he called Gordon, taking the boar's head for his armorial bearing. It is more likely, however, that he styled himself "de Gordon," from his lands, as was the fashion of the Anglo-Norman knights. Those who contend for a Celtic derivation for the name to a district so near England as Berwickshire, or the Merse, as it was anciently called, from marches, or borders—and Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, among the rest—say, that the lands of Gordon have their designation from the Gaelic, *Garbh-dun*, "a rough hill," a derivation every bit as fanciful as the other. The fact is, that the founder of the Gordon family and name, an Anglo-Norman, did not come to Scotland till the reign of David I., which began in 1124, and he obtained from that monarch the barony of Gordon in Berwickshire. His descendant, Sir Adam de Gordon, received from Robert the Bruce the lands of Strathbogie in Aberdenshire, and when he removed there, he transferred to these lands and lordship the name of Huntly, from a village of that name in the western extremity of Gordon parish in Berwickshire, the site of which is now marked by a solitary tree. In the same parish there are two farms called, respectively, Huntly and Huntly Wood. The titles of Lord, Earl, and Marquis of Huntly, the last now the principal title of the family, first conferred in 1599, were acquired from the northern domains. The ducal title of Gordon, first conferred in 1684 on the fourth Marquis of Huntly, became extinct on the death of the fifth Duke in 1836. The descendants of Sir Adam de Gordon continued to possess their estates in Berwickshire till the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The name is undoubtedly very ancient. It is certain that there was a manor in Normandy called Gourdon, and it is claimed that the ancestor of the family of Gordon came to England with William the Conqueror in 1066.

The Scottish name of Aiton is derived from lands now forming the parish of Ayton on the coast of Berwickshire.

The Scottish word, Blair, itself a surname, from the Gaelic *blar*, a field or plain clear of woods, is prefixed to several places in Scotland, as Blair-Athole, the plain of Athole; Blairgowrie; Blair-Logie; Blair-Drummond, &c.

The Scottish surname Logie, like Logan, and the Irish Laggan, is derived from a word signifying a low-lying, flat, or hollow country, and is used as a prefix to such places in Scotland, as Logie-Buchan, Logierait, &c.

The illustrious and historical Scottish surname of Hamilton was originally derived from the lordship and manor of Hamildon, in Leicestershire, one of the possessions in England of the first ancestor of that ancient and noble family. In the time of William the Conqueror, as we learn from the Index to Domesday Book, there were several places in England called Hameldun, Hamildune, Hamildone, Hamiltun, Hamiltune, and Hameledune, and different families of the name were

established in various parts of that kingdom about the time of the early Scottish Hamiltons.

The most remote progenitor of the ducal house of Hamilton that can now be traced was a Norman baron, called Bernard, a near kinsman of Rollo, first Duke of Normandy. Robert, Earl of Mellent, the fifth from Bernard, accompanied William the Conqueror to England, and had the command of the right wing of the Norman infantry at the battle of Hastings. As a reward for his eminent services on that occasion, he received from the Conqueror sixteen manors and lordships in Leicestershire, sixty-four in Warwickshire, seven in Wiltshire, three in Northamptonshire, and one in Gloucestershire. He built the castle of Leicester, where he chiefly resided, and by Henry I. he was created Earl of Leicester.

In the thirteenth century, Sir Walter de Hamilton, usually designated Walterus filius Gilberti, or Walter Fitz-Gilbert, from whom the ducal family of Hamilton are descended, is found settled in Scotland. He was the son of Sir Gilbert de Hamilton, whose father is said to have been Sir William de Hamilton, one of the sons of Robert de Bellomont, surnamed Blanchemaine, third Earl of Leicester, who died in 1190, and who was the grandson of Earl Robert, above mentioned.

In 1292 and 1296 Sir Gilbert de Hamilton swore fealty to Edward I. for lands in Lanarkshire, and in several other counties in Scotland. Robert the Bruce bestowed on him the barony of Cadzow, in the middle ward of Lanarkshire, where the town of Hamilton, and Hamilton Palace, the principal seat of the ducal family, are situated, with several other lands and baronies in that county; also the baronies of Kinniel and others in Linlithgowshire, and the lands of Kirkender and Kirkowen in Wigtonshire. Most of these still remain in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton.

In 1474, James, first Lord Hamilton, married the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of James II., King of Scotland, and widow of Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran; and during nearly a century, the head of the house of Hamilton was, "after the Royal Family, heir to the Scottish crown."

Loudoun, a Scottish surname, was originally *Law-dun*, a barony in Ayrshire, both syllables meaning the same thing, namely, the hill—the round conical elevation in the south-west extremity of the parish being of the class which the Scoto-Saxons called *law*, and the Scoto-Irish *dun*.

Snowdon, a Scottish surname, means "the hill covered with snow."

The historical Scottish name of Kirkaldy, derived from the barony of that name in Fifeshire, now a large and thriving town and parish, originally Kilculdei, means the kirk or church of the Culdees. The surname of Kirkpatrick, also renowned in the history of Scotland, is the church of St. Patrick. The family of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn were settled in Nithsdale from an early period. From a branch of this family, styled, of Conheath, is directly descended the Empress Eugenie, consort of Napoleon III. of France.

The surname of Selkirk, also "the great kirk" (Sele-chyrc), was adopted from the town and county of that name in Scotland. It has been Anglified into Selcraig.

The prefix *pen*, Gaelic *beann*, a hill or mountain, is found in some surnames, assumed from high lands or hills, as in the Scottish surnames of Pendrigh, hill of the king; Pentland, the hilly or high lands; Pennicuik, "the cuckoo's hill."

The Scottish surnames of Cairns, from the Gaelic *carn*, means, properly, a heap of stones thrown together in a conical form as a memorial over a grave, and when used as a prefix signifies a rocky mountain, as Cairn-gorm, Cairntable, etc. The surnames of Cairnie and Carnie are derived from the same root.

The Forfarshire surname of Carnegie was derived from the lands and barony of the name in that county.

The Lanarkshire surname of Carnwath means the "ciarn of the ford."

The surname of Cairncross, also Scottish, is in old charters Carnea Crux.

The surnames of Glen and Glennie are from the Gaelic word *gleann*, a small valley or vale, generally with a river flowing through it. The word is used as a prefix to several places in Scotland, some of which have given surnames, as Glencairn, the glen of the cairn, a tributary of the Nith, in Dumfriesshire; and Glendinning, formerly Glendonwyn, derived from the territory anciently known by that name, which comprehended a considerable district of Eskdale, Eusdale, Liddesdale, and the western parts of Teviotdale.

Some surnames with the prefix *strath*, as Strathearn, Strachan, &c., have already been mentioned. Besides these, the Scottish surnames of Strathie, little Strath, and Strichen, may be noticed here. The latter name is from lands and a parish in Aberdeenshire, meaning Strath-ion, or John's strath. The surname Traquair, also a Scottish name, is a contraction of Strathquair, the strath of the *Quair*, a rivulet which falls into the Tweed. It may be remarked, that the exact meaning of the word *strath*, so common in Scotland, and which is derived from the Gaelic *srath*, is a plain by a river's side, or a large and broad valley taking its name from a river flowing through it.

The surname of Kinross, from the town and county of that name in Scotland, means the head of the peninsula, that is, of Fife.

Kinnaird, also a Scottish surname, is the high headland, from *ceann* and *ard*, and was assumed from the barony of Kinnaird in Perthshire. The ancestor of the noble family of the name obtained the lands of Kinnaird from William the Lion in 1170.

Among other Scottish surnames having a similar origin may be mentioned Kincaid, "the head of the rock" (*cad* or *caid*, in the Gaelic, signifying a rock or rocky height); also Kinnear, Kinniburgh, &c.

The prefix *gil* (from the Gaelic *gillie*, a lad, a man-servant, a young man), enters into the composition of several names of Celtic derivation; as Gilfillan, servant of Fillan, an ancient Scottish saint who seems to have presided over certain holy wells, and after whom a glen in Perthshire has been called Strathfillan; Gilchrist, servant or child of Christ; Gillespie, servant of the sword; Gilvray, freckled child; Gilroy, red son or servant; Gilmore, henchman (*gille-mor*, great servant); and Gilruth, either hired servant—*ruth*, in the Gaelic being salary, wages, hire—or brown or ruddy child, *ruadh* being Gaelic for brown, red, or ruddy. Gillies means servants or youths.

In Annandale, Dumfriesshire, there was a border clan of the name of Johnstone, which held possessions there from time immemorial, and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries waged a perpetual feud with the Douglasses and the Maxwells.

In the year 1460, some members of the house of Johnstone in Annandale assumed the name of Souter.

The surname of Gladstone was originally Gledstanes, derived from lands of that name in Teviotdale.

The surname of Edmonstone, derived from the lands of that name in the parish of Newton, Mid-Lothian, is one of great antiquity in Scotland. It certainly is as old as the reign of Alexander II. Henricus de Edmonston is mentioned in a charter of 1212. The origin of the name is Edmund's town.

MISCELLANEOUS SURNAMES

The surname of Allan was derived originally from the British word *alan*, swift like a greyhound, or from the Gaelic word *aluinn*, signifying, when applied to mental qualities or to conduct, illustrious; and when referring to objects, clear, sparkling, beautiful, hence the many rivers of the name.

The once royal surname of Bruce has a Scandinavian origin, and it is remarkable that William the Conqueror and Robert I. of Scotland, both descendants of Norse Vikings, that is, Bay chiefs, acquired, the one the English, and the other the Scottish throne.

The Scottish surname of Wemyss, from the Gaelic word *uamh*, a cave, was derived from lands now forming the parish of that name in Fifeshire, appropriately so called from the number of caves in the rocks on the seashore there.

Traill, another northern name, is supposed to have been originally Tyrrell, or it may be another form of the Norse Troil, from *trold*, an elf or fairy. In the reign of Robert III. a Scottish warrior named Hugh Traill, defeated an English champion in single combat at Berwick. The name Tyrrell was first borne in England by one who is said to have come from the province of Tyrol, in Germany.

The etymology of the name of Graeme or Graham has been subject to much dispute. In its first form it resembles rather the Anglo-Saxon word *grim*—that is, sharp, savage, cruel—than the Celtic *gruamach*, sullen, morose, gloomy, and is of the same class—if that is its signification—as the German name Grimm, the French le Sauvage, the Dutch de Wilde, and the English Wild and Savage. The romance word, *grams* or *graims*—Saxon *gram*, *grom*, that is, furious, fierce, angry, passionate—does not differ much from the surname of Graeme.

The name of Graham is very likely an Anglo-Saxon one, meaning the dwelling of Gray. The first person who bore it in Scotland, Sir William de Graham—the ancestor of the Duke of Montrose and all "the gallant Grahams" in the country—settled in North Britain in the reign of David I., when so many Norman-English families flocked to Scotland. He witnessed the foundation charter of that monarch to the monks of the Abbey of Holyrood, in 1128.

The surname of Napier, originally le Naper, is of considerable antiquity both in England and Scotland, but is principally Scotch. There is a charter of the 44th of King Henry III. of England (1259), "Johannes le Naper, Venator regis Haveringe Maner, 18 acres terre messuag. Essex."

The surname of Roger, or, in the Scottish mode of spelling, Rodger, is of Norman origin. According to Camden, it "was mollified from Rodgerus or Rotgerus." In the train of William the Conqueror, when he came to England, was "a valiant captain of the name of Roger." Though now a surname, it was originally a baptismal name, and from it are derived Rogers, Rogerson, Hodge, and Hodgson, as well as the nurse names of Hodgkin—that is, little Hodge, the son of Hodge or Roger—and Hodgkinson.

The Scottish surname of Maxwell, anciently de Maccuswell, from possessions of that name on the Tweed, and meaning the pool or well of Maccus, is of Saxon origin. Before the invasion of William the Conqueror, a wealthy noble of the name of Maks or Max, converted by the Latin of the period into Macus, held large possessions in England; and from him Mexborough in Yorkshire, and Maxstoke in Warwickshire, received their name. Maccus, the son of Unwhyn, or Undewyn, living in 1116, had a son, Hubert de Maccuswell, who was the first to adopt the abbreviated name of Maxwell. It was one of the first surnames assumed in Scotland. Maccus also gave name to the lands and parish of Maxton, in Roxburghshire.

The Maxwells obtained lands in Dumfriesshire, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, and other Scottish counties, and a distinguished place in the Scottish peerage.

The English names, Moor or Moore, and the Scottish Muir, are from a Saxon word meaning heathy ground.

The Scottish surname of Marjoribanks, pronounced Marchbanks, was derived from the lands of Ratho-Margerie, that is, Margeriebanks, from the British *Rath-au*, a cleared spot or plain, so called in consequence of having been bestowed on the Princess Margerie, daughter of Robert the Bruce, on her marriage.

The Scottish surname of Cochrane is derived from the barony of that name in Renfrewshire, the original seat, and for five centuries the property of the family ennobled as Lords Cochrane and Earl of Dundonald.

The surname of MacDonald is of great antiquity in Scotland. The numerous and powerful clan of this distinctive name derived it from Donald, elder son of Reginald, second son of the celebrated Somerled of Argyle, King of the Isles. The Clandonald was divided into several tribes, but the Clanranald of Garmoran, descended from Ranald, eldest surviving son of John, last King or Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amie, daughter of Roderick of the Isles, and heiress of the M'Rories of Garmoran, became, in time, the most numerous tribe of the name. The sovereignty of the Isles having virtually ceased with John, who may be considered the last *bona fide* Lord of the Isles, and Ranald, being the first of his race to hold his lands by charter, did not assume the empty title of Lord of the Isles, but let his numerous followers take his name, and hence was formed the Clanranald.

The Scottish surname of Knox is said to be derived from lands of that name in Renfrewshire. The principal family, Knox of that Ilk, was frequently also designed of Ranfurly and Craigend, from other estates of these names possessed by them in the same county. The family claimed to be of Saxon origin, and descended from Uchtred, the Saxon Earl of Northumberland, The first of the Renfrewshire Knox family was named Uchtred; and his son Adam, early in the thirteenth century, obtained from Walter, High Steward of Scotland, the lands of Knox—from which he took his name—and Ranfurly, in that county.

From its terminal syllable, a local or territorial origin may be assigned to the Scottish surname of Paton.

The old border name of Halliday originated in the family slogan or war cry of "a holy day, a holy day!"—the border clan known by this name probably viewing their marauding expeditions and contests with their "auld enemies" of England, in the light of a holy war.

The Dicksons, another border clan, are descended from one Richard Keith, who being familiarly called Dick, his sons were named Dickson. He is supposed to have been the son of the great Marischal, Hervey de Keith, who died in 1249, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of William, third Lord Douglas; and the Dicksons carry in their arms the chief of Keith Marischal.

The surname of Burnett in Scotland had both a Saxon and a Norman origin assigned to it, and in early times it occurs as de Burnard, Burneville, and de Burnetvilla. A family of the name, connected with land, existed in Teviotdale early in the twelfth century. In the charter of foundation of the Abbey of Selkirk by Earl David, younger son of Malcolm Canmore, Robertus de Burnetvilla is a witness, and either the same or another Robertus de Burnetvilla is witness to charters of David when king. The principal family of the name in the south of Scotland have long been the Burnetts of Barns, in Peebleshire. Those lands, in 1838, passed into other hands.

The surname of Semple is an old one in the west of Scotland, but its deriva-

tion is uncertain. Lower has assumed it to have been another form of the English Sampoll, a corruption of St. Paul. The principal family of the name was that of Semple of Elliotstoun, in Renfrewshire.

The Scottish surname of Halkett is derived from the lands of Halkhead in Renfrewshire, and those of this name bear a hawk's head for a crest.

The surnames of Pagan and Payne had their origin in the days of the Crusades, having been assumed from the pagans or paynim against whom the warriors of the Cross went to fight for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Scottish name of Stoddart is supposed to have been derived from the word Standard. It has also been conjectured to have been originally "Stout heart," to which the Anglified form of the name, Stothert, gives some countenance.

NOMENCLATURE IN SCOTLAND

The following paper, slightly curtailed, drawn up by Dr. Stark, and printed in the Sixth Detailed Annual Report of the Registrar-General for Scotland, for 1860, embodies so much curious and interesting information on the subject of surnames that it may be fitly inserted here, by way of Appendix:

It may be mentioned, as a striking peculiarity of the inhabitants of Scotland, that both among the Celtic race in the Highlands, and the Lowland races on the Border, it was the custom for all to assume as their surname the name held by the head of the family, either because they were actually his descendants, or because they were his vassals and property. Hence, in the Highlands, we have large clans of the name of Macdonald, Stewart, Campbell, Mackay, Murray, Cameron, etc., and among the inhabitants of the Border counties the names of Scott, Graham, Kerr, Johnston, Elliott, Armstrong, etc.

To ascertain the number of distinct surnames in Scotland, it may be mentioned that the index of the birth register of a whole year was alone taken, and every separate surname enumerated in it, when they were found to amount to 6823 separate surnames, while the total registered entries of births amounted to 104,018. These numbers would give the proportion of 15.2 persons to every surname, or 6.5 different surnames to every 100 persons. The English proportion, ascertained in the same manner by the Registrar-General of England, in 1855, was 8.4 persons to every surname, or 11.9 surnames in every 100 persons. The above facts therefore appear to demonstrate that the effect of the clan system of surnames in Scotland is to cause a much larger number of persons to hold the same surname; in other words, that, in proportion to the population, fewer surnames exist in Scotland than in England. But the above figures do not exhibit the true proportion of Scottish surnames to the Scottish population, nor the full effect of clanship in diminishing the number of surnames; or rather in causing a smaller number of surnames to go over a larger portion of the population. Within the last thirty years a very large addition to the surnames has been made in Scotland, in consequence of the immense immigration from Ireland. This immigration, beginning about the year 1820, did not assume gigantic proportions till about the year 1840, when the demand for railway laborers brought the Irish over in hundreds and thousands. Since that period, in addition to bringing over about a thousand names which are common to Scotland and to Ireland, they have added to the Scottish surnames nearly a thousand, which, till that period, were peculiar to Ireland. Were it not, therefore, for the enormous addition to the surnames made in recent years, the proportion of persons attached to each surname in Scotland would be more than double the proportion of England.

Being, however, desirous of obtaining some more definite information relative to the surnames in most common use in Scotland, the complete indices of three years were examined, extracting all the surnames which had numerous entries under them, and carefully tabulating the number of entries in the several indices, as well as noting all the peculiar names. From that mass of surnames, the fifty in most common use in Scotland were abstracted; and the subjoined table shews not only what these fifty most common surnames are, but also the number of times in which each of these occurs in the general indices of births, deaths, and marriages for the three years, 1855, 1856, and 1857. During these three years the total names

entered on the registers amounted to 609,639; and as the fifty surnames in that table included 180,748 of that number, it would appear that these fifty most common surnames embraced 29.6 per cent of all the names entered on the registers. In England it was found that the fifty most common surnames only included above 18 per cent of all the names entered on the indices; so that the above fact corroborates the conclusion previously drawn from the proportion of total surnames,—viz., that the adoption of clan surnames in Scotland has had the effect of causing a larger proportion of persons to hold the same surname than in England, so that proportionally fewer surnames are used among the population. It has been endeavoured to render this table of the fifty most common surnames in Scotland more interesting by adding the estimated number of the population attached to each surname. Such particulars will afford a valuable means of comparing the changes of surname which may occur in the course of ages.

To render the Scottish table of surnames more interesting by comparison, we have appended the English table of surnames, taken from the Sixteenth Report of the Registrar-General, when it will be seen that the clan predominance of surnames in Scotland, as compared with that of England, becomes very apparent. Thus, while in the English fifty most common surnames, only twenty-seven can be referred to the Christian fore-name, or name of the sire or head of the family, thirty-seven may be so referred of the fifty most common surnames of Scotland. The great majority of these fifty Scottish names are therefore truly sire-names, either in their pure, unaltered state, as Grant, Cameron, Duncan, Graham, Kerr, Martin, Allan, etc.; or altered so as to express the descent from the head of the family, as Robertson, Thomson, Johnston, Watson, Morrison; or with the Gaelic Mac, which means "son," as Macdonald, Mackay, Maclean, Macleod, etc.

Possibly in every country the surnames may be divided into four great classes; and it is possible, also, that the chief peculiarities of each country, in so far as the surnames are concerned, may depend on the relative preponderance which each of these classes bears to the other in the general population. These four classes may be regarded as—1st. Surnames derived from patronymics, that is, from the Christian fore-name of the head of the family; 2d, Surnames derived from the rank or occupations of the persons; 3d, Surnames taken from the locality in which the persons dwelt; 4th, Surnames, or soubriquets, given to persons from some supposed personal quality or resemblance.

1st, Almost all the names of our Border and Highland clans belong to the first class, and they are peculiarly Scottish—neither belonging to England nor to Ireland. These surnames include all those beginning with Mac—as Macgregor, Mactaggart, &c.; besides those simple ones—as Fraser, Douglas, Cameron, Kerr, Grant, &c.

2d, The surnames derived from rank and occupation are very numerous, but are equally common to England as to Scotland. Of these, in both countries, Smith is the most common name; after which follow, in Scotland, Stewart, Miller, Clark, Taylor, Walker, and Hunter; but in England, after Smith come Taylor, Wright, Walker, Turner, Clark, and Cooper.

3d, Surnames taken from the locality in which the persons originally resided form a very numerous class, and they also are, to a great extent, peculiar to Scotland, seeing that there is scarcely a county, parish, town, river, or remarkable locality, but has its name perpetuated in the surnames. Thus, for instance, of the counties we have, as surnames, Fife, Nairn, Stirling, Ross, Lothian, Sutherland, Berwick, Roxburgh, &c. Of parishes we have Abbey, Fordyce, Alves, Peebles, Farr, Bathgate, Callander, Traquair, Campsie, Cullen, Kirkpatrick, Bothwell, &c, Of towns we have Glasgow, Leith, Aberdeen, Montrose, Biggar, Lauder, Melrose, Hamilton, &c.

4th. That soubriquets, perpetuated as surnames, are perhaps the most varied

of all, and embrace every personal or mental quality supposed to reside in different individuals to whom they were originally given. They may hence be divided into dozens of sub-divisions, according as they were given from the person's general appearance, or the color of his skin or hair—hence, Black, White, Green, Gray, Brown, &c.; or from his supposed likeness to the animal creation—as Lyon, Bull, Stott, Bullock, Lamb, Hogg (which does not mean a pig or sow, but a lamb a year old), Collie, Tod (which is the Scottish name for the fox), Fish, Haddock, Salmon, Finch, Swan, Heron &c.; or from his size and make—as Meikle, Little, Long, Thin, Meiklejohn, Littlejohn; or from his strength, swiftness, or other qualities—as Strong, Stark, Swift, Bold, Bauld, Good, Noble, &c.

It would have been very interesting, in comparing some of the commoner surnames of England and of Scotland, to have shown how the language of each country has altered the name, so as to make the families of each country whose names are derived from the same occupation, similitude, or quality, equally distinct. Thus the common surname, Baker, in England, is almost completely supplanted by the name Baxter in Scotland, and all the Bakers may be considered as of English origin. The English surname Fox is quite superseded by the Scottish form, Tod, which is a very common name having the same meaning. The English surname, Bullock, is known in Scotland by the common surname of Stott, which has the same meaning. The English surname, Crow, takes the form of Craw. The English surname, Dove, takes the form of Dow, as does the English surname, Love, the Scottish form of Low, &c.; but even one of the cosmopolitan and very common surnames receives its characteristic modification in the two countries, seeing Robinsons in England become converted into Robertsons in Scotland.

The following table shows the fifty most common surnames in Scotland, from the indices of the registers for the years 1855, 1856, and 1858, with the number on the indices,and the estimated population holding the surname in 1861:

Surname	Number on Indices	Pop. holding Surname in 1861
Smith	8,835	44,378
Macdonald	7,480	37,572
Brown	6,733	33,820
Robertson	6,490	32,600
Thomson	6,482	32,560
Stewart	6,338	31,836
Campbell	6,282	31,555
Wilson	5,921	29,741
Anderson	5,634	28,300
Mackay	4,746	23,840
Mackenzie	4,633	23,272
Scott	4,448	22,342
Johnston	4,294	21,569
Miller	4,244	21,318
Reid	3,991	20,047
Ross	3,634	18,254
Paterson	3,593	18,048
Fraser	3,586	18,013
Murray	3,505	17,606
Maclean	3,459	17,375
Cameron	3,345	16,802
Clark	3,344	16,797
Young	3,318	16,705
Henderson	3,264	16,394
Macleod	3,100	15,571
Taylor	3,092	15,535
Mitchell	3,019	15,164
Watson	2,973	14,933
Ferguson	2,952	14,828
Walker	2,896	14,547
Morrison	2,883	14,482
Davidson	2,525	12,683
Gray	2,500	12,557
Duncan	2,482	12,467
Hamilton	2,445	12,822
Grant	2,426	12,186
Hunter	2,355	11,829
White	2,353	11,819
Graham	2,331	11,709
Allan	2,305	11,578
Kerr	2,219	11,146
Macgregor	2,204	11,070
Bell	2,115	10,624
Simpson	2,100	10,546
Martin	2,064	10,367
Black	2,021	10,151
Munro	2,015	10,098
Sinclair	1,967	9,880
Sutherland	1,954	9,818
Gibson	1,853	9,307
50 Surnames	180,748	907,920

The total names on the indices amount to 609,689.

The following table shows the fifty most common surnames in England, deduced from the indices of 1853, with the estimated population holding each surname in 1853—the population of 1853 being estimated at 18,404,421 persons:

Surname	Pop. holding each Surname	Surname	Pop. holding each Surname
Smith	253,600	Cooper	48,400
Jones	242,100	Harrison	47,200
Williams	159,900	Ward	45,700
Taylor	124,400	Martin	43,900
Davies	113,600	Davis	43,700
Brown	105,600	Baker	43,600
Thomas	94,000	Morris	43,400
Evans	93,000	James	43,100
Roberts	78,400	King	42,300
Johnson	69,500	Morgan	41,000
Wilson	66,800	Allen	40,500
Robinson	66,700	Moore	39,300
Wright	62,700	Parker	39,100
Wood	61,200	Clarke	38,100
Thompson	60,600	Cook	38,100
Hall	60,400	Price	37,900
Green	59,400	Phillips	37,900
Walker	59,300	Shaw	36,500
Hughes	59,000	Bennett	35,800
Edwards	58,100	Lee	35,200
Lewis	58,000	Watson	34,800
White	56,900	Griffiths	34,800
Turner	56,300	Carter	34,400
Jackson	55,800		
Harris	51,900	50 Surnames	3,253,800

By far the most common surname in Scotland is Smith. Of the 609,639 entries on the index in the three years above mentioned, Smith occurred 8835 times; thus, of itself, constituting nearly 1½ per cent of the total entries, and corresponding to a total population of 44,378 Smiths in Scotland in 1861. It is also the most common surname in England, but not quite so prevalent as in Scotland; for while England only has one Smith in every 73 persons, Scotland has one Smith in every 68.

After the cosmopolitan surname Smith, the next most common in Scotland is a purely Scottish one—Macdonald. In this respect England agrees with Scotland that, after its commonest cosmopolitan name, Smith, comes a purely English and Welsh surname—Jones. Of the total names on the three years' indices, Macdonald claims 7480, being about 1.2 per cent of the whole, and corresponding to a population of 37,572 Macdonalds in Scotland in 1861.

The cosmopolitan name, Brown, is the third most common surname in Scotland, but only the sixth in England, and constituted rather more than 1 per cent of the total names.

Robertson and Thomson, with their varied spellings, constituted the fourth and fifth most common surnames; the English forms Robinson and Thompson being swamped by the great preponderance of the Scottish forms of these names. These two surnames may be regarded as equally prevalent in the population, and, as such, constituting 1 per cent of the population.

Stewart—with its rarer spelling of Stuart—and Campbell, both purely Scottish names, are the sixth and seventh most common surnames in Scotland; and they are followed by Wilson, a name equally common to the two countries.

These names are followed, in succession, by Anderson, Mackay, Mackenzie, Scott, Johnston, Miller, Reid, and Ross, all of which may be regarded as purely Scottish names, for the English form of one of them is Johnson, which is rare in Scotland; and these surnames are succeeded by Paterson, Fraser, Murray, Maclean, and Cameron, all of them also of Scottish origin. Of these fifty most common surnames in Scotland, 32, in the forms in which they occur in Scotland, may be reckoned as having originated in the country, and as being peculiar to it—a very large proportion, considering all circumstances. The remainder are common also to England.

The nomenclature of the people of Scotland would be incomplete unless some notice were taken of the names proper, or Christian names. Unlike the surnames both for men and women, these names are few in number; according to the tables appended, numbering 67 for the men and 86 for the women. These tables will give a very good idea of the relative prevalence of each Christian name in Scotland, inasmuch as they embrace all the Christian names attached to six of the most common surnames for the males, and all those attached to seven of the most common surnames in the females, and the figures attached to each name show the number of times when that name occurred among the total 3690 male names, and the 3689 female names. We have, unfortunately, no similar tables for England. From these tables, it will be seen that John and James are by far the most common Christian names for men; after which come, in regular order, William, Alexander, Robert, George, David, Thomas, and Andrew. These names are greatly ahead of the rest in frequency. Of the female names, Margaret is rather the most frequent though Mary is very close upon it. In the Highland clans Mary decidedly preponderates, but Margaret in all other parts of Scotland. After these come, in order, Elizabeth, Ann, Jane, Janet, Isabella, Agnes, Catherine, Helen, Christina, and Jessie. These names are greatly ahead of the rest in frequency.

The following is a table of male Christian names in Scotland, showing the comparative frequency with which each name occurs in the birth indices of the six most common surnames, including 3690 entries:

Name	Entries of each	Name	Entries of each
John	563	Henry	18
James	508	Daniel	17
William	473	Neil	17
Alexander	518	Malcolm	16
Robert	225	Francis	15
George	159	Matthew	11
David	153	Roderick	11
Thomas	139	Richard	9
Andrew	102	Allan	9
Charles	65	Edward	9
Peter	64	Norman	9
Hugh	49	Kenneth	8
Archibald	49	Adam	8
Angus	40	Dugald	6
Duncan	28	Lachlan	5
Donald	28	Murdoch	5
Walter	26	Ronald	4
Joseph	24	Gilbert	3
Colin	22	Ebenezer	3
Samuel	19		

The following is a table of female Christian names in Scotland, showing the comparative frequency with which each name occurs in the birth indices of the seven most common surnames, including 3689 entries:

Name	Entries of each	Name	Entries of each
Margaret	470	Wilhelmina	14
Mary	462	Alice	12
Elizabeth	303	Joan	12
Ann	271	Marjory	10
Jane	262	Amelia	8
Janet	213	Ellen	8
Isabella	212	Maria	8
Agnes	193	Robina	8
Catherine	166	Rachael	7
Helen	138	Elspet	6
Christina-iana	107	Caroline	5
Jessie	102	Lilly—Lillias	5
Marion	58	Louisa	5
Jean—Jeanie	48	Matilda	5
Sarah	47	Rebecca	5
Barbara	32	Alison	4
Grace	27	Frances—Fanny	4
Eliza	25	Hannah	4
Betsy	21	Harriet	4
Euphemia	18	Henrietta	4
Martha	17	Susannah	4
Flora	16	Cecilia	3
Charlotte	14	Emily	3
Georgina	14	Rose	3
Jemima	14	Sophia	3
Susan	14		

APPENDIX X

FAMILIES OF SCOTLAND

The following is a list of some of the families of Scotland, with the names of the districts and periods in which they appear first to have become established, to have attained distinction, or to have found a place in existing records. The list also contains many of the Scottish titles of the nobles, with the family names of their past and present possessors. (See also Appendix Q, "The Ragman Roll" and Appendix Y, "Scottish Dignitaries.")

Abercorn, dukedom of—Hamilton family.
Abercromby—Banffshire, Fifeshire, and Aberdeenshire; before 1300; lordships of Glassford and Dunfermline.
Abercromby, barony of — Sandilands family.
Aberdeen, earldom of—Gordon family.
Abernethy — Perthshire, Berwickshire, etc.; about 1200; baronies of Abernethy and Saltoun.
Aboyne, earldom of—Gordon family.
Adam—Forfarshire; about 1300.
Adamson—Berwickshire and Perthshire; before 1300.
Affleck—Berwickshire.
Agnew—Wigtonshire; before 1300; of reputed Norman origin.
Aikenhead—Lanarkshire; before 1300.
Ailsa, marquisate of—Kennedy family.
Ainslie, or Anislie — Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Lanarkshire, etc.
Airlie, earldom of—Ogilvie family.
Airth, earldom of—Graham family.
Albany, dukedom of—Stuart family.
Alexander—Stirlingshire and Ayrshire; about 1450; earldom of Stirling; viscountcy of Canada.
Allan—Perthshire, and elsewhere.

Alloway—Ayrshire.
Altrie, barony of—Keith family.
Ancrum—Roxburghshire.
Ancrum, earldom of—Ker family.
Anderson—Aberdeenshire, Edinburghshire, and many other places.
Angus, earldom of—Comyn, Umfraville, Stewart and Douglas families.
Annan—Dumfriesshire.
Annan, viscountcy of—Murray and Johnstone families.
Annandale, marquisate of—Johnstone family; earldom of—Murray and Johnstone families.
Anniston—Lanarkshire; before 1300.
Anstruther—Fifeshire; 1221; barony of Anstruther.
Arbuckle—Lanarkshire.
Arbuthnot — Kincardineshire; 1105; viscountcy of Arbuthnot and lordship of Inverbervie.
Ardmannach, earldom of — Stewart family.
Argyle, dukedom of—Campbell family.
Armstrong—Roxburghshire and Dumfriesshire; before 1500.
Arnold—Linlithgowshire; before 1300.
Arnot—Fifeshire, Kinross-shire, and Ayrshire; before 1200; baronetcy of Arnot.
Arran, earldom of—Stewart and Hamilton families.
Arthur, see McArthur.
Aston—Forfarshire; 1611; lordship of Aston.
Athol, or Athole, dukedom and marquisate of—Murray family; earldom of — Galloway, Hastings, Durward, Strathbogie, Campbell, Douglas, Stewart and Murray families.
Athrie, viscountcy of—Hope family.
Auchinleck—Ayrshire and Forfarshire; before 1300.
Auchmuty—Fifeshire; before 1500.
Auchterlony — Forfarshire ; before 1400.
Avandale, lordship of—Stewart family.
Avenal—Dumfries.
Ayr, viscountcy of—Crichton and Stewart families.
Ayton—Berwickshire and Fifeshire; before 1200; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Badenoch — Inverness-shire; before 1400.
Badenoch, earldom of—Stuart family.
Baillie — Lanarkshire, Linlithgowshire, Haddingtonshire, and Berwickshire, barony of Lamington, 1346.
Baird — Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and Aberdeenshire; about 1200.
Balcanquhall—Fifeshire.
Balcarres, earldom of—Lindsay family.
Balfour—Fifeshire; about 1150; baronies of Burleigh and Kilwinning.
Balgonie, barony of—Leslie family.
Ballantyne, same as Bellenden and Bannatyne—Selkirkshire.
Balloch (from *Bailloch*, "the freckled") —a sept of the Clan Ranald MacDonalds.
Balmerino, barony of — Elphinstone family.
Balmuto, barony of—Boswell family.
Balnaves—Inverness-shire.
Balvaird, barony of—Murray family.
Bambreich, marquisate of — Leslie family.
Banff, barony of—Ogilvie family.
Bannatyne—Forfarshire and Ayrshire; before 1500.
Bannerman — Aberdeenshire; before 1400; baronetcy.
Barbour—Forfarshire; about 1300.
Barclay, or Berkeley—Ayrshire, Fifeshire, baronetcy; Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire; before 1200; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Bargeny, barony of—Hamilton family.
Barr—Ayrshire.
Barret — Fifeshire; lordship of Newburgh.
Barrie—Forfarshire.
Barron—Fifeshire.
Bassantin—Berwickshire.
Battison—Dumfries.
Beatson—Fifeshire; before 1500.
Beattie, or Beatty— Dumfries, Aberdeenshire, and Kincardineshire.
Beaumont, marquisate of—Ker family.
Belhaven, viscountcy of — Douglas family; barony of—Hamilton family.
Bell—Dumfriesshire; before 1300; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Bellenden — Edinburghshire; before 1500; lordship of Bellenden.
Belsches — Roxburghshire, Perthshire, etc.; before 1300.
Bennett — Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, etc.
Bethune, or Beaton—Fifeshire; before 1200; barony of Bethune; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Beveridge—Fifeshire, etc.
Biggar—Lanarkshire.
Binnie—Linlithgowshire; about 1300.
Binning—Ayrshire.
Birnie—Elginshire; about 1300.
Bisset, or Byset—Moray, Aberdeenshire, and Berwickshire; before 1200; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Blackadder — Berwickshire and Perthshire; about 1450.
Blair—Ayrshire, Perthshire, Renfrewshire, and Wigtonshire; about 1200; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.

Blane—Ayrshire and Stirlingshire.
Blantyre, barony of—Stuart family.
Blassonbery, viscountcy of — Home family.
Bogue, Boag, or Boog—Roxburghshire, and other places.
Bonar, or Bonner—Perthshire; before 1200; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Bonhill—Dumbartonshire.
Borthwick—Selkirkshire, Berwickshire, and Edinburghshire; lordship of Borthwick.
Boswell—Fifeshire and Roxburghshire; before 1200; barony of Balmuto; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Bothwell — Lanarkshire; lordship of Holyroodhouse.
Bothwell, earldom of—Stuart and Hepburn families.
Bowden—Roxburghshire.
Bower — Haddingtonshire, Perthshire, etc.
Bowman—Fifeshire, etc.
Boyce, Boys, Bois, Boece—Forfarshire.
Boyd—Ayrshire; before 1200; earldoms of Arran and Kilmarnock (forfeited).
Boyle—Ayrshire; before 1300; earldom of Glasgow; viscountcy of Kilburn; lordship of Ross.
Breadalbane, earldom of — Campbell family.
Brechin — Forfarshire, before 1247; lordship of Brechin.
Brice, see Bryce.
Brisbane—Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Stirlingshire, and Roxburghshire; before 1400.
Brodie—Elginshire and Caithness-shire; before 1300.
Bromfield, or Brumfield — Berwickshire.
Broughton—Peeblesshire.
Broun—Haddingtonshire, Berwickshire, etc.; about 1100.
Broxmouth, viscountcy of—Ker family.
Bruce — Dumfriesshire; before 1200; kingdom of Scotland; earldoms of Carrick, Elgin, and Kincardine; lordships of Annandale, Bruce, and Kinloss; barony of Bathgate; of Anglo-Norman origin.
Brunton—Edinburghshire.
Bryce, same as Bruys or Bruce—Lanarkshire, etc.
Buccleuch, dukedom and earldom of—Scott family.
Buchan—Aberdeenshire and Banffshire.
Buchan, earldom of—Comyn, Stewart, Douglas, and Erskine families.
Buchanan—Stirlingshire; about 1200.
Buchanan, marquisate of — Graham family.
Bulloch — Stirlingshire; before 1600. Same as Balloch.
Bunkle—Berwickshire.
Bunting, Buntine, etc.—Ayrshire, Peeblesshire etc.
Burnet — Peeblesshire, Dumfriesshire, and Kincardineshire; 1128; baronetcy.
Burns—Kincardineshire and Ayrshire; before 1300.
Bute, marquisate and earldom of — Stewart family.
Buttar—Perthshire.
Cairnie—Aberdeenshire.
Cadell—Haddingtonshire.
Caithness, earldom of — Stewart, Sinclair, or St. Clair, Campbell, and Crichton families.
Calder, or Cawdor—Nairnshire; about 1100; thaneship and barony.
Calderwood—Lanarkshire; before 1300.
Caldwell—Renfrewshire and Ayrshire; about 1300.
Calhoun, same as Colquhoun.
Callander—Stirlingshire; before 1300.
Callendar, earldom of — Livingstone family.
Cameron—Inverness and Argyleshire; before 1300; barony of Lochiel.
Campbell — Argyleshire ; Perthshire, Banffshire, etc,; before 1300; dukedom of Argyle; marquisates of Lorne and Kintyre ; earldoms of Athol, Breadalbane, Caithness, Campbell, Cowal, Irwin, Isla (or Ilay), and Loudoun; viscountcies of Lochow, Glenisla, Glenorchy, and Taymouth; lordships of Arrois, Benedoraloch, Denoon, Inverary, Lundie, Mauchlane, Morvern, Mull, Ormlie, Oronsay, Paintland, Tyrie, and Wick. Of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Camperdown, earldom of — Duncan-Haldane family.
Canada, viscountcy of—Alexander family.
Cardross, lordship of—Erskine family.
Carey—England; viscountcy of Falkland.
Cargill—Perthshire.
Carlyle — Dumfriesshire; before 1200; lordship of Carlyle.
Carmichael—Lanarkshire; about 1350; earldom of Hynford; viscountcies of Nemphlar and Inglisbery; lordship of Carmichael.
Carnahan—Galloway.
Carncross—Roxburghshire.
Carnegie — Forfarshire; about 1350; earldoms of Ethie, Northesk, and Southesk; lordships of Carnegie, Lour, and Rosehill.
Carnwath, earldom of—Dalzell family.

Carrick—Ayrshire; before 1200; earldom of Cassillis.
Carrick, earldom of—Kilconath, Bruce, Cunningham, and Stewart families.
Carrington—Edinburghshire.
Carruthers — Dumfriesshire and Roxburgshire; about 1450.
Carse—Dumfriesshire, etc.
Carson, or Corson—Dumfriesshire; before 1300.
Carstairs—Lanarkshire and Fifeshire.
Cassillis, earldom of—Carrick and Kennedy families.
Cathcart—Ayrshire and Renfrewshire; before 1200; lordship of Cathcart.
Cawdor, earldom of—Campbell family.
Cessford, marquisate of—Ker family.
Cessnock, or Cessna—Ayrshire.
Chalmer, or Chambers—Ayrshire; 1124.
Chalmers—Aberdeenshire; a branch of the clan Cameron.
Chambers, see Chalmer.
Chancellor—Lanarkshire; about 1400.
Chapman—Edinburghshire (1500), etc.
Charteris — Dumfriesshire, Roxburghshire, and Perthshire; before 1200; barony of Wilton; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Cheyne—Aberdeenshire; before 1300; viscountcy of Newhaven.
Chirnside—Berwickshire.
Chisholm — Berwickshire, Invernessshire, Perthshire, and Roxburghshire; before 1300.
Clanohan—Galloway.
Clark, or Clerk—Perthshire, Argyleshire, Fifeshire, Edinburghshire, etc.; before 1300.
Clayhills—Forfarshire.
Cleland, or Kneland—Lanarkshire; before 1300.
Clendenning, see Glendinning.
Clephane—Berwickshire and Fifeshire; before 1200.
Clydesdale, marquisate of — Hamilton family.
Cochrane—Renfrewshire and Ayrshire; before 1300; earldom of Dundonald; lordship of Cochrane.
Cockburn—Berwickshire, Haddingtonshire, Peeblesshire, and Linlithgowshire; before 1300; baronies of Carriden and Langton.
Colquhoun — Dumbartonshire; before 1200; baronetcy. Calhoun and Cowan are American variations of this name.
Colt—Haddingtonshire and Lanarkshire; before 1600; of Huguenot origin.
Colville — Ayrshire and Stirlingshire; before 1200; baronies of Kinnaird, and Ochiltree; lordship of Colville; barony of Easter Wemyss; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Congalton—Haddingtonshire; baronies of Congalton and Tarbet.
Constable — Haddingtonshire; viscountcy of Dunbar.
Cooper, Coupar, or Cupar—Fifeshire, etc.; about 1600.
Copeland—Dumfriesshire; before 1400.
Corbet—Dumfriesshire and Roxburghshire; before 1200; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Corrie—Dumfriesshire and Ayrshire; before 1400.
Corsan, now Carson—Dumfriesshire; before 1300.
Coulthart, Coultart, or Coulthard—Wigtonshire and Ayrshire; before 1300. In America usually found as Coulter. See also Culter.
Coupar, barony of—Elphinstone family.
Coupar—Ayrshire and Fifeshire.
Coutts—Forfarshire.
Cowal, earldom of—Campbell family.
Cowan, or Cowin—a variation of Colquhoun and Gowan (see Gow).
Craichton—Galloway.
Craig—Edinburghshire, Aberdeenshire, Forfarshire, etc.; before 1400.
Craigie — Linlithgowshire, Perthshire, Ayrshire, Orkneys, etc.; before 1300.
Craik — Kirkcudbrightshire ; before 1300.
Crail—Fifeshire; before 1300.
Cramond—Forfarshire; before 1300.
Cranshaw—Berwickshire.
Cranstoun—Edinburghshire, Roxburghshire, Peeblesshire, and Berwickshire; before 1200; lordship of Cranstoun.
Craw—Berwickshire.
Crawford, Crauford, Crawfoot, etc.—Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and Stirlingshire; before 1200; viscountcy of Mount Crawford and Garnock; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Crawford, earldom of—Lindsay family.
Cree—Ayrshire and Galloway.
Creech—Fifeshire and Sutherlandshire.
Creswell—Lanarkshire, Roxburghshire, etc.; before 1300.
Crichton, or Creighton — Edinburghshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Peblesshire, Dumfries, etc.; before 1200; earldoms of Caithness and Dumfries; viscountcies of Ayr and, Frendraught; lordships of Crichton and Cumnock.
Cromarty, earldom of—MacKenzie family.
Crombie—Fifeshire.
Crosby—Berwickshire.
Croser—Dumbartonshire.
Cruden—Aberdeenshire.

Cullom (originally McCullom)—Argyleshire.
Culter—Lanarkshire.
Cumin, Cumming, Comyn, or Cumyn — Inverness-shire, Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and Elginshire; about 1120; earldoms of Buchan and Menteith; lordship of Badenoch; of Anglo-Norman origin.
Cunningham—Ayrshire; about 1200; earldoms of Carrick and Glencairn; lordship of Cuninghame.
Currie—Dumfriesshire; about 1300.
Cuthbert—Inverness-shire.
Dalgairns (originally Dalgarno)—Dumfriesshire and Aberdeenshire.
Dalgetty — Fifeshire and Aberdeenshire.
Dalgleish—Selkirkshire, etc.
Dalhousie, marquisate and earldom of —Ramsay family.
Dallas—Elginshire.
Dalmahoy — Edinburghshire; before 1300; barony of Dalmahoy.
Dalrymple — Ayrshire, Berwickshire, Wigtonshire; earldoms of Dumfries and Stair; viscountcy and barony of Dalrymple; lordships of Glenluce, Newliston, and Stranraer; before 1300.
Dalton—Dumfriesshire.
Dalzell, Dalziel, or Dalyell—Lanarkshire, Linlithgowshire; earldom of Carnwath; lordship of Dalzell; before 1300.
Darnley—Renfrewshire.
Darnley, earldom of—Stewart family.
Darsie—Fifeshire.
Davidson—Inverness-shire, Cromartyshire, and Ross-shire.
Deloraine, earldom of—Scott family.
Dempster—Aberdeenshire, Isle of Man; before 1350.
Denholm—Roxburghshire.
Denny—Stirlingshire.
Denoon, or Dunoon — Argyleshire; before 1300.
Dennistoun — Renfrewshire and Dumbartonshire; before 1300; lordship of Dennistoun.
Dick — Edinburghshire, Peeblesshire, Orkneys, etc.; before 1300; of reputed Danish origin.
Dickson — Berwickshire, Lanarkshire, etc.; before 1500.
Dingwall—Ross-shire.
Dingwall, lordship—Keith and Preston families.
Dinwoodie, Dunwoody, or Dunwithie —Dumfriesshire; before 1300.
Dirleton, earldom of—Maxwell family.
Dischington, or Distin—Fifeshire; before 1460.
Don—Berwickshire and Perthshire.
Donaldson—Aberdeenshire, Edinburghshire, Lanarkshire, etc.
Douglas — Lanarkshire, Forfarshire, Peeblesshire, Selkirkshire, Edinburghshire, etc.; before 1200; dukedoms of Douglas, Hamilton, and Queensberry; marquisates of Dumfriesshire and Queensberry; earldoms of Angus, Athol, Buchan, Douglas, Drumlanrig, Dumbarton, Sanquhar, Forfar, March, Moray, Morton, Ormond, Queensberry, Solway, Selkirk; viscountcies of Belhaven, Nith, Torthorwald, Ross; lordships of Balvenie, Bothwell, Carlisle, Dair, Shortcleuch, Dalkeith, Aberdour, Ettrick, Hartside, Liddesdale, Mordington; barony of Tibbers, etc.
Drumlanrig, earldom of — Douglas and Scott families.
Drummond — Perthshire, Edinburghshire, and Stirlingshire; before 1300; earldoms of Perth and Melfort; viscountcies of Forth, Melfort and Strathallan; lordships of Cromlix, Madderty, Riccarton, etc; baronies of Carnock and Madderty.
Drysdale—Dumfriesshire.
Duff—Fifeshire, Banffshire, and Elginshire; earldom of Fife.
Dumbarton, earldom of — Douglas family.
Dumfries, earldom of—Dalrymple, MacDowall, Crichton, and Stewart families.
Dumfriesshire, marquisate of—Douglas and Scott families.
Dun—Forfarshire, etc.
Dunbar—Haddingtonshire; before 1300; earldoms of March and Moray; six baronetcies.
Dunbar, earldom of—Home family; viscountcy of—Constable family.
Dunblane, viscountcy of—Osborne family.
Duncan—Forfarshire; before 1700; earldoms of Camperdown, Gleneagles, and Lundie; viscountcy of Duncan; barony of Lundie; of reputed Norse origin.
Dundas — Perthshire, Linlithgowshire, and Edinburghshire; before 1200; viscountcy of Melville; barony of Dunira.
Dundee, earldom of—Scrimgeour family; viscountcy of—Graham family.
Dundonald, earldom of—Cochrane family.
Dundy—Peeblesshire, Forfarshire, etc.; before 1300.
Dunfermline, earldom of—Seton family.
Dunlop—Ayrshire; 1260.
Dunmore, earldom of—Murray family.

Duns—Berwickshire.
Dunwoody, see Dinwiddie.
Dupplin, viscountcy of—Hay family.
Durham—Forfarshire; about 1300.
Durie—Fifeshire; before 1250.
Durward—Perthshire, etc.
Dysart—Fifeshire.
Dysart, earldom of—Murray and Tollemachen families.
Eccles—Ayrshire and Berwickshire.
Edgar—Berwickshire.
Edmonstone—Edinburghshire, Selkirkshire, etc. 1248.
Eglesheim, or Eglesame—Renfrewshire and Ayrshire.
Eglinton—Ayrshire; before 1200.
Eglinton, earldom of — Montgomery family.
Elgin, earldom of—Bruce family.
Ellam—Berwickshire.
Elliot—Forfarshire, Dumfriesshire, and Roxburghshire before 1300; earldom of Minto.
Elphinstone—Edinburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, etc.; before 1400; lordships of Elphinstone, Balmerino, and Coupar.
Elwood, same as Elliot.
Ely—Fifeshire.
Enzie, earldom of—Gordon family.
Errol, earldom of—Hay family.
Erskine — Renfrewshire, Forfarshire, Fifeshire etc.; about 1200; earldoms of Mar, Buchan, Kellie, Rosslyn; viscountcy of Fenton; lordships of Erskine, Cardross, and Dirleton; barony of Dun; etc.
Ewart—Kirkcudbrightshire and Roxburghshire; before 1600
Ewing, or Ewen—Aberdeenshire, Edinburghshire, etc.
Fairfoul—Lanarkshire, etc.
Fairley—Ayrshire; about 1300.
Fairlie—Edinburghshire; before 1600.
Falconer—Kincardineshire; lordship of Falconer.
Falkland, viscountcy of — Carey family.
Farquhar—Ayrshire (before 1400) and Aberdeenshire (before 1660)
Farquharson — Aberdeenshire, Perthshire, and Forfarshire; about 1400.
Fenton, viscountcy of—Erskine family.
Fenwick—Ayrshire.
Fergushill—Ayrshire.
Ferguson, or Fergusson—Dumfriesshire, Ayrshire, Wigtonshire, Perthshire, Forfarshire, Fifeshire, etc.; 1466.
Ferrier — Haddingtonshire; before 1250.
Fife, marquisate of—Hepburn Family; earldom of—Ramsay, Stewart, Byset, Dunbar, Duff, and MacDuff families.
Fincastle, viscountcy of—Murray family.
Findlater—Banffshire.
Findlater, earldom of—Ogilvie family.
Findlayson—Perthshire, etc.
Finley—Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Nairnshire, etc,
Fleming — Lanarkshire, Dumbartonshire, Renfrewshire, Wigtonshire, Peeblesshire; earldom of Wigton; lordships of Fleming and Cumbernauld before 1200; of Flemish origin.
Fletcher — Haddingtonshire; before 1600.
Forbes — Aberdeenshire and Argyleshire; before 1200; lordship of Forbes.
Fordyce — Banffshire and Aberdeenshire.
Forfar, earldom of—Douglas family.
Formartine, viscountcy of—Gordon family.
Forrest—Edinburghshire, Linlithgowshire, etc.
Forrester — Edinburghshire, Berwickshire, Stirlingshire; before 1500; lordship of Forrester.
Forret—Fifeshire; before 1420.
Forsyth—Stirlingshire; before 1300.
Forth, earldom of—Ruthven family; viscountcy of—Drummond family.
Fortross, viscountcy of—MacKenzie family.
Fothringham—Forfarshire; before 1300.
Foulis — Edinburghshire, Perthshire, Ross-shire, Forfarshire; before 1100.
Francis—Fifeshire, Edinburghshire, etc.; before 1300.
Fraser—Haddingtonshire, Aberdeenshire (lordship of Fraser; barony of Saltoun), Inverness-shire, Peeblesshire, Ross-shire (barony of Lovat) and Stirlingshire; before 1150; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
French—Dumfriesshire, etc.
Frendraught, viscountcy of—Crichton family.
Froude—Peeblesshire.
Fullarton (originally Foullertoun) — Ayrshire; before 1300; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Fulton, a contraction of Fullarton.
Galbraith—Dumbartonshire and Stirlingshire; before 1250.
Galloway—Wigtonshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Perthshire; earldom of Athol; lordship of Dunkeld.
Galloway, earldom of—Stewart family.
Galston—Ayrshire.
Galt—Ayrshire.
Garlock, or Gairlock—Dumbartonshire and Ross-shire.
Garnock, viscountcy of — Crawford family.

Garthshore—Dumbartonshire.
Gavin, or Given—Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire.
Ged—Edinburghshire, etc.
Geddes—Nairnshire, Peeblesshire, etc.
Gemmel—Ayrshire.
Gerard—Aberdeenshire.
Gib, or Gibb—Perthshire, etc.
Gibson — Fifeshire Edinburghshire, etc.; before 1300; lordship of Durie.
Gifford—Haddingtonshire; before 1200; of Anglo-Norman origin; lordship of Yester.
Gifford, earldom of—Hay family.
Gilchrist — Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, etc.
Gilfillan—Stirlingshire.
Gillies—Forfarshire, etc.
Gillespie — Fifeshire, Edinburghshire, Galloway, etc.
Gilmore, or Gilmour—Edinburghshire, etc.; before 1600; barony of Gilmour.
Gladstone—Lanarkshire and Roxburghshire; before 1400.
Glammis, lordship of—Lyon family.
Glas—Fifeshire, Stirlingshire, etc.
Glasgow, earldom of—Boyle family.
Gleig—Perthshire, etc.
Glenalmond, viscountcy of—Murray family.
Glencairn, earldom of—Cunningham family.
Glendenning—Dumfrieshire and Kirkcudbrightshire.
Gleneagles, earldom of — Duncan-Haldane family.
Glenisla, viscountcy of—Campbell family.
Glenorchy, viscountcy of — Campbell family.
Gordon—Aberdeenshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Banffshire, Berwickshire, Sutherlandshire, etc.; before 1150; dukedom and marquisates of Gordon and Huntly; earldoms of Aberdeen, Aboyne, Enzie, Huntly, Moray; viscountcies of Formartine, Inverness, Kenmure, Meldrum; lordships of Badenoch, etc., Haddo, etc., Lochinvar, Strathaven, etc.; of reputed Norman origin.
Gow, or Gowan—A surname derived from a Gælic word signifying Smith.
Gowrie, earldom of—Ruthven family.
Graham, or Graeme—Linlithgowshire, Forfarshire, Perthshire, Stirlingshire, Dumfriesshire; before 1150; dukedom, marquisates, and earldom of Montrose; marquisate of Graham and Buchanan; earldoms of Airth, Kincardine, Menteith, and Strathern; viscountcies of Dundas, Dundee, and Preston; lordships of Aberuthven, Kilpoint etc.; barony of Esk, etc.; of reputed Norman origin.
Grant — Inverness-shire, Elginshire, Banffshire; before 1250; lordship of Glenelg.
Gray—Perthshire; about 1300; lordship of Gray; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Greenlaw—Berwickshire.
Greer. See Grierson.
Gregory—Aberdeenshire, before 1600; originally MacGregor.
Greig, or Gregg—Fifeshire, etc.
Grierson, Grier, or Greer (synonymous with MacGregor)—Dumfriesshire; before 1400.
Grinislaw—Roxburghshire.
Guild—Aberdeenshire, etc.
Gunn—Caithness and Sutherlandshire; before 1400.
Guthrie — Forfarshire, Ayrshire, etc.; before 1300.
Hackston, a corruption of Halkerston.
Haddington, earldom of — Hamilton family; viscountcy of — Ramsay family.
Haig—Berwickshire; before 1200.
Haitlie—Berwickshire.
Haldane—Perthshire; before 1300.
Hales—Edinburghshire, etc.
Halkerston—Kincardineshire.
Halket—Fifeshire and Renfrewshire; before 1400.
Hall—Haddingtonshire, Roxburghshire, etc.
Halliday—Dumfriesshire; before 1200.
Halyburton — Berwickshire; before 1200; lordship of Haliburton.
Hamilton—Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire; before 1300; dukedom of Hamilton (and of Chatelherault in France); marquisates of Clydesdale and Hamilton; earldoms of Arran, Haddington, Lanark, Melrose, Orkney, Rothes, Ruglen; viscountcy of Kirkwall; lordships of Aberbrothwick, Abercorn, Binning, Byres, Haliburton, Hamilton, Kilpatrick, Machanshire, Mountcastle, Paisley, Polmount, Riccarton; baronies of Bargeny, Belhaven, and Stenton; of reputed Norman origin.
Hamilton, dukedom of — Hamilton, Douglas, and Hamilton families.
Hannay—Wigtonshire and Fifeshire; before 1300; of reputed Norse origin.
Harrie—Ayrshire.
Hartfield, earldom of — Johnstone family.
Hastings—Perth; earldom of Athol.

Hay — Perthshire, Fifeshire, Peeblesshire, Banffshire, Wigtonshire; before 1300; marquisate of Tweeddale; earldoms of Errol, Gifford, Kinnoul, and Kilmarnock (and of Carlisle in England); viscountcies of Dupplin and Walden; lordships of Hayand Kinfauns; of reputed Norman origin.
Henderson — Fifeshire, Dumfriesshire, etc.; before 1600.
Henry — Stirlingshire, Aberdeenshire, etc.
Hepburn — Haddingtonshire ; before 1300; dukedom of Orkney; marquisate of Fife; earldom of Bothwell; lordship of Hailes.
Heriot — Haddingtonshire and Edinburghshire; before 1350.
Hermitage, viscountcy of—Scott family.
Heron—Kirkcudbright, etc.
Herries—Dumfriesshire; before 1500; barony of Herries.
Hewitt—Dumfrieshire, etc.
Hilton—Berwickshire, etc.
Hislop—Dumfriesshire, etc.
Hogg—Perthshire, Selkirkshire, etc.
Home, or Hume—Berwickshire; before 1300; earldoms of Home, Marchmont, and Dunbar; viscountcy of Blassonbery; lordships of Dunglass, Greenlaw, Polwarth, Redbraes.
Honyman—Orkneys.
Hope—Fifeshire and Edinburghshire; before 1300; earldom of Hopetoun; viscountcy of Athrie; of reputed Norman origin.
Horsburgh—Peeblesshire, Fifeshire, etc.
Houston, or Huston—Renfrewshire.
Howie—Ayrshire,
Hozier—Lanarkshire.
Hume, see Home.
Hunter—Ayrshire, Peeblesshire, Renfrewshire, Dumfriesshire, Forfarshire, etc.; before 1250; of reputed Norman origin.
Huntly, marquisate of—Gordon family; earldom of—Gordon and Seton families.
Hutton—Berwickshire and Dumfriesshire
Hyndford, earldom of — Carmichael family.
Inglis — Roxburghshire, Peeblesshire, etc.; before 1300.
Inglisbery, viscountcy of—Carmichael family.
Innes—Nairnshire, Banffshire, etc.; before 1250.
Inverness, viscountcy of — Gordon family.
Irvine—Dumfries and Aberdeenshire; about 1300.
Irving, or Irwin, Erwin, etc., the Dumfries form of Irvine.
Irwin, earldom of—Campbell fam ly.
Isla (or Ilay), earldom of—Campbell family.
Jack—Ayrshire, Lancashire, etc.; before 1600.
Jameson, Jamieson, etc. — Aberdeenshire, Lanarkshire, Clackmananshire, etc.,
Jardine—Dumfriesshire; before 1200.
Johnstone, or Johnston — Dumfriesshire ; about 1300 ; marquisate of Annandale; earldom of Annandale and Hartfield; viscountcy of Annan; lordships of Evandale, Lochmaben, and Moffat.
Kail, or Kale—Roxburghshire.
Keill—Edinburghshire.
Keir—Dumfriesshire.
Keith — Haddingtonshire, Aberdeenshire, Ayrshire, Kincardineshire; before 1150; earldoms of Kintore and Marischal; barony of Altrie; lordship of Keith.
Kellie, or Kelly—Renfrewshire.
Kellie, earldom of—Erskine family.
Kells—Kirkcudbrightshire.
Kelso—Ayrshire, Roxburghshire, etc.
Kelso, earldom of—Ker family.
Kemp—Edinburghshire, etc.
Kenmure, viscountcy of—Gordon family.
Kennedy — Ayrshire, Kirkcudbrightshire; before 1300; marquisate of Ailsa; earldom of Cassillis.
Ker, Kerr, or Carr—Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Edinburghshire, Wigtonshire, and Ayrshire ; before 1300; dukedom of Roxburgh; marquisates of Beaumont, Cessford, and Lothian; earldoms of Ancrum, Kelso, Lothian, and Roxburgh; viscountcy of Broxmouth; lordships of Caverton, Ker, Newbattle; of reputed Norman origin.
Kilgore, or Kilgour—Fifeshire.
Kilmarnock, earldom of—Boyd and Hay families.
Kilpatrick—Dumbartonshire and Stirlingshire.
Kilsyth, viscountcy of—Livingstone family.
Kincardine, earldom of—Bruce and Graham families.
King—Aberdeenshire, etc.; before 1300; lordship of Eythen.
Kingarf, viscountcy of—Stewart family.
Kinghorn, earldom of—Lyon family.
Kingston, viscountcy of—Seton family.
Kinloch—Fifeshire; before 1300.
Kinniard—Perthshire; before 1200; barony of Kinnaird.

Kinniard, viscountcy of—Lindsay family; barony of—Colville and Kinnaird families.
Kinnoul, earldom of—Hay family.
Kintore, earldom of—Keith family.
Kintyre, marquisate of—Campbell family.
Kirk, Kirko—Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, etc.
Kirkaldy—Fifeshire; before 1350.
Kirkaldy, viscountcy of—Melville family.
Kirkcudbright, barony of—MacLellan family.
Kirkpatrick—Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire; before 1200.
Kirkton—Roxburghshire.
Kirkwall, viscountcy of—Hamilton family.
Kneland, now Cleland, which see.
Knox—Renfrewshire and Haddingtonshire; before 1300.
Kynninmond—Fifeshire; before 1170.
Laidlaw—Selkirkshire, Roxburghshire, etc.
Laing—Edinburghshire, etc.
Lamberton—Berwickshire; before 1300.
Lamont, or Lamond—Argyleshire; before 1300.
Lanark, earldom of—Hamilton family.
Landsborough—Kirkcudbrightshire, etc.
Langlands—Roxburghshire.
Latimer—Roxburghshire, etc.
Lauder—Berwickshire; before 1200; of reputed Anglo-Saxon origin.
Lauderdale, dukedom and earldom of—Maitland family.
Lawson—Dumfries.
Learmonth — Berwickshire and Fifeshire.
Leckie—Dumbartonshire.
Leechman—Lanarkshire, etc.
Leighton—Forfarshire, etc.
Leith—Aberdeenshire; before 1300; of reputed Norman origin.
Lennox—Dumbartonshire.
Lennox, dukedom and earldom of—De Fasselane, Stewart, and Lennox families.
Leslie — Fifeshire, Aberdeenshire and Elginshire; before 1200; dukedom of Rothes; marquisate of Bambreich; earldoms of Leslie, Leven, Ross, and Rothes; viscountcy of Lugton; lordships of Auchmoutie, Caskiebery, Balgonie, Lindores, Newark; of reputed Flemish origin.
Leven, earldom of—Leslie and Melville families.
Liddell—Aberdeenshire, etc.
Lindsay—Roxburghshire, Fifeshire, Berwickshire, and Haddingtonshire; 1116; dukedom of Montrose; earldoms of Balcarres, Crawford, Lindsay; lordship of Spynie; of Norman origin.
Linn, or Lynn—Ayrshire.
Linton — Roxburghshire, Peeblesshire and Haddingtonshire.
Linlithgow, earldom of—Livingstone family.
Lithgow—Lanarkshire, etc.
Livingstone—Linlithgowshire; earldoms of Callendar, Linlithgow, and Newburgh; viscountcies of Kilsyth, Kinnaird, and Teviot; lordships of Campsie and Livingstone.
Lochiel, barony of—Cameron family.
Lochrie—Galloway.
Lochow, viscountcy of—Campbell family.
Lockhart—Lanarkshire and Ayrshire; about 1150.
Logan—Wigtonshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, and Edinburghshire; about 1200.
Lorane—Roxburghshire.
Lorne, marquisate of—Campbell family.
Lothian, marquisate and earldom of—Ker family.
Loudoun—Ayrshire; about 1150; barony of Loudoun.
Loudoun, earldom of—Campbell famliy.
Lovat—Inverness-shire.
Lovat, barony of—Fraser family.
Love — Renfrewshire, Dumbartonshire, etc.
Loyer—Ayrshire.
Luce—Wigtonshire.
Lumsden—Berwickshire and Aberdeenshire; about 1150.
Lundie, or Lundin — Forfarshire and Fifeshire; before 1100.
Lundie earldom and barony of—Duncan Family.
Lusk—Galloway.
Lyle, Lisle, or Lyell — Renfrewshire, Buteshire, Stirlingshire, Berwickshire, Forfarshire, etc.; about 1150.
Lyon—Forfarshire; earldoms of Kinghorn and Strathmore; lordship of Glammis; of reputed Norman origin; about 1100.
MacAdam (originally MacGregor)—Galloway and Ayrshire; about 1500.
MacAllaster—Argyleshire; 1284.
MacAlpin—Ross-shire and Argyleshire; a surname held by a branch of the Ross-shire or native Gael, and supposed to have been adopted from the Albanich, the first known inhabitants of Scotland. The general denomination, *Siol*, or *Cinel* (race of) Alpin, includes several clans, descendants of the race to which belonged Kenneth

McAlpin, under whom the Scots and Picts were united; namely, the clan Gregor, the clan Grant, the Mackinnons, the MacNabs, the MacDuffies or McFies, the MacQuarries, and the MacAulays.—(Anderson, vol. ii., p. 709.)

MacArthur (a sept of the clan Campbell)—Argyleshire; before 1300.

MacAulay—Dumbartonshire; see MacAlpin.

MacBean, or MacBane — Inverness; a sept of the clan Chattan; originally MacIntosh, although some members claim kinship with the Camerons.

MacBrair, MacBriar, or MacBray — Dumfriesshire.

MacCaig—Galloway.

MacCall, or MacColl—Argyleshire and Galloway; about 1500; a sept of the MacDonalds.

MacCammon, or MacCalmont—Galloway.

MacCannon—Galloway.

MacClean—Ayrshire, Moray, and Mull; see also McLean.

MacCline—Ayrshire.

MacClune—Ayrshire.

MacClure, or MacLure—Galloway.

MacCluskey—Galloway.

MacCoid—Galloway.

MacConaughey, see MacOnochie.

MacConnell, same as MacDonnell, which see.

MacCord—Ayrshire.

MacCorquodale, or MacCorkle—Argyle.

MacCosh—Galloway.

MacCrackan—Galloway.

MacCraith—Galloway.

MacCrea—Galloway.

MacCririe—Galloway.

MacCrocket—Galloway.

MacCruimin—Inverness.

MacCrone—Galloway.

MacCulloch — Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire; before 1000.

MacCullom—Argyleshire.

MacCurdy, MacKirdy, MacUrdy—Bute, Arran, etc.

MacCutcheon—Galloway.

MacDearmont—Galloway.

MacDonald, 1164—Argyle, Inverness, Ross, Arran, etc.; earldom of Ross; lordships of The Isles and MacDonald.

MacDonald of Garagach and Keppach—Inverness.

MacDonald of Glenco—Argyle.

MacDonald of The Isles—Inverness and Ross.

MacDonald of Clan Ranald—Inverness.

MacDonnell—the name adopted by the Glengarry sept of the MacDonalds; also called MacConnell—Inverness.

MacDougall, or MacDowall — Argyle, and Roxburghshire, Galloway; before 1284.

MacDowall—Galloway; a variation of MacDougall, which see; earldom of Dumfries.

MacFarlane, MacPharlan, or Macfarland—Dumbartonshire; before 1300.

MacDuff—Fifeshire; before 1060.; earldom of Fife.

MacFadden—Mull.

MacFee, or MacFie. See MacPhee.

MacGavin—Galloway and Ayrshire.

MacGeorge, originally MacIoris, or MacJore—Galloway.

MacGill—Galloway and Fifeshire; viscountcy of Oxenfurd (or Oxfurd); lordship of MacGill.

MacGillivray—Argyleshire and Mull.

MacGinnis—Galloway.

MacGivern—Galloway.

MacGregor—Perthshire and Dumfriesshire; about 1400.

MacGunnion—Galloway.

Machan—Lanarkshire.

MacHany—Galloway.

MacHatteris—Ayrshire.

MacHuisuk—Ayrshire.

MacIlmorron—Ayrshire.

MacIlroy—Ayrshire.

MacIlvaick (MacKelvey) Ayrshire.

MacIlvraith—Ayrshire.

MacIlwrick—Galloway.

MacInally—Galloway.

MacInenny—Galloway.

MacInnes—Argyleshire.

MacIntosh—Inverness and Moray; before 1200.

MacIntyre—Argyleshire; about 1300.

MacIvor—Argyleshire; 1165.

MacJanet—Galloway.

MacJerron—Galloway.

MacKane—Galloway.

MacKay — Sutherland; before 1300; lordship of Reay.

MacKennon—Galloway.

MacKenzie—Ross; before 1300; earldoms of Cromarty and Seaforth; viscountcies of Fortross and Tarbat; lordships of Castlehaven, Mackenzie, and Macleod.

MacKerlie—Wigtonshire; before 1300.

MacKerron—Galloway.

MacKerrell—Ayrshire; before 1300.

MacKever, same as MacIvor — Galloway.

MacKinlay, or MacIanla—Aberdeenshire; a surname held by a branch of the clan Farquharson (one of the septs of the clan Chattan).

MacKinna—Galloway.

MacKinnon—Islands of Skye and Mull; before 1400. See MacAlpin.

MacKinstry—Galloway.
McKnaught, McKnight, etc., — Galloway.
MacLachlan — Inverness and Argyle; before 1200.
MacLamroch—Galloway.
MacLaren, or MacLaurin—Perthshire; before 1200.
MacLean — Argyle and Mull; before 1300.
MacLellan—Kircudbright; before 1200; barony of Kirkcudbright.
MacLennan—Ross-shire; before 1300.
MacLeod—Inverness, Harris, and Lewis; before 1300.
MacLevy—Galloway.
MacLung, or MacClung—Galloway.
MacMath—Kirkcudbrightshire. etc.
MacMecking—Galloway.
MacMichael—Galloway.
MacMillan—Perth, Argyleshire, Inverness, Arran, and Galloway.
MacMonnies—Galloway.
MacMorran—Galloway.
MacMurray—Galloway.
MacMurtrie—Galloway.
MacMychen, same as MacMecking—Galloway.
MacMuldroch—Galloway.
MacMuldrow—Galloway.
MacNab—Perthshire; before 1200. See MacAlpin.
MacNachtan, or MacNaughton—Argyleshire; before 1200.
MacNae—Galloway.
MacNally—Galloway.
MacNeill — Ross-shire, and Barra and Gigha islands; about 1300.
MacNicol—Ross-shire and Skye; before 1300.
MacOnochie, or McConaughy—(descendant of the Campbells of Inverawe) —Argyleshire and Edinburghshire.
MacPhedderis—Ayrshire.
MacPhee, or MacPhie, a contraction of of MacDuffie, sometimes written MacFie—Argyleshire and Colonsay; before 1300; see MacAlpin.
MacPherson — Inverness-shire; before 1200.
MacPhredice—Galloway.
MacQuarrie—Ulva and Argyleshire; before 1400.
MacQuhir—Galloway.
MacQuhorta (MacWhorter or MacWhirter)—Ayrshire.
MacQueen—Inverness; about 1400.
MacQuie—Galloway.
MacRae—Ross-shire; before 1300.
MacReikie—Galloway.
MacRodie—Ayrshire.
MacRimmon—Hebrides.
MacRorie—Galloway.
MacTier—Galloway.
MacVane—Galloway.
MacVie—Galloway.
MacVitae—Galloway.
MacVuirich—Inverness-shire.
MacWalker—Galloway.
MacWhinnie—Galloway.
MacWhistler—Galloway.
Mader—Roxburghshire, etc.
Makcoshen—Galloway.
Makcavat—Galloway.
Makcristin—Galloway.
Makkevni—Galloway.
Maklumphere—Galloway.
Makrowat—Galloway.
Maitland—Berwickshire; before 1200; dukedom of Lauderdale; marquisate of March; earldom of Lauderdale; viscountcy of Maitland.
Malcolm—Argyleshire and Fifeshire; before 1400.
Mansfield, earldom of—Murray family.
Mar, earldom of—Douglas, Drummond, Stewart and Erskine families.
March, marquisate of—Maitland family; earldom of — Stewart, Douglas, and Wemyss families.
Marchmont, earldom of—Hume family.
Marischal, earldom of—Keith family.
Marjoribanks (a name first applied to a member of the Johnstone family) — Renfrewshire; about 1500.
Marr—Aberdeenshire.
Masterton—Fifeshire; before 1300.
Matheson—Ross-shire; before 1300.
Maule — Forfarshire and Edinburghshire; before 1200; earldom of Panmure; lordship of Maule; of reputed Norman origin.
Maxtone—Perthshire; before 1400.
Maxwell — Roxburghshire, Dumfriesshire, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Wigtonshire; before 1200; earldoms of Dirleton and Nithsdale; baronies of Herries, Innerwick, Mearns, etc.; lordships of Maxwell, Caerlaverock, Eskdale; five baronetcies.
Meldrum, viscountcy of—Gordon family.
Melfort, earldom and viscountcy of—Drummond family.
Melrose, earldom of—Hamilton family.
Melville—Edinburghshire and Fifeshire; before 1150; earldoms of Melville and Leven; viscountcy of Kirkaldy; lordships of Raith, Monymeal, and Balwearie; of reputed Norman origin.
Melville, viscountcy of—Dundas family.
Menteith—Perthshire.
Menteith, earldom of—Comyn, Stewart, and Graham families.

Menzies—Perthshire and Dumfries; before 1300.
Mercer — Perthshire, Clackmananshire, etc.; before 1300.
Merton—Berwickshire, etc.
Methven, lordship of — Stewart and Smythe families.
Middlemaist—Peeblesshire, etc.
Middleton — Kincardineshire; before 1200; earldom of Middleton; lordships of Clermont and Fettercairn.
Miller—Dumfriesshire, etc.
Milroy—Galloway.
Minto, earldom of—Elliot family.
Mitchell — Ayrshire, Aberdeenshire, Stirlingshire, etc.
Moffat—Dumfriesshire and Lanarkshire.
Moncrieff—Perthshire; before 1300; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Moncur—Perthshire; about 1300.
Monro. See Munro.
Montgomery—Renfrewshire and Ayrshire; before 1200; earldom of Eglinton; lordship of Montgomery; of reputed Norman origin.
Monteith, see Menteith.
Montrose, dukedom of—Lindsay and Graham families; marquisate of, and earldom of—Graham family.
Monypenny—Fifeshire; 1211; lordship of Monypenny.
Moray, same as Murray.
Moray, earldom of—Randolph, Douglas, Dunbar, Gordon, and Stuart families.
More, or Moore, (same as Mure, Muir, or Moir)—Lanarkshire, etc. See Mure.
Moreham — Haddingtonshire; before 1250.
Morgan—Sutherlandshire.
Mortimer—Fifeshire; before 1200; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Morton — Edinburghshire, Dumfriesshire, etc.; before 1300.
Morton, earldom of—Douglas family.
Morville — Ayrshire; 1116; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Moubray—Linlithgowshire and Fifeshire; before 1200; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Mountcrawford, viscountcy of—Crawford family.
Mountstewart, viscountcy of — Stuart family.
Mow—Berwickshire and Roxburghshire.
Mowat—Aberdeenshire, Dumfries, and Ayrshire; before 1400.
Munro—Ross and Cromartyshire; about 1100.
Murchison, softened from Murdockson —Ross-shire.
Mure, or Moore—Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, etc.; before 1263.
Murray, or Moray—Perthshire, Lanarkshire, Linlithgowshire, Fifeshire, Selkirkshire, Wigtonshire, etc.; before 1250; dukedom and marquisate of Athol; earldoms of Annandale, Athol, Dunmore, Dysart, Mansfield, Strathern, Tullibardine; viscountcies of Annan, Fincastle, Glenalmond, Peebles, Stormont; lordships of Balvaird, Bothwell, Cockpool, Elibank, Huntingtower, Lochmaben, Scoon etc.; of reputed Flemish origin.
Nairn — Perthshire, etc.; barony of Nairn.
Napier—Dumbartonshire, Edinburghshire, and Stirlingshire; before 1300; lordship of Napier.
Nasmyth, or Nesmith—Berwickshire and Peeblesshire; before 1300.
Nemphlar, viscountcy of — Carmichael family.
Newall—Kirkcudbrightshire; before 1600.
Newburgh, earldom of—Livingstone family.
Nicholson—Shetlandshire, etc.; about 1600.
Nicolson—Stirlingshire; about 1600.
Nisbet, or Nesbit— Berwickshire, Haddingtonshire, Roxburghshire, and Ayrshire; about 1200.
Nith, viscountcy of—Douglas and Scott families.
Nithsdale, earldom of—Maxwell family.
Nixon—Dumfriesshire.
Northesk, earldom of—Carnegie family.
Ochiltree—Ayrshire.
Ochiltree, barony of—Stewart family.
Ogilvie — Forfarshire, Banffshire, and Kincardineshire; about 1200; earldoms of Airlie, Findlater, Seafield; viscountcies of Redhaven and Seafield; barony of Banff; lordship of Deskford.
Oliphant—Kincardineshire; about 1200; lordship of Oliphant.
Orkney, dukedom of—Hepburn family; earldom of—Stewart and Hamilton families.
Ormiston—Haddingtonshire and Perthshire; about 1200
Ormond, marquisate of—Stuart family; earldom of—Douglas family.
Orr—Renfrewshire; about 1300.
Osborne family,— viscountcy of Dunblane.
Oswald—Fifeshire.
Oxfurd, or Oxenfurd, viscountcy of—MacGill family.
Panmure, earldom of—Maule family.
Pasley—Dumfriesshire.
Parton—Kirkcudbrightshire.
Paton—Ayrshire.

Patrick—Ayrshire.
Paterson—Stirlingshire, Aberdeenshire, Dumfriesshire, etc.
Peden—Ayrshire; about 1600.
Peebles, viscountcy of—Murray and Wemyss families.
Pennicuik — Edinburghshire Peeblesshire, etc.
Perth, earldom of—Drummond family.
Picken—Renfrewshire, etc.
Pinkerton—Fifeshire.
Pitcairn—Fifeshire; before 1300.
Pollok, Pollock, or Polk—Renfrewshire; before 1200.
Pont—Perthshire; before 1525.
Pope—Caithness.
Porterfield—Ayrshire.
Portmore, earldom of—Robertson-Colyear family.
Preston—Edinburghshire, Berwickshire, Fifeshire, Perthshire, etc.; before 1200; lordship of Dingwall.
Preston, viscountcy of—Graham family;
Primrose — Fifeshire, Perthshire, and Edinburgshire; before 1650; earldom of Rosebery; lordship of Dalmeny.
Pringle—Edinburghshire, Haddingtonshire, Selkirkshire, and Berwickshire; before 1300.
Purdon—Dumfriesshire.
Purves—Berwickshire.
Queensberry, dukedom, marquisate, and earldom of—Douglas family; dukedom of—Scott family.
Rae—Caithness-shire. See Rea.
Raeburn—Roxburghshire, Edinburghshire, etc.
Rait, or Rate—Perthshire; before 1300.
Ralston—Renfrewshire and Ayrshire; before 1300.
Ramsay — Berwickshire, Edinburghshire, Fifeshire, Forfarshire, and Kincardineshire, before 1200; marquisate of Dalhousie; viscountcy of Haddington; lordships of Bothwell and Carrington.
Randolph — Dumfriesshire and Roxburghshire; before 1300; earldom of Moray.
Rankin—Ayrshire.
Rannoch—Perthshire.
Rattray — Aberdeenshire, Perthshire; before 1100.
Rea, Ray, Wray, etc.—Galloway, Caithness, and Ayrshire. See Rae.
Redick—Dumfrieshire.
Redpath, or Ridpath—Berwickshire.
Reid—Aberdeenshire, Perthshire, Kincardineshire, Ayrshire, etc.
Renton—Berwickshire and Dumbartonshire.
Renwick—Dumfriesshire.
Richardson—Haddingtonshire; about 1600.
Riddell — Roxburghshire, Argyleshire, Dumfriesshire, etc.; before 1150.
Ritchie—Ayrshire.
Roberton—Lanarkshire; before 1250.
Robertson—Perthshire, Fifeshire, Inverness-shire, Berwickshire, etc.; before 1500; earldom of Portmore.
Rocheid, or Rougheid — Edinburghshire.
Rodick—Galloway.
Rodie, or Roddy—Galloway.
Rodger, or Roger—Ayrshire, etc.; before 1500.
Rollo—Perthshire; before 1400; lordship of Rollo.
Roome—Dumfriesshire.
Rose—Inverness and Nairnshire; about 1200.
Rosebery, earldom of—Primrose family.
Ross—Ross-shire, Dumfriesshire, Perthshire, Forfarshire, etc.; about 1300; earldom of Ross.
Ross, dukedom of—Stuart family; earldom of — Leslie, Ross, Stuart, and MacDonald families; viscountcy of—Douglass and Scott families.
Rosslyn, earldom of—Wedderburn and Erskine families.
Rothes, dukedom and earldom of — Leslie and Hamilton-Leslie families.
Rothesay, dukedom of—Stuart family.
Row — Stirlingshire, Dumbartonshire, Perthshire, etc.
Roxburgh, dukedom and earldom of—Ker family.
Roy—Lanarkshire, etc.
Ruddiman—Banffshire, etc.
Ruglen, earldom of—Hamilton family.
Rule—Roxburghshire, Fifeshire, etc.
Russell — Aberdeenshire, etc.; before 1400.
Rutherford—Roxburghshire; before 1300; earldom of Teviot; barony of Rutherford.
Ruthven—Perthshire, Forfarshire, and Selkirkshire; before 1300; earldoms of Forth and Gowrie; barony of Ruthven.
St. Clair, see Sinclair.
Saltoun, barony of — Abernethy and Fraser families.
Sandilands—Lanarkshire and Fifeshire; before 1350; barony of Abercromby; lordship of Torpichen.
Sanquhar, earldom of — Douglas and Scott families.
Scott—Peeblesshire, Fifeshire, Forfarshire, Roxburghshire, Dumfriesshire, Selkirkshire, Kincardineshire, etc.; before 1200; dukedoms of Buccleuch and Queensbury; marquisate of Dum-

friesshire; earldoms of Buccleuch, Deloraine, Drumlanrig, Sanquhar, and Tarras; viscountcies of Hermitage, Nith, Torthorwald, and Ross.
Scougal—Haddingtonshire.
Scrimgeour—Forfarshire; before 1300; earldom of Dundee; viscountcy of Dudhope.
Seafield, earldom of—Ogilvie family.
Seaforth, earldom of—MacKenzie family.
Selkirk, earldom of—Douglas family.
Semple — Renfrewshire; about 1220; barony of Sempill.
Seton—Haddingtonshire and Linlithgowshire; before 1150; earldoms of Dumfermline and Wintoun; viscountcy of Kingston; lordships of Fyvie and Urquhart, and Tranent; of reputed Norman origin.
Sharp, or Shairp — Linlithgowshire, Aberdeenshire, etc.; before 1350;
Shank—Edinburghshire; before 1300.
Shaw — Inverness, Ayrshire, Stirlingshire. Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, and Renfrewshire; before 1300.
Shedden—Ayrshire; before 1700.
Short—Dumfriesshire and Stirlingshire; before 1500.
Sibbald—Fifeshire; before 1250.
Simeral, or Somerville—Lanarkshire.
Simson—Ayrshire, etc.; before 1700.
Sinclair, or St. Clair—Peeblesshire, Caithness-shire, Edinburghshire, Aberdeenshire, and Inverness-shire; earldoms of Caithness and Orkney; lordship of Berriedale; baronies of Roslin and Sinclair; before 1150; of reputed Norman origin.
Skene—Aberdeenshire; before 1100.
Skinner—Aberdeenshire, etc.
Sloane—Ayrshire, etc.
Smailholm—Roxburghshire, etc.
Smeton, or Smeaton—Perthshire, etc.
Smollet—Dumbartonshire; before 1700.
Smythe—Aberdeenshire, etc.; before 1500; lordship of Methven.
Snodgrass—Ayrshire.
Solway, earldom of—Douglas family.
Somerville—Lanarkshire; before 1150; barony of Somerville; in America frequently found as Summeral, Sumral, or Simeral.
Sorby, or Sorbie—Wigtonshire.
Soulis — Roxburghshire, etc.; before 1270.
Southesk, earldom of—Carnegie family.
Spaulding — Perthshire and Forfarshire.
Speirs—Renfrewshire.
Spens, or Spence—Fifeshire, Aberdeenshire, etc.; before 1300.
Spencer—viscountcy of Teviot.
Spottiswood — Berwickshire; before 1300.
Sprewel, Spreul, or Sproul—Renfrewshire; before 1300.
Stair, earldom and viscounty of—Dalrymple family.
Stark—Fifeshire, Kinross-shire, etc.
Stedman — Haddingtonshire; about 1550.
Stevenson—Lanarkshire, etc.
Stewart, Stuart, or Steuart—Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, Banffshire, Galloway, Fifeshire, Perthshire, etc., before 1150; kingdoms of Scotland and England, dukedoms of Albany, Lennox, Ross, Rothesay; marquisates of Bute and Ormond; earldoms of Angus, Ardmannach, Arran, Athol, Badenoch, Bothwell, Buchan, Bute, Caithness, Carrick, Darnley, Fife, Galloway, Lennox, Mar, March, Menteith, Moray, Orkney, Ross, Strathern, Traquair, Windsor; viscountcies of Mountstewart and Kingarf: lordships of Auchterhouse, Blantyre, Brechen, Navar, Cumra, Inchmarnock, Doun, Dunbar, Evandale, Gairlies, Hailes, Hamilton, etc., Innermeath, Kinclaven, Linton, etc., Lorne, Methven, Ochiltree, Pittenweem, St. Colme, etc.; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Stirling—Perthshire and Stirlingshire; before 1300.
Stirling, earldom of—Alexander family.
Stobo — Peeblesshire, Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire.
Stoddart—Selkirkshire; before 1600.
Stormont, viscountcy of—Murray family.
Stow—Selkirkshire and Edinburghshire.
Strachan, or Strahan — Kincardineshire; about 1100.
Stranachan—Galloway.
Strang, or Strong—Fifeshire, etc.; before 1400.
Strathallan, viscountcy of—Drummond family.
Strathern—Perthshire.
Strathern, earldom of—Moray, Stewart, and Graham families.
Strathmore, earldom of—Lyon family.
Struthers, Struther, or Strother—Lanarkshire, Roxburghshire, Peeblesshire, etc.
Stuart, same as Stewart.
Sutherland — Sutherlandshire; before 1300; earldom of Sutherland; barony of Duffus.
Suttie—Haddingtonshire.
Swinton—Berwickshire; before 1100.
Symington — Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.
Tannahill—Renfrewshire, etc.

Tarbat, viscountcy of—MacKenzie family.
Tarras, earldom of—Scott Family.
Tate — Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, etc.
Taymouth, viscountcy of—Campbell family.
Telford—Dumfriesshire, etc.
Tennant—Fifeshire, etc.
Teviot, earldom of—Rutherford family; viscountcy of—Livingstone and Spencer families.
Thomson — Dumfries, Roxburghshire, etc.
Thriepland—Perthshire.
Torrance—Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.
Torthorwald, viscountcy of — Douglas and Scott families.
Traill—Fifeshire; before 1300.
Traquair, earldom of—Stuart family.
Trotter—Berwickshire, Edinburghshire, etc.; before 1300.
Trumbull, Tremble, Trimble, etc., same as Turnbull.
Tullibardine, earldom of—Murray family.
Turnbull, or Trumbull—Roxburghshire; before 1300.
Tweeddale, marquisate of—Hay family.
Tweedie—Peeblesshire.
Tytler—Inverness-shire and Edinburghshire; before 1550.
Urie—Aberdeenshire.
Urquhart, or Urchard — Inverness, Cromartyshire, Elginshire and Aberdeenshire; before 1300.
Vance, or Vans (originally Vaus, or Vaux)—Wigtonshire; about 1100; of reputed Anglo-Norman origin.
Veitch — Dumfriesshire, Peeblesshire, Roxburghshire, etc.
Waldie, or Waltho—Roxburghshire.
Walden, viscountcy of—Hay family.
Wallace—Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, etc. before 1150; of reputed Norman origin, probably Celtic.
Wardlaw—Berwickshire, Fifeshire, and Galloway; before 1300.
Watson—Fifeshire, etc.
Watt — Renfrewshire, Aberdeenshire, etc.; about 1700.
Wauchope—Dumfriesshire, Edinburghshire, Aberdeenshire, etc.; before 1300.
Waugh—Berwickshire, Dumfriesshire, etc.
Webster—Edinburghshire, etc.; before 1700.
Weddell—Selkirkshire and Edinburghshire; before 1300.
Wedderburn—Berwickshire and Forfarshire; before 1400; earldom of Rosslyn.
Weir — Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Roxburghshire. etc; of reputed Norman origin.
Welch, or Welsh—Dumfriesshire, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire, Galloway, etc.
Wellwood—Fifeshire; before 1400.
Welschaw—Dumfriesshire.
Wemyss—Fifeshire; before 1200; earldoms of March and Wemyss; viscountcy of Peebles; lordships of Burntisland, Elcho, Niedpath, Lyne, Munard, and Methill.
Whitmore—Roxburghshire.
Whyte-Melville—Fifeshire; before 1500.
Wigton, earldom of—Fleming family.
Wilkie—Fifeshire, etc.
Williamson—Peeblesshire, etc.
Willock—Ayrshire, etc.; about 1550.
Wilson—Renfrewshire, Elginshire, Fifeshire, Lanarkshire, etc.
Wilton—Roxburghshire.
Winram—Fifeshire.
Wintoun, earldom of—Seton family.
Wishart—Forfarshire; before 1300.
Witherspoon—Haddingtonshire, etc.
Wodrow—Lanarkshire, etc.; before 1700.
Wood—Fifeshire, etc.; before 1500.
Yester, lordship of—Gifford family.
Young—Forfarshire, etc.; about 1500.
Zetland, earldom of—Dundas family (of Yorkshire).

The following "List of Highland Clans, as Mentioned in Two Acts of Parliament, 1587 and 1594," is taken from the *Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland* of Mr. T. B. Johnston and Col. James A. Robertson (Edinburgh, 1873). The counties in which the various clans are supposed to have originated are added:

1. Buchanans—Stirling.
2. MacFarlanes—Dumbarton.
3. MacNabs—Perth.
4. Grahams of Menteith—Perth
5. Stewarts of Balquhidder—Perth.
6. Gregor (the MacGregors)—Perth and Argyle.
7. Lawren (the MacLarens)—Perth.

8. Campbells of Lochnell—Argyle.
9. Campbells of Inverawe—Argyle.
10. Dougall (the MacDougalls)—Argyle.
11. Stewarts of Appin—Argyle, Perth and Renfren.
12. MacDonalds of Glencoe—Argyle.
13. Stewarts in Atholl—Perth.
14. Robertsons of Atholl—Perth.
15. Menzies—Perth.
16. MacThomas in Glenshee—Perth and Forfar.
17. Fergussons in Glenshee—Perth and Forfar.
18. Spauldings in Glenshee—Perth and Forfar.
19. MacIntoshes in Glentilt—Perth and Inverness.
20. Camerons—Argyle and Inverness.
21. MacDonalds of Keppoch—Inverness.
22. MacDonalds of Clanranald, of Moydart, Knoydart, Arasaig, Morar, and Glengarry—Inverness, Ross, Uist, etc.
23. MacLeods of Lewis—Hebrides and Inverness.
24. MacLeods of Harris—Hebrides and Inverness.
25. MacNeills—Hebrides, Barra and Argyle.
26. MacKinnons—Skye and Perth.
27. MacDonalds of Ardamurchan and Sunnart—Argyle.
28. MacPhersons and MacIntoshes—Inverness.
29. Grants—Inverness.
30. Frasers—Inverness and Ross.
31. MacKenzies—Ross.
32. Rosses—Ross.
33. Munroes—Ross.
34. Sutherlands—Sutherland.
35. Clanquhele, or Shaws, of Rothienur—Inverness.
36. MacDonalds of the Isles—Skye, Jura, Islay, and Kintyre, Inverness, and Ross.
37. MacLeans—Argyle, Coll, Mull, and Jura.
38. Morgan, or MacKays—Sutherland.
39. Gunns—Caithness.
40. MacAulays—Dumbarton.
41. Galbraiths—Stirling and Dumbarton.
42. Farquharsons—Aberdeen and Perth.

NAMES OF HIGHLAND CHIEFS AND LANDLORDS IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLES IN 1587, CONTAINED IN THE ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF THAT DATE, AND NOT NAMED IN THE ROLL OF CLANS

iv. Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss—Dumbarton.
xvii. James Stuart, Earl of Murray, called the "Bonny Earl"—Elgin.
xviii. Patrick, Third Lord Drummond—Perth.
xx. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy—Perth.
xxi. Sir John Campbell of Lawers—Perth.
xxiv. Colin Campbell of Ardveck, brother of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy—Perth.
xxv. Colin Campbell of Glenlyon—Perth.
xxvi. John Stewart, 5th Earl of Atholl of the Innermeath Line—Perth.
xxix. John Murray of Strowan in Strathearn—Perth.
xxxix. James, 2d Earl Gowrie and 5th Lord Ruthven—Perth.
xli. James, 6th Lord Ogilvy of Airly—Forfar.
xlvii. George Gordon, 6th Earl and 1st Marquis of Huntly—Aberdeen.
lii. Alexander Chisholm of that Ilk and Strathglass—Ross.
lxi. George Sinclair, 5th Earl of Caithness—Caithness.
lxxxv. John Stewart, sheriff of Bute—Bute.
lxxxvii. Archibald Campbell, 7th Earl of Argyle—Argyle.
lxxxviii. Duncan Campbell of Auchenbreck—Argyle.
lxxxix. Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass—Argyle.

xc. Malcolm MacNaughtan of Dundaran—Argyle.
xci. Archibald MacLachlan of Strathlachlan—Argyle.
xcii. James Lamont of that Ilk, Inveryne—Argyle.
xciii. Colin Campbell of Barbreck—Argyle.
xciv. John Campbell of Duntroon—Argyle.
xcv. Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope and Glassary—Argyle.
xcvii. Archibald Campbell of Otter—Argyle.
c. Murdoch MacFie of Colonsay—Argyle.
ci. John, 1st Marquis of Hamilton—Arran.

BORDER AND LOWLAND CLANS

Border Clans in 1547:

Annandale—Ross, Charteris, Carruthers, Johnstone, Maxwell, Irving (or Irwin, or Erwin), Bell, Moffat, Lawson, Roome, Jardine.

Nithsdale—Maxwell, Kirkpatrick, Grierson, Crichton (or Creighton).

Liddesdale and Debatable Land—Armstrong, Elliot, Elwood, Nixon.

Galloway—Gordon, MacLellan, MacDowall.

Teviotdale—Carruthers, Trumbull (or Turnbull).

Eskdale—Battison, Beattie, Thomson.

East Borders—Ker, Rutherford, MacDougall, Linton, Egerston, Merton, Mowe, Haig.

Border Clans in 1587:

Middle Marches—Ker, Douglas, Scott, Turnbull, Herries, Chisholm, Johnstone, Carruthers, Jardine, Maxwell, Gordon, Moffat, Latimer.

Border Clans and Chiefs in 1590:

Berwick—Hume, Renton, Lumsden, Affleck, Sleich, Lyle, Craw, Swinton, Sinclair, Cockburn, Ellam, Redpath, Ker, Ramsay, Edgar, Brown, Crosby, Bromfield, Haitlie, Dickson, Duns, Pringle, Baillie, Trotter, Purves.

Annandale (Dumfriesshire, principally)—Johnstone, Jardine, Carruthers, French, Hewitt, Dunwoodie, Maxwell, Murray, Irving, Stewart, Carlyle, Purdon, Glendenning, Glencors, Graham, Wauchope, Lindsay.

Roxburgh and Selkirk—Ker, Shaw, Whitmore, McDougall, McDowall, Mowe, Riddell, Edmonstone, Bennet, Kirkton, Anislie, Fraser, Mader, Rutherford, Turnbull, Douglas, Lorane, Elliot, Scott, Elphinstone, Gladstone, Chisholm, Armstrong, Langlandis, Pringle, Murray, Dalgleish, Veitch.

Peebles—Stewart, Murray, Tweedie, Cockburn, Cranston, Hay, Dickson, Lowis, Inglis, Nasmyth, Veitch, Geddes, Froude, Burnet, Crichton, Pringle, Pennicuik, Brown, Barr, Lindsay.

Dumfries—Douglas, Maitland, Menzies, Kirkpatrick, Charteris, Maxwell, Ker, Grierson, Ferguson, Pringle, Kirk, Gordon, Irving, Hume, Carruthers, Glendenning, MacBriar, Armstrong.

Border Clans and Chiefs in 1597:

East March—Brumfield, Trotter, Dickson, Ridpath, Haitlie, Graden, Young, Davison, Pringle, Tate, Middlemaist, Burns, Dalgleish, Gilchrist, Hill, Pyle, Robeson, Anislie, Oliver, Laidlow.

Liddesdale—Armstrong, Elliot, Park, Burnhead, Welschaw, Nixon, Croser, Henderson.

Debatable Land—Armstrong, Ninian, Graham.

Eusdale—Armstrong, Scott, Elliot.

Eskdale—Beattie, Battison, Johnes, Little.

Annandale—Irwin, Irving, Bell, Carlyle, Graham, Thomson, Roome, Gass.

Berwick and Lauderdale—Home, Hume, Cockburn, Renton, Lumsden, Affleck, Ramsay, Sleich, Ellam, Lyle, Chirnside, Ker, Edgar, Brown, Spottiswood, Crosby, Haliburton, Swinton, Ridpath, Sinclair, Ramsay.

Roxburgh—Ker, Mowe, Murray, Rutherford, Turnbull, Lorane, Grinislaw, Mader, Bennet, Riddell, MacDougall, Scott, Haliburton, Stewart, Gladstone, Langlands, Elliot, Veitch, Cranston, Chisholm, Kirkton, Carncross.

Dumfries and Kirkcudbright—Gordon, Murray, Redick, Glendenning, MacLellan, MacCulloch, Lidderdale, Herries, MacNaught, Maxwell, Sinclair, Stewart,

Livingstone, Douglas, Crichton, MacMath, Menzies, Maitland, Kirkpatrick, Carse, Kirkmichael, Grierson, Charteris, Cunningham, Ferguson, Pringle, Kirko, Hunter, Johnstone, Jardine, Carruthers, Murray, Irving, Knox, Melville, Hewitt.

Peebles—Stewart, Cranston, Horsburgh, Middlemaist, Williamson, Elphinstone, Haye, Dickson, Tweedie, Burnet, Veitch, Hunter, Froude, Douglas, Porteous, Geddes, Inglis, Brown, Pennicuik, Wood, Nasmyth.

ANCIENT CLAN APPELLATIVES

Sturdy Armstrongs. Trusty Boyds. Famous Dicksons. Lucky Duffs. Bold Frasers. Gay Gordons. Gallant Grahams. Haughty Hamiltons. Handsome Hays. Haughty Humes. Jingling Jardines. Gentle Johnstones. Angry Kerrs. Light Lindsays. Brave MacDonalds. Fiery MacIntoshes. Proud MacNeills. Black MacRaes. Wild MacRaws. Manly Morrisons. Muckle Mou'ed Murrays. Gentle Neilsons. Bold Rutherfords. Saucy Scotts. Proud Setons. Pudding Somervilles. Worthy Watsons. Black Douglas—of Liddesdale. Red Douglas—of Angus.

In his *History of Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, Mr. P. H. MacKerlie states that many of the surnames in Galloway are peculiar to that district; some again, have an apparent Irish origin; while others are to be found in the Highlands. He gives a list of these names, so far as he has been able to collect them:

Beddie; Bodden.

Carnochan (Carnahan, or Carnaghan); Caughie; Clanochan; Cornick; Craichton.

Fingland.

Garroch.

Ivie.

Keachie; Kevan, or Kavan.

Lennan; Lochrie; Lusk.

MacAlexander; MacBride; MacCaig; MacCaull; MacCallum; MacCammon; MacCannon; MacChlery; MacClelland (a variation of MacLellan); MacClew; MacClumpha; MacClure, or MacLure; MacClusky; MacCoid; MacCombie; MacCosh; MacCrackan, or MacCraken; MacCraith; MacCrea; MacCreath; MacCririe; MacCrocket; MacCrone; MacCutcheon; MacDearmont; MacGavin; MacGibbon; MacGilmyan; MacGinnis; MacGivern; MacGlennan; MacGunnion; MacHarry; MacJanet, or MacJannet; MacJerrow; MacIlwrick; MacInally; MacInenny; MacKane; MacKennen; MacKerrow; MacKevers; MacKinna; MacKinnon; MacKinstry; MacLamroch; MacLevy; MacLung, or MacClung; MacMath; MacMeeking; MacMichael; MacMyn; MacMonnies; MacMorran; MacMurray; MacMurtrie; MacMuldroch; MacMychen; MacMuldrow; MacNae; MacNally; MacPhredice; MacQuaker; MacQuhir, or MacQhuir; MacQuie; MacReikie; MacRorie; MacSkimming; MacTier; MacVane; MacVie; MacVitae; MacWalker; MacWhinnie; MacWhistler; Makcavat; Makcoshen; Makcristin; Makkevni; Maklumphere; MakMyane; Makrowat; Milroy.

Roddick; Rodie.

Stranachan.

Of the above names, very many are more familiar in the Scotch-Irish settlements of America than the Highland name of MacDonald. We find, however, that many families in America who were originally "Macs," have lost that prefix somewhere between Scotland and their present abode, of which instances will occur to the reader—such as Alexander, Creigh, Crocket, Kane, Kennon (Canon), Walker, Whistler, etc.

Of the Galloway branches of the following families Mr. McKerlie gives more or less complete genealogies or accounts:

Abercromby, Acarson, Accarson, Adam, Adamson, Adair, Affleck, Agnew, Ahannay, Aiken, Alan (lord of Galloway), Anderson, Armstrong, Arnot, Ashennan, Baillie, Baird, Baliol, Barbour, Barker, Bean, Beattie, Bell, Biggar, Birnie, Black,

Blackett, Blair, Boyd, Boyle, Brown, Bruce, Cairns, Campbell, Cannan, Carleton, Carlyle, Carmichael, Carrick, Carruthers, Carson, Cathcart, Chalmers, Charters, Clark, Cochran, Cockburn, Coltart, Coltran, Colville, Constable, Copeland, Corbet, Corrie, Craig, Craigie, or Craigy, Craik, Crawfurd, Crichton, Crosby, Culwen, Cunningham, Cutler, Dalrymple, Dalzell, Davidson, Davies, Dickson, Donaldson, Douglas, Drew, Dudgeon, Dun, Dunbar, Duncan, Dunlop, Dunwoddie, Durham, Edgar, Edzear, Ewart, Ferguson, Fleming, Forbes, Forrester, Forsyth, Fraser, Fullerton, Geddes (this has been corrupted in America to Gettys), Gibson, Gilbert, Gillespie, Gladstone, Glendinning, Goldie, Gordon, Graham, Grant, Gray, Grier, Grierson, Guthrie, Haining, Haldane, Halliday, Hamilton, Hannay, Hay, Henderson, Heron, Herries, Heughan, Hope, Hume, Hunter, Hutton, Hyslop, Inglis, Ireland, Irving, Johnstone, Jones, Keith, Kennedy, Ker, Kirk, Kirkconnel, Kirkpatrick, Kissock, Kneland, Lambert, Lamont, Laurie (evidently the original form of the name Lowrey), Lawson, Lennox, Levingstone, Lidderdale, Lindsay, Lister, Little, Livingston, Lockhart, Logan, Lowdon, MacAdam, MacBriar, MacBurnie, MacCartney, MacCaw, MacColme, MacCulloch, MacCutloch, MacDonall, MacDougall, MacGeorge, MacGhie, MacGill, MacGuffock, MacKerlie, MacKie, MacKinnel, MacLellan, MacLurg, MacMichan, MacMicken, MacMillan, MacMorine, MacMurday, MacMurdo, MacNacht, MacNaught, MacQueen, MacTurk, MacTaggart, MacWilliam, Maitland, Martin, Maxwell, Miller, Milligan, Mitchell, Moffat, Monteith, Montgomery, Morrison, Muirhead, Murdoch, Mure (Muir, or Moore), Murray, Napier, Neilson, Newall, Nicholson, Nugent, Oglethorpe, Oswald, Pagan, Parke, Paterson, Pollock, Porter, Pringle, Rae, Ramsay, Rankin, Redik, Reid, Rennie, Richardson, Riddle, Rig, Robertson, Roome, Ross, Russell, Rutherfurd, Schaw, Scott, Seton, Sharp, Shaw, Sinclair, Sloan, Smith, Spottiswoode, Sproat, St. Clair, Stewart, Swan, Syme, Tailfier, Taylor, Telfer, Thomas, Thompson, Turner, Vans, Vaus, Veitch, Walker, Wallace, Watson, Waus, Welsh, Whigham, Wight, Williamson, Wilson, Wright, Wylie, Young.

Mr. James Paterson's *History of Ayrshire and its Families* contains genealogies of the following named families:

Aird, Alexander, Arnot, Assloss, Baille, Baird, Ballantine (Bannatyne), Barclay, Barr, Blair, Boswell, Boyd, Boyle, Brisbane, Brown, Buntine, Caldwell, Campbell, Cathcart, Chalmers, Cochrane, Colville, Cooper, Corrie, Craufurd, Crichton, Cumming, Cuninghame, Cuthbert, Dalrymple, Davidson, Dunbar, Duncan, Dunlop, Eccles, Eglintoun, Fairlie, Farquhar, Fergushill, Ferguson, Frances, Fraser, Fullarton, Fulton, Gemmell, Gib, Glasgow, Gordon, Hamilton, Harvie, Hindman, Howie, Howieson, Hunter, Hutchinson, Jack, Keith, Kelso, Kennedy, Ker, Lin (or Lyne), Lockhart, Logan, Loudoun, Love, MacAdam, MacClune (or MacCleane), MacCrae, MacRedie, MacGown, MacCubbin, MacIlvane, MacKerrell, MacNeight, MacQuyre, Miller, Mitchell, Montgomery, Mure, Nevin, Nisbet, Oswald, Paton, Patrick, Peden, Porterfield, Ralstoun, Rankin, Reid, Richard, Richmond, Ritchie, Ross, Schaw, Shedden, Simson, Smith, Somervel, Somerville, Spottiswoode, Stewart, Thomson, Wallace, Warner, Weir, Whitefoord, Wilson, Wodrow.

APPENDIX Y

Scottish Dignitaries and Members of the Scottish Parliaments

NAMES AND TITLES OF THE PEERS OF SCOTLAND FROM 1037 TO 1707, WITH DATES AND ORDER OF CREATION

Francis Abercrombie (husband to the Baroness of Semple),—Lord Glassford, 1685. (348).

Laurence Abernethy,—Lord Saltoun, 1445. (76).

Sir Patrick Abernethy,—Lord Abernethy of Abernethy, in Perthshire, before 1286. Extinct about 1312.

Sir William Alexander,—Lord Alexander of Tullibody, in Clackmannanshire, Viscount Canada, and Earl of Stirling, 1633. (241). Extinct in 1739.

Gilchrist,—Earl of Angus, 1037. (1). This title went with an heir-female into the

Umphraville family; forfeited in 1307, and became extinct in 1437.
Sir Robert Arbuthnott,—Lord Inverbervie, and Viscount Arbuthnott, 1641. (274).
Sir Walter Aston,—Lord Aston of Forfar, 1628. (234).
Malcolm, son of King Donald VII.,—Earl of Athol, 1124. (8). Heirs-male extinct in Henry, the second Earl.
Michael Balfour, Lord Burleigh,—Lord Kilwinning, 1614. (201).
Sir Michael Balfour,—Lord Burleigh, in Kinross-shire, 1607. (185).
Sir Edward Barret,—Lord Newburgh, in Fifeshire, 1627. (226). Extinct in him.
Dame Elizabeth Beaumont,—Baroness Cramond in Edinburghshire, 1628. (228). Extinct (?).
Sir William Bellenden,—Lord Bellenden of Broughton, in Edinburghshire, 1661. (321).
Sir William Borthwick,—Lord Borthwick, 1429. (66).
John Bothwell,—Lord Holyroodhouse, 1607. (189). Extinct (?).
Sir Robert Boyd,—Lord Boyd, 1453. (92).
Robert Boyd,—Lord Boyd, 1536. (132). See William Boyd, 1661.
Thomas Boyd (eldest son of Robert, Lord Boyd),—Earl of Arran, 1468. (103.) Forfeited in 1469.
William Boyd, Lord Boyd,—Earl of Kilmarnock, 1661. (323). Forfeited in 1745.
David Boyle,—Lord of Kilburn, 1699. (367). See David Boyle, 1703.
David Boyle, Lord Boyle,—Lord Boyle, of Stewarton, Viscount Kilburn, and Earl of Glasgow, 1703. (378).
Henry de Brechin,—Lord Brechin, 1129. (13). David, the fourth Lord was executed for high treason in 1321, whereupon the title went with his sister to Sir David Barclay, of Cairns, Knt., her husband; but was forfeited by his great-great-grandson, Robert, the third Lord of this family, who was concerned in the murder of King James I. in 1437.
Alexander Bruce (second natural son of Edward, Earl of Carrick),—Earl of Carrick, 1332. (32). Extinct in 1333.
Edward Bruce, brother to the King,—Earl of Carrick, 1306. (27). Extinct.
Edward Bruce (eldest natural son of the last Earl of Carrick),—Earl of Carrick, 1318. (29). Extinct in 1332.
Edward Bruce,—Lord Kinloss, 1603. (165). See Thomas Bruce, 1633.
Sir Edward Bruce,—Lord Bruce of Torry, in Fifeshire, and Earl of Kincardine, in Clackmannanshire, 1647. (297).
Robert Bruce,—Lord of Annandale,—Earl of Carrick, 1273. (26).
Thomas Bruce (third natural son of Edward, Earl of Carrick),—Earl of Carrick, 1333. (34). Extinct in 1341.
Thomas Bruce, Lord Kinloss,—Earl of Elgin, 1633. (250).
Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyle,—Marquis of Argyle, 1641. (275). See Archibald Campbell, 1701.
Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyle,—Lord Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Tyrie, Viscount Lochawe and Glenisla, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Marquis of Lorne and Kintyre, and Duke of Argyle, 1701. (370).
Lord Archibald Campbell (second son to the Duke of Argyll),—Lord Oronsay, Denoon, and Arrois, Viscount and Earl of Isla (afterwards Duke of Argyll), 1706. (386). Extinct in 1761.
Colin Campbell, Lord Campbell,—Earl of Argyle, 1459. (101). See Archibald Campbell, 1641.
Sir Duncan Campbell,—Lord Campbell, 1445. (74). See Colin Campbell, 1457.
Sir Hugh Campbell,—Lord Loudoun, in Ayrshire, 1601. (163). See John Campbell, 1633.
James Campbell (second son to the Earl of Argyle),—Lord Kintyre, 1622. (216). See James Campbell, 1642.
James Campbell, Lord Kintyre,—Lord Lundie and Earl of Irwin, in Ayrshire, 1642. (278). Extinct before 1660.
Sir James Campbell, of Moulin,—Earl of Athol, 1327. (30). Extinct in him.
Sir John Campbell, of Glenorchy, Bart.,—Lord Wick and Earl of Caithness. But he exchanged these titles Aug. 13, 1681, and got a new patent, with his former precedence, and is styled Lord Paintland, Benedoraloch, and Ormlie, Viscount Glenorchy and Taymouth, and Earl of Breadalbane, all in Perthshire, 1677. (335).

John Campbell (husband of Margaret Campbell, Baroness Loudoun),—Lord Mauchlane, and Earl of Loudoun, both in Ayrshire, 1633. (239).
Sir Henry Carey, Knt.,—Viscount Falkland, in Fifeshire, 1620. (212).
John de Carlyle,—Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald, in Dumfriesshire, 1471. (106).
Sir James Carmichael,—Lord Carmichael of Carmichael, in Lanarkshire, 1647. (300). See John Carmichael, 1701.
John Carmichael, Lord Carmichael,—Viscount Nemphlar and Inglisberry, and Earl of Hyndford, all in Lanarkshire, 1701. (374).
David Carnegie,—Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird in Forfarshire, 1616. (205). See David Carnegie, 1633.
David Carnegie,—Lord Carnegie, Earl of Southesk, 1633. (251). Forfeited in 1715.
Sir John Carnegie of Ethie,—Lord Lour, 1639. (267). See John Carnegie, 1647.
John Carnegie, Lord Lour,—Lord Inglismadie, and Earl of Ethie, 1647. (293).
Sir Allan Cathcart,—Lord Cathcart, 1447. (78).
Charles Cheyne,—Lord Cheyne and Viscount Newhaven, in Edinburghshire, 1681. (339). Extinct in 1728.
John Churchill,—Lord Churchill of Eyemouth, in Berwickshire (afterwards Duke of Marlborough in England), 1682. (342.) Extinct in 1722.
Sir William Cochrane,—Lord Cochrane, 1647. (299). See William Cochrane, 1669.
William Cochrane, Lord Cochrane,—Earl of Dundonald, 1669. (326).
Sir David Collier,—Lord Portmore, 1699. (368). See David Collier, 1703.
David Collier, Lord Portmore,—Lord Collier, Viscount Milsington, and Earle of Portmore, 1703. (380).
Sir James Colville,—Lord Colville, of Culros, in Perthshire, 1609. (194).
Robert Colville,—Lord Colville of Ochiltree, 1651. (303). Extinct.
Sir Henry Constable,—Viscount Dunbar, in Haddingtonshire, 1620. (213). Extinct in William, the Fourth Viscount.
Sir William Cranstoun,—Lord Cranstoun,—Lord Cranstoun of Creling, in Roxburghshire, 1609. (198).
John Crawford of Kilbirnie,—Viscount Mount Crawford. This title he afterwards got changed to Garnock, 1702. (375). Merged in Crawford and Lindsay in 1751.
George Crichton,—Earl of Caithness, 1450. (82). Extinct in 1455.
Sir James Crichton,—Viscount Frendraught, in Aberdeenshire, 1642. (280). Forfeited in 1690.
Sir Robert Crichton,—Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, 1485. (110). See William Crichton, 1622.
Sir William Crichton,—Lord Crichton of Crichton, 1445. (73). Forfeited in 1483.
William Crichton, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar,—Viscount Ayr, 1622. (217). See William Crichton, 1633.
William Crichton, Viscount Ayr,—Lord Cumnock and Earl of Dumfries, 1633. (246).
Sir John Cumin (styled The Red Cumin),—Lord Badenoch, 1129. (12). Forfeited in 1306.
Sir Walter Cumin,—Earl of Menteith, in right of his wife, daughter to the Earl of Menteith, 1215. (17). See Sir Walter Stuart, 1258.
William Cumin,—Earl of Buchan, in right of his wife, daughter, and heir of Fergus, Earl of Buchan, 1220. (18). Forfeited in 1306. See Walter Stewart, 1373.
Alexander Cunningham,—Lord Cunningham of Kilmaurs, in Ayrshire, 1450. (81). See Alexander Cunningham, 1488.
Alexander Cunningham, Lord Cunningham of Kilmaurs,—Earl of Glencairn, 1488. (116).
James Dalrymple,—Lord Glenluce and Stranraer, in Wigtonshire, and Viscount Stair, in Ayrshire, 1690. (355). See John Dalrymple, 1703.
John Dalrymple, Viscount Stair,—Lord Newliston, Glenluce, and Stranraer, Viscount Dalrymple, and Earl of Stair, 1703. (377).
Robert Dalzell,—Lord Dalzell, 1628. (233). See Robert Dalzell, 1639.
Robert Dalzell, Lord Dalzell,—Earl of Carnwath, 1639. (269). Forfeited in 1715.
Sir Robert Denniston,—Lord Dennistoun, 1373. (47y). Extinct in 1394.
Archibald Douglas, Marquis of Douglas,—Lord Bothwell and Hartside, and Earl of Forfar and Ormond, 1651. (306). Extinct in 1715.

Archibald Douglas, Marquis of Douglas,—Duke of Douglas, 1703. (383). Extinct in 1761.
Lord Charles Douglas (second son to the Duke of Queensberry),—Baron Tibbers, and Earl of Solway in Dumfriesshire, 1706. (388). Extinct in 1778.
George Douglas,—Earl of Angus, 1381. (52). See William Douglas, 1633.
Lord George Douglas (son to the Marquis of Douglas),—Lord Ettrick, and Earl of Dumbarton, 1675. (332). Extinct in 1717.
Hugh Douglas,—Earl of Ormond, 1444. (71). Attainted and beheaded in 1555.
James Douglas,—Lord Dalkeith and Aberdour, and Earl of Morton, 1457. (99).
Sir James Douglas,—Lord Mordington, 1633. (262).
John Douglas,—Lord Balvenie, 1444. (72). Attainted and beheaded in 1555.
Robert Douglas (son of the Laird of Lochleven),—Earl of Buchan, 1558. (134).
William Douglass, Earl of Angus,—Marquis of Douglas, 1633. (242). See Archibald Douglas, 1703.
Sir William Douglas,—Lord Douglas of Hawick and Tibbers, in Roxburghshire, and Viscount Drumlanrig, in the county of Dumfries, 1628. (232).
William Douglas, Earl of Selkirk (husband to Anne, Duchess of Hamilton),—Duke of Hamilton, 1660. (314).
Lord William Douglas (second son of William, Marquis of Douglas),—Lord Dair and Shortcleuch, and Earl of Selkirk, 1646. (290).
Lord William Douglas (second son to the Duke of Queensberry),—Lord Douglas, of Nidpath, Lyne, and Manerhead, and Earl of March, 1697. (361).
Sir William de Douglas,—Lord Douglas, 1061 (?). (2). See William Douglas, 1346.
William Douglas, Lord Douglas,—Earl of Douglas, 1346. (39). Forfeited in 1455.
William Douglass, Lord of Liddesdale,—Earl of Athol, 1335. (35).
Sir William Douglas, of Spot, Knt.—Viscount Belhaven, in Haddingtonshire, 1633. (254). Extinct in 1639.
Sir James Douglas of Parkhead,—Lord Carlisle of Torthorwald, in Dumfriesshire, 1609. (195). See John de Carlyle, 1671.
William Douglas, Earl of Queensberry,—Lord Douglas of Kinmount, Middlebie and Dorncok, Viscount of Nith, Torthorwald, and Ross, Earl of Drumlanrig and Sanquhar, and Marquis of Queensberry, 1682. (340). See William Douglas, 1684.
William Douglas, Marquis of Queensberry,—Marquis of Dumfriesshire and Duke of Queensberry, 1684. (345).
William Douglas, Viscount Drumlanrig,—Earl of Queensberry, in Dumfriesshire, 1633. (240). See William Douglas, 1682.
James Drummond, Lord Drummond,—Earl of Perth, 1605. (173).
James Drummond (second son of Lord Drummond),—Lord Madderty, in Perthshire, 1607. (187).
Sir John Drummond,—Lord Drummond, 1487. (113). See James Drummond, 1605.
Hon. John Drummond (second son to James, Earl of Perth),—Viscount Melfort, in Argyleshire, 1685. (346). See John Drummond, 1686.
John Drummond, Viscount Melfort,—Lord Drummond of Riccarton, Castlemain and Gilstan, Viscount Forth, and Earl of Melfort, 1686. (349). Forfeited in 1690.
Hon. William Drummond (second son of John, Lord Maderty),—Lord Drummond of Cromlix, and Viscount Strathallan, both in Perthshire, 1686. (351).
John Dunbar,—Earl of Murray, 1372. (44). Forfeited by Douglas in 1455.
Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March,—Earl of Murray, 1346. (40).
Duncan, son to Gilbert Lord of Galloway,—Earl of Carrick, 1185. (16). This title went by his grand-daughter, Margaret, in 1256, to Adam Kilconath, her first husband. He dying without issue, she married, secondly, Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale, and by this family it came to the Crown in 1344.
Sir Alexander Elphinston,—Lord Elphinston. 1509. (130).
Sir James Elphinston of Barnton (third son of Robert, Lord Elphinstone),—Lord Balmerino, in Fifeshire, 1603. (167). Forfeited in 1745.
James Elphinston (second son to James, Lord Balmerino),—Lord Coupar, in Perthshire, 1607. (188).
Henry de Ereskine,—Lord Erskine, 1225. (21).

Sir James Erskine,—Earl of Buchan, 1615. (202).
John Erskine, Earl of Mar,—Lord Cardross, in Stirlingshire, 1604. (168).
Sir Thomas Erskine, Knt.,—Lord Dirleton of Dirleton, in Haddingtonshire, 1603. (164). See Thomas, Lord Dirleton, 1606.
Thomas Erskine, Lord Dirleton,—Viscount Fenton, 1606. (177). See Thomas Erskine, 1619.
Thomas Erskine, Viscount Fenton,—Earl of Kellie, 1619. (209).
Sir Thomas Fairfax,—Lord Fairfax of Cameron, 1627. (225).
Alexander Falconer,—Lord Falconer of Halkerton, in Kincardineshire, 1647. (298)
James Fitzroy, (Duke of Monmouth in England), and his wife, Anne Scot, (Countess of Buccleuch in her own right),—Baron and Baroness Whitchester and Eskdale, Earl and Countess of Dalkeith, and Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, 1673. (329).
John Fleming, Lord Fleming,—Lord Cumbernauld, and Earl of Wigton, 1606. (178). Extinct (?).
Sir Malcolm Fleming,—Earl of Wigton, 1342. (37).
Sir Robert Fleming,—Lord Fleming of Cumbernauld, 1451 (85). See John Fleming, 1606.
Sir Alexander Forbes,—Lord Forbes of Forbes, 1421. (59).
Alexander Forbes,—Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, 1633. (255). Forfeited in 1745.
Sir George Forrester,—Lord Forrester of Corstorphin, in Edinburghshire, 1633. (259).
Andrew Fraser,—Lord Fraser, 1633. (248). Extinct in 1716.
Hugh Fraser,—Lord Fraser of Lovat, 1431. (68). Forfeited in 1745.
Sir James Galloway,—Lord Dunkeld, in Perthshire, 1645. (287). Forfeited in 1690.
Thomas of Galloway,—Earl of Athol, in right of his wife, Isabel, second daughter of the Earl of Athol, 1223. (20). Extinct in him.
Hugo de Gifford,—Lord Yester of Yester in Haddingtonshire, before 1200. See John Hay, 1487.
Alexander Gordon, Lord Gordon,—Earl of Huntly, 1449. (79). See George Gordon, 1599.
Lord Charles Gordon (second son to the Marquis of Huntly),—Lord Gordon of Strathaven and Glenliver, both in Banffshire, and Earl of Aboyne in Aberdeenshire, 1660. (311).
Sir George Gordon, of Haddo,—Lord Haddo, Methlick, and Tarvis, Viscount Formartine, and Earl of Aberdeen, all in Aberdeenshire, 1682. (341).
George Gordon, Earl of Huntly,—Lord of Badenoch, Lochaber, Strathaven, Achindoun, Balmore, Gartley, and Kincardine, Viscount Inverness, Earl of Enzie, and Marquis of Huntly, 1599. (157). See George Gordon, 1684.
George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly,—Duke of Gordon, 1684. (344).
Sir John Gordon (second son to the earl of Huntly),—Lord Aboyne, and Viscount Meldrum, 1625. (222). Extinct in him, 1631.
Sir John Gordon,—Lord Gordon and Huntly, 1376. (49). See Alexander Gordon, 1449.
Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar,—Lord Lochinvar, and Viscount Kenmure, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 1633. (243). Forfeited in 1715.
James Graham, Earl of Airth,—Earl of Menteith, 1644. (285).
James Graham, Earl of Montrose,—Marquis of Montrose, 1644. (286). See James Graham, 1707.
James Graham, Marquis of Montrose,—Lord Aberuthven, Myndock, and Fintray, Viscount Dundass, Earl of Kincardine, Marquis of Graham and Buchanan, and Duke of Montrose, 1707. (389).
John Graham of Claverhouse,—Viscount Dundee, in Forfarshire, 1688. (353). Forfeited in 1690.
Sir John Graham,—Earl of Menteith, 1333. (33).
Malise Graham,—Lord Graham of Kinmont, and Earl of Menteith, 1428. (65). See William Graham, 1632.
Patrick Graham,—Lord Graham, 1445. (75). See William Graham, 1504.
Sir Richard Graham,—Baron Graham of Esk, and Viscount Preston, in Haddingtonshire, 1681. (338). Forfeited in 1690.
William Graham,—Lord Kinpont and Earl of Airth (with precedency from 1428), 1632. (238).

William Graham, Lord Graham,—Earl of Montrose, 1504. (128). See James Graham, 1644.
Sir Andrew Gray,—Lord Gray of Gray, in Perthshire, 1437. (69).
Sir Walter Haliburton,—Lord Haliburton, 1440. (70). Extinct in 1506.
Lord Claud Hamilton (third son of the Duke of Chatelherault, Earl of Arran),—Lord Paisley, in Renfrewshire, 1591. (153). See James Hamilton, 1606.
Lord George Hamilton (fourth son of William, Duke of Hamilton),—Lord Dechmont, Viscount Kirkwall, and Earl of Orkney, 1696. (358).
James Hamilton (eldest son to the Lord Paisley),—Lord Abercorn in Linlithgowshire, 1604. (169).
James Hamilton, Earl of Arran (eldest son of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton),—Duke of Hamilton, 1698. (365).
James Hamilton, Lord Hamilton,—Earl of Arran, 1503. (126). See Lord John Hamilton, 1599.
Sir James Hamilton,—Lord Hamilton of Hamilton, in Lanarkshire, 1445. (77). See James Hamilton, 1503.
James Hamilton, Marquis of Hamilton,—Lord Aberbrothwick, in Forfarshire, 1608. (192). See James Hamilton, 1643.
James Hamilton, Marquis of Hamilton,—Marquis of Clydesdale, and Duke of Hamilton, in Lanarkshire, 1643. (283).
James Hamilton, Lord Paisley and Abercorn,—Lord Hamilton, Mountcastle, and Kilpatrick, and Earl of Abercorn, 1606. (181).
Sir John Hamilton,—Lord Bargeny, in Ayrshire, 1639. (268). Extinct in the Fourth Lord.
Sir John Hamilton, of Broomhill,—Lord Belhaven and Stenton, in Haddingtonshire, 1647. (296).
Lord John Hamilton (second son of the Duke of Chatelherault, Earl of Arran)—Marquis of Hamilton, 1599. (158). See James Hamilton, 1643.
Lord John Hamilton (third son of William, Duke of Hamilton),—Lord Riccarton and Earl of Ruglen, in Lanarkshire, 1697. (360).
Sir Thomas Hamilton,—Lord Binning and Byres, 1613. (200). See Thomas Hamilton, 1619.
Thomas Hamilton, Lord Binning and Byres,—Earl of Melrose, 1619. (211).
Lord William Hamilton (second son of James, Marquis of Hamilton),—Lord Machanshire and Polmount, and Earl of Lanark, 1639. (265). Extinct in 1652.
Sir David Hastings.—Earl of Athol, in right of his wife, Ferelith, third daughter of the Earl of Athol, 1242. (23). In 1269, this title went to the Strathbogie family. Forfeited in 1327.
George Hay, Viscount Dupplin,—Earl of Kinnoul, in Perthshire, 1633. (244).
George Hay,—Lord Hay of Kinfauns, and Viscount Dupplin, 1626. (223). See George Hay, 1633.
Sir James Hay,—Lord Hay of Bewlie (Earl of Carlisle, in England), 1609. (193). Extinct in 1660.
John Hay, Earl of Tweeddale,—Viscount Walden and Earl of Gifford, in Haddingtonshire, and Marquis of Tweeddale, in Peeblesshire, 1694. (357).
John Hay,—Lord Hay, of Yester, 1487. (112). See John Hay, 1646.
John Hay, Lord Hay of Yester,—Earl of Tweeddale, 1646. (292). See John Hay, 1694.
Thomas Hay,—Viscount Dupplin, in Perthshire, 1697. (363).
Sir William Hay,—Lord Hay of Errol, 1424. (60). See William Hay, 1452.
William Hay, Lord Hay,—Earl of Errol, 1452. (88).
Adam Hepburn,—Lord Hailes, 1453. (91). See Patrick Hepburn, 1488.
James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell,—Duke of Orkney (third husband to the Queen), 1567. (139). Forfeited the same year.
Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes,—Earl of Bothwell, 1488. (119). See James Hepburn, 1567.
Sir Herbert Herries,—Lord Herries, of Terreagles, 1493. (124). See Sir John Maxwell, 1566.
Sir Alexander Home,—Lord Home, 1473. (107). See Alexander Home, 1604.
Alexander Home, Lord Home,—Lord Dunglass, and Earl of Home, in Berwickshire, 1604. (171).
Charles Hope,—Lord Hope,—Viscount Aithrie, and Earl of Hopetoun, 1703. (382).

George Hume,—Lord Hume of Berwick, (in England), Earl of Dunbar, 1605. (175).
Sir Patrick Hume,—Lord Polwarth, in Berwickshire, 1694. (356). See Patrick Hume, 1697.
Patrick Hume, Lord Polwarth,—Lord Redbraes and Greenlaw, Viscount Blassonberry, and Earl of Marchmont, all in Berwickshire, 1697. (362).
Henry Ingram,—Lord Ingram and Viscount Irwin, 1661. (320). Extinct.
James Johnstone, Earl of Hartfield,—Earl of Annandale, Viscount Annan, Lord Lochmaben, Moffat, and Evandale, 1661. (319). See William Johnstone, 1701.
James Johnstone, Lord Johnstone,—Earl of Hartfield, in Dumfriesshire, 1643. (282). See James Johnston, 1661.
James Johnstone,—Lord Johnstone of Lochwood, in Dumfriesshire, 1633. (249). See James Johnstone, 1643.
William Johnston, Earl of Annandale and Hartfield,—Marquis of Annandale, 1701. (373).
Andrew Keith (son to the Earl Marischal),—Lord Keith of Dingwall, 1584. (149). Extinct in 1589.
Sir John Keith (second son to William, Earl Marischal),—Lord Keith of Inverurie and Keith Hall, and Earl of Kintore, 1677. (334).
Robert Keith (son of William, 4th Earl Marischal),—Lord Altree, 1587. (150). Extinct in 1612.
Sir William de Keith,—Lord Keith, 1450. (80). See William Keith, 1455.
William Keith, Lord Keith,—Earl Marischal, 1455. (95). Forfeited in 1715.
David Kennedy, Lord Kennedy,—Earl of Cassillis, 1509. (129).
Sir Gilbert Kennedy,—Lord Kennedy of Cassillis, 1450. (83). See David Kennedy, 1509.
Sir Andrew Ker,—Lord Jedburgh, in Roxburghshire, 1622. (214).
John Ker, Earl of Roxburgh,—Viscount Broxmouth, Earl of Kelso, Marquis of Cessford and Beaumont, and Duke of Roxburgh, 1707. (390).
Mark Ker,—Lord Newbattle, in Edinburghshire, 1591. (155) See Mark Ker, 1606.
Mark Ker, Lord Newbattle,—Earl of Lothian, 1606. (183). See William Ker, 1631.
Robert Ker, Earl of Lothian and Ancrum,—Marquis of Lothian, 1701. (371).
Sir Robert Ker,—Lord Ker of Nisbit, Long, Newton, and Dolphinton, and Earl of Ancrum, 1633. (253).
Robert Ker, Lord Roxburgh,—Lord Cessford and Caverston, and Earl of Roxburgh, 1616. (203). See John Ker, 1707.
Sir Robert Ker,—Lord Roxburgh, 1603, (166). See Robert Kerr, 1616.
William Ker, Esq. (eldest son of Sir Robert Ker, afterwards Earl of Ancrum),—Lord Newbattle, in Edinburghshire, and Earl of Lothian, 1631 (236 and 237). See Mark Ker, 1606, and Robert Ker, 1701.
Adam Kilconath,—Earl of Carrick, 1256. (24).
James King,—Lord Eythen, 1642. (279). Extinct in him.
George Kinnaird,—Lord Kinnaird, of Inchture, in Perthshire, 1682. (343).
Alwyn,—Earl of Lennox, 1153. (14). Extinct in 1373. See John Stuart, 1470.
Charles Lennox (natural son to the King; Duke of Richmond in England),—Lord Torbolton, Earl of Darnley, and Duke of Lennox, 1675. (331).
Sir Alexander Leslie,—Lord Balgony and Earl of Leven, both in Fifeshire, 1641. (272).
David Leslie,—Lord Newark, in Fifeshire, 1660. (309).
Sir George Leslie,—Lord Leslie of Rothes, 1390. (53). See George Leslie, 1457.
George Leslie, Lord Leslie,—Earl of Rothes, 1457. (98). See John Leslie, 1680.
John Leslie, Earl of Rothes,—Lord Auchmoutie and Caskieberry, Viscount Lugton, Earl of Leslie, Marquis of Bambreich, and Duke of Rothes, 1680. (336). These titles became extinct in 1681.
Sir Patrick Leslie (second son of Andrew, Earl of Rothes),—Lord Lindores, in Fifeshire, 1600. (162).
Alexander, Lord Lindsay, of Balcarras,—Earl of Balcarras, in Fifeshire, 1651. (304).
Sir Alexander Lindsay (second son of David, 8th Earl of Crawford),—Lord Spynie, 1590. (151). Extinct (?).
Sir David Lindsay,—Lord Crauford, 1240. (22). See David Lindsay, 1399.
David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford,—Duke of Montrose, May 4, 1488. (115). Extinct in 1494–95.

Sir David Lindsay,—Lord Lindsay of Balcarras, in Fifeshire, 1633. (257). See Alexander, Lord Lindsay, 1651.
David Lindsay, Lord Crauford and Glenesk,—Earl of Crauford, 1399. (55). See David Lindsay, 1480.
John Lindsay, Lord Lindsay of Byres,—Earl of Lindsay, 1633. (261).
Sir William Lindsay,—Lord Lindsay of Byres, 1376. (48). See John Lindsay, 1633.
Alexander Livingstone, Lord Livingstone,—Earl of Linlithgow, 1600. (160). Forfeited, 1715.
Sir James Livingstone,—Lord Campsie and Viscount Kilsyth, in Dumbartonshire, 1661. (324). Extinct.
Sir James Livingstone (second son to the Earl of Linlithgow),—Lord Livingstone of Almond, 1633. (247). See James Livingstone, 1639.
James Livingstone, Lord Livingstone of Almond,—Earl of Callendar, in Stirlingshire, 1639. (271). Forfeited in 1715.
Sir James Livingstone,—Lord Livingstone of Callendar, in Stirlingshire, 1452. (89). See Alexander Livingstone, 1600.
Sir James Livingstone,—Viscount Newburgh, in Fifeshire, 1647. (294). See James Livingstone, 1660.
James Livingstone, Viscount Newburgh,—Lord Livingstone of Flaccraig, Viscount Kinnaird, and Earl of Newburgh, 1660. (317).
Sir Thomas Livingstone,—Viscount Teviot, 1698. (366). Extinct in 1711.
Alanus de Londiniis,—Earl of Athol, in right of his wife, eldest daughter of the Earl of Athol, 1223. (19.) Died without issue the same year.
Sir Robert Lyle,—Lord Lyle, 1453. (93).
Sir John Lyon,—Lord Glamis, 1383. (51). See Patrick Lyon, 1606.
Patrick Lyon, Lord Glamis,—Lord Lyon and Earl of Kinghorn, in Fifeshire, 1606. (180).
Æneas McDonald,—Lord McDonald of Aras, 1660. (312).
Alexander McDonald, Lord of the Isles,—Earl of Ross, 1430. (67). Forfeited in 1475.
Sir Robert McLellan,—Lord Kirkcudbright, 1633. (245).
Macduff,—Earl of Fife, 1061 (?). (3). Extinct in 1353.
Sir James Macgill,—Lord Macgill of Cousland and Viscount Oxenfurd, 1651. (307) Extinct in 1706.
Donald Mackay,—Lord Reay, 1628. (227).
Sir George Mackenzie,—Lord Macleod and Castlehaven, and Viscount Tarbat, 1685. (347). See George Mackenzie, 1703.
George Mackenzie, Viscount Tarbat,—Earl of Cromartie, 1703. (376). Forfeited in 1745.
Kenneth Mackenzie,—Lord McKenzie of Kintail, in Ross-shire, 1609. (197). See Kenneth Mackenzie, 1624.
Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Mackenzie of Kintail,—Viscount Fortross and Earl of Seaforth, in Ross-shire, 1624. (221). Forfeited in 1715.
MacWilliam,—Earl of Caithness, 1129. (9). Forfeited in the person of the third Earl.
John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale,—Marquis of March and Duke of Lauderdale, 1672. (328). Extinct in 1682.
John Maitland, Viscount Maitland,—Earl of Lauderdale, in Berwickshire, 1624. (220). See John Maitland, 1672.
John Maitland, Lord Maitland of Thirlestane,—Viscount Maitland of Lauderdale, 1616. (204). See John Maitland. 1624.
Sir John Maitland, Knt.,—Lord Maitland of Thirlestane in Berwickshire, 1590. (152). See John Maitland, 1616.
Martacus,—Earl of Mar, 1061 (?). (4). See Alexander Stuart, 1404.
Cospatrick,—Earl of March, 1129. (11). This family afterwards assumed the surname of Dunbar, and are frequently styled Earls of Dunbar. Forfeited in 1434.
Patrick Maule,—Lord Maule of Brechin and Navar, and Earl of Panmure, all in Forfarshire, 1646. (289). Extinct in 1782.
Sir Herbert Maxwell,—Lord Maxwell of Carlaverock, 1424. (61). See Robert Maxwell, 1581.
Sir James Maxwell,—Lord Innerwick, in Haddingtonshire, 1633. (263). See James, Lord Innerwick, 1646.

Sir John Maxwell (second son of Lord Maxwell),—Lord Herries, 1566. (138).
James Maxwell (of Yorkshire), Lord Innerwick,—Lord Elbottle, and Earl of Dirleton, in the county of Haddington, 1646. (291). Extinct in him.
Robert Maxwell, Lord Maxwell,—Earl of Nithsdale, 1581. (145). Forfeited in 1715.
George Melville, Lord Melville,—Lord Raith, Monymeal and Balwearie, Viscount Kirkaldy, and Earl of Melville, all in Fifeshire, 1690. (354).
Robert Melville,—Lord Melville of Melville, in Fifeshire, 1616. (206). See George Melville, 1690.
John Middleton,—Lord Clermont and Fettercairn, and earl of Middleton, 1660. (313). Forfeited in 1695.
Hugh Montgomery, Lord Montgomery,—Earl of Eglintoun, 1503. (127).
Sir John Montgomery,—Lord Montgomery, 1427. (64). See Hugh Montgomery, 1503.
Sir William Moneypenny,—Lord Monypenny, 1450. (84). Extinct in 1495.
Sir Maurice Moray,—Earl of Strathern, 1343. (38). Extinct in 1346.
Murdoch,—Earl of Menteith, 1129. (10). An heir-female carried it to the Cumin family in 1215.
Sir Andrew Murray,—Lord Balvaird, in Fifeshire, 1641. (276).
Lord Charles Murray (second son to the Marquis of Athol),—Lord Murray, of Blair, Viscount Fincastle, and Earl of Dunmore, all in Perthshire, 1686. (350).
Sir David Murray of Gospertier, Knt.,—Lord Scoon, 1605. (172). See David Murray, 1622.
David Murray, Lord Scoon,—Viscount Stormont, in Perthshire, 1622. (215).
John Murray, Marquis of Athol,—Lord Balvennie and Gask, Viscount Balquhidder, Earl of Strathtay and Strathardle, Marquis of Tullibardine and Duke of Athol, all in Perthshire, 1703. (384).
Lady Elizabeth Murray (daughter and heir of William Murray, Earl of Dysart), spouse to Sir Lionel Tollemach,—Baroness Huntingtower, and Countess of Dysart, 1660. (315).
John Murray, Earl of Athol and Tullibardine,—Viscount Glenalmond and Marquis of Athol, 1676. (333). See John, Marquis of Athol, 1703.
John Murray, of Cockpool,—Lord Cockpool and Lochmaben, Viscount Annan, and Earl of Annandale, 1624. (219). Extinct in 1658.
John Murray (eldest son to the Marquis of Athol),—Viscount Glenalmond, and Earl of Tullibardine, in Perthshire, 1697. (359).
John Murray, Lord Murray (only son of William, Earl of Tullibardine),—Earl of Athol, 1629. (235). See John Murray, 1676.
Sir John Murray,—Lord Murray of Tullibardine in Perthshire, 1604. (170). See John Murray, 1606.
John Murray, Lord Murray of Tullibardine,—Earl of Tullibardine, in Perthshire, 1606. (182). William Murray, 1628, and John Murray, 1629.
Sir Patrick Murray,—Lord Elibank, 1643. (284).
William Murray,—Lord Huntingtower, in Perthshire, and Earl of Dysart, in Fifeshire, 1646. (288). Extinct in him.
William Murray,—Earl of Tullibardine, surrendered and reissued, 1628. (229).
Sir Robert Nairne,—Lord Nairne, 1681. (337). Forfeited in 1715.
Sir Archibald Napier,—Lord Napier of Merchiston, in Edinburghshire, 1627. (224).
Sir George Ogilvie, of Banff,—Lord Ogilvie, of Banff, 1642. (281).
James Ogilvie, Lord Ogilvie of Airlie,—Earl of Airlie, in Forfarshire, 1639. (266). Forfeited in 1715.
James Ogilvie, Lord Ogilvie of Deskford,—Earl of Findlater, 1633. (264).
Sir James Ogilvie, Lord Deskford (eldest son of the Earl of Findlater),—Viscount Seafield, 1698. (364). See James Ogilvie, 1701.
James Ogilvie, Viscount Seafield,—Viscount Redhaven, and Earl of Seafield, 1701. (372).
Sir John Ogilvie of Lintrethan,—Lord Ogilvie of Airlie, 1491. (123). See James Ogilvie, 1639.
Sir Walter Ogilvie,—Lord Ogilvie, of Deskford, in Banffshire, 1616. (207). See James Ogilvie, 1638.
Sir Laurence Oliphant, of Aberdelgy,—Lord Oliphant, 1458. (102). Extinct in 1751.

Sir Thomas Osborne (Duke of Leeds in England),—Viscount Dunblane, in Perthshire, 1673. (330).
Sir Richard Preston, of Craigmiller, Knt.,—Lord Dingwall (afterwards Earl of Desmond, in Ireland), 1607. (190). Forfeited by Ormond, 1715.
Archibald Primrose,—Viscount Rosebery, 1700. (369). See Archibald Primrose, 1703.
Archibald Primrose, Viscount Rosebery,—Lord Dalmeny and Primrose, Viscount Innerkeithing, and Earl of Rosebery, 1703. (379).
Sir James Primrose,—Lord Primrose of Castlefield, and Viscount Primrose, 1703. (385). Extinct.
Sir George Ramsay,—Lord Ramsay of Melrose, in Roxburghshire, 1618. (208). See William Ramsay, 1633.
Sir John Ramsay,—Lord Bothwell, 1486. (111). Forfeited in 1488.
Sir John Ramsay,—Viscount Haddington (Earl of Holderness in England), 1606. (179). Extinct in 1625.
William Ramsay, Lord Ramsay,—Lord Carrington and Earl of Dalhousie, both in Edinburghshire, 1633. (258).
Sir Thomas Randolph,—Earl of Murray, 1313. (28). Passed to Dunbar and Douglas families. Forfeited in 1455.
Sir Andrew Rollo, Knt.,—Lord Rollo of Duncrub, Perthshire, 1651. (305).
Sir John Ross,—Lord Ross of Halkhead, 1489. (122). Extinct in 1754.
Malcolm,—Earl of Ross, 1162. (15). This title went by heir-female in 1370 to the Leslie family; from them, by an heir-female, to the Stuart family; and, in like manner, to the MacDonald family, by whom it was forfeited.
Andrew Rutherford,—Lord Rutherford, 1661. (318). See Andrew Rutherford, 1663.
Andrew Rutherford, Lord Rutherford,—Earl of Teviot. 1663. (325). Extinct in 1664.
Patrick Ruthven,—Lord Ruthven of Ettrick, in Selkirkshire, 1639. (270). See Patrick Ruthven, 1642.
Patrick Ruthven, Lord Ruthven of Ettrick,—Earl of Forth, 1642. (277). Extinct in 1651.
Sir Thomas Ruthven,—Lord Ruthven of Freeland, in Perthshire, 1651. (308).
Sir William Ruthven,—Lord Ruthven, 1487. (114). See William Ruthven, 1581.
William Ruthven, Lord Ruthven,—Earl of Gowrie, in Perthshire, 1581. (143). Forfeited, the second time, in 1600.
Sir James Sandilands, of St. Monance,—Lord Abercrombie, in Fifeshire, 1647. (295). Extinct in James, the Second Lord.
Sir James Sandilands,—Lord Torphichen, 1563. (136).
Lord Henry Scot (second son to the Duchess of Buccleuch),—Lord Scot, of Goldieland, Viscount Hermitage, and Earl of Deloraine, 1706. (387).
Sir Walter Scot,—Lord Scot of Buccleuch, in Roxburghshire, 1606. (176). See Walter Scot, 1619.
Walter Scot, Lord Scot,—Earl of Buccleuch, 1619. (210).
Walter Scot (husband to the Countess of Buccleuch),—Earl of Tarras, 1660. (310).
John Scrymgeour, Viscount Dudhope,—Earl of Dundee, in Forfarshire, 1661. (322). Extinct in 1668.
Sir John Scrymgeour,—Lord Scrymgeour and Viscount Dudhope, in Forfarshire, 1641. (273). See John Scrymgeour, 1661.
Sir John Semple,—Lord Semple, 1488. (121).
Alexander Seton (third son of George, 3d Lord Seton), Lord Fyvie and Urquhart in Aberdeenshire, 1591. (154). See Alexander Seton, 1605.
Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie,—Earl of Dunfermline, in Fifeshire, 1605. (174). Forfeited in 1690.
Sir Alexander Seton, Knt. (second son of George, second earl of Wintoun),—Viscount Kingston, 1650. (301). Extinct in 1726.
Sir John Seton,—Lord Seton, 1424. (62). See Robert Seton, 1600.
Robert Seton, Lord Seton,—Lord Tranent, and Earl of Wintoun, 1600. (161). Forfeited, 1715.
Henry St. Clair,—Lord Sinclair, 1488. (120).
Sir Henry Sinclair,—Earl of Orkney, 1379. (50). Reverted to the Crown, 1471.
William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney,—Earl of Caithness, 1456. (96).
Sir William Somerville,—Lord Somerville, 1424. (63).

Hon. Robert Spencer (second son to the Earl of Sunderland),—Viscount Teviot, 1686. (352). Extinct in him.
Alexander Stewart,—Duke of Albany, 1451. (86). Extinct in 1536.
Alexander Stewart, Duke of Albany,—Earl of March, 1478. (108). Extinct in 1536.
Alexander Stewart,—Lord Badenoch and Earl of Buchan, 1373. (46). Extinct in 1394.
Alexander Stewart, second son to the King,—Lord Brechen and Navar, Earl of Ardmannach, and Marquis of Ormond, 1480. (109). See Alexander Stewart, 1488.
Alexander Stuart, Earl of Buchan,—Earl of Mar, 1404. (57). Extinct in him, 1436.
Alexander Stewart, Lord Gairlies,—Earl of Galloway, 1623. (218).
Sir Alexander Stewart, Knt.,—Lord Gairlies, in Wigtonshire, 1607. (186). See Alexander Stewart, 1623.
Alexander Stuart (second son to the King), Marquis of Ormond,—Duke of Ross (afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews), 1488. (117). Extinct in 1503.
Andrew Stewart,—Lord Evandale, 1456. (97).
Prince David Stewart,—Earl of Strathern, 1370. (43). Extinct.
David Stewart, Prince of Scotland,—Duke of Rothesay, and Earl of Carrick, 1398. (54). Extinct in 1401.
Esme Stewart, Earl of Lennox and March,—Duke of Lennox, 1581. (142). Extinct in 1672.
Francis Stewart (son of John, Prior of Coldingham, natural son of King James V.), —Lord Hailes, and Earl of Bothwell, 1583. (148). Extinct (?).
Frederick Stewart,—Lord Pittenweem, in Fifeshire, 1609. (196). Extinct in him.
Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley (eldest son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox),—Lord Ardmannach, and Earl of Ross, 1565. (137).
Henry Stewart (second son of the Lord Evandale),—Lord Methven of Methven, in Perthshire, 1528. (131). Extinct in 1572.
Henry Stewart (second son to the Lord Doun),—Lord St. Colme of Inch-Colme, in Fifeshire, 1611. (199). Extinct in his son.
His Royal Highness, James Stuart, Duke of York (brother to the King, afterwards King James VII.),—Duke of Albany, 1660. (316).
Sir James Stewart,—Lord Auchterhouse, and Earl of Buchan, 1469. (104).
Sir James Stuart of Bute,—Lord Cumra and Inchmarnock, Viscount Mountstuart and Kingarf, and Earl of Bute, 1703. (381).
Sir James Stewart,—Lord Doun, 1581. (146). See James, Lord Doun, 1582.
James Stewart,—Lord Hamilton, Aberbrothwick, and Bothwellhaugh, and Earl of Arran, 1581. (141). Revoked in 1585.
James Stewart (natural son to the King),—Earl of Murray, 1501. (125). Extinct in 1544.
James Stewart (natural son of King James V.),—Earl of Murray, 1562. (135).
Sir John Stewart, of Balveny in Banffshire,—Earl of Athol, 1457. (100). Extinct in 1594. See John Stewart, 1596.
Sir John Stewart of Bondill,—Earl of Angus, 1330. (30).
John Stewart,—Earl of Buchan and Ross, 1406. (58). Extinct in 1424.
John Stewart (eldest son of Robert, Earl of Athol, afterwards King Robert II.),—Earl of Carrick, 1341. (36).
Sir John Stewart,—Lord Darnley, 1453. (90). See John Stewart, 1470.
John Stewart, Lord Kinclaven,—Earl of Carrick, 1633. (260). Extinct in 1652.
John Stewart, Lord Darnley,—Earl of Lennox, 1470. (105). See Esme Stewart, 1581.
John Stewart, Lord Innermeath,—Earl of Athol, in Perthshire, 1596. (156). See John Murray, 1629.
John Stewart,—Lord Lorne, 1453. (94). Extinct.
John Stewart,—Earl of Mar, 1452. (87). Extinct in him, 1476.
John Stewart, second son of Robert, Earl of Orkney,—Lord Kinclaven in Perthshire, 1607. (191). See John Stewart, 1633.
John Stewart,—Lord Stewart of Traquair, in Peeblesshire, 1628. (231). See John Stewart, 1633.
John Stewart, Lord Stewart,—Lord Linton and Caverston, and Earl of Traquair, in Peeblesshire, 1633. (252).

Robert Stewart, Earl of Athol (nephew to the King, and Lord High Steward of Scotland),—Earl of Strathern, 1358. (42).
Prince Robert Stuart, second son to the King,—Earl of Fife and Menteith, and Duke of Albany, 1540. (133). Reverted to the Crown at his death.
Robert Stewart, Earl of Lennox,—Lord Dunbar and Earl of March, 1579. (140). Extinct in 1586.
Prince Charles Stuart (second son to the King),—Lord of Ardmanock, Earl of Ross, Marquis of Ormond, and Duke of Albany, afterwards King Charles I., 1600. (159).
James Stuart, Lord Doun,—Earl of Moray, 1582. (147).
John Stuart (third son to the King),—Earl of Mar, 1488. (118). Extinct.
Robert Stuart (afterwards Duke of Albany, grand nephew to the King),—Earl of Menteith, 1346. (41).
Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith and Fife,—Duke of Albany, 1399. (56). Forfeited, 1425.
Robert Stewart, of Strathdon (natural son of King James V.),—Earl of Orkney, 1581. (144).
Walter Stewart,—Earl of Athol, 1373. (45). Forfeited in 1437. See John Stewart, 1596. Extinct in 1394.
Walter Stewart,—Lord Blantyre, 1606. (184).
Sir Walter Stuart,—Earl of Menteith, 1258. (25).
Malisius,—Earl of Strathern, 1115. (7). See Sir Maurice Moray, 1343.
Alexander Sutherland,—Lord Duffus, 1650. (302). Forfeited in 1715.
William Sutherland,—Earl of Sutherland, 1067. (6). An heir-female carried the honours to her husband, Adam Gordon, son to the Earl of Huntly; the family have since resumed the name of Sutherland.
Philip Valoniis,—Lord Panmure, 1066. (5). Extinct in 1219.
Sir James Wemyss, of Caskieberry,—Lord Burntisland, in Fifeshire, 1672. (327).
Sir John Wemyss,—Lord Wemyss, of Elcho, in Perthshire, 1628. (230). See John Wemyss, 1633.
John Wemyss, Lord Wemyss of Elcho,—Lord Methill and Earl of Wemyss, both in Fifeshire, 1633. (256).

A LIST OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND

(With their Sees, dates of Consecration, and Order of Succession)

BISHOPS OF MORTLICH AND ABERDEEN—(The first three doubtful)

(The See was translated to Aberdeen by Nectanus, bishop in 1106)

Adam Bellenden, translated from Dunblane, 1635. (35). Deprived by the Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, when he retired into England, and died soon after.
Hugh Benham, 1267. (15).
Robert Blackader, Prebend of Glasgow, 1480. (26). Translated to Glasgow.
Peter Blackburn, Rector of St. Nicholas's Church, Aberdeen. 1603. (33).
Alexander Burnet, Chaplain to the garrison of Dunkirk. 1662. (37). Translated to Glasgow.
Adam Carail, after 1200, before 1228. (9).
Henry le Clen, 1281. (16).
David Cunningham, Subdean of Glasgow, 1577. (32). Died in 1603.
William de Deyn, 1345. (18).
Donortius, ——. (2). He died in 1098.
Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1518. (29).
Edward, after 1106, before 1164. (5).
William Elphinston, translated from Ross, 1484. (27). At different times Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, and frequently employed in a public character at foreign courts. He founded the University of old Aberdeen; for which purpose he got a bull from Alexander VI. in 1494. He died in 1514.
Alexander Forbes, translated from Caithness, 1615. (34).
Galfrid, after 1106, before 1164. (6).
Alexander Gordon, Precentor of the See of Moray, 1515. (28).
William Gordon, Rector of Clatt, after 1545, before 1577. (31).

Gormacus, after 1098, before 1106? (3).
Gilbert Greenlaw, Lord Chancellor. 1390. (22).
George Haliburton, Translated from Brechin, 1682. (39). He was ejected soon after the Revolution, and died in 1715.
John, Prior of Kelso. 1200. (8).
Alexander Kinninmound, Doctor of Theology, 1329. (17).
Alexander de Kinninmound, 2d. 1357. (20).
Matthew Kinninmound, Archdeacon of Lothian, 1164. (7).
Randolph de Lambley, Abbot of Aberbrothock, 1238. (12).
Henry de Leighton, Translated from Moray, 1424. (23).
Ingeram Lindsay, 1442. (24).
David Mitchell, Prebendary of Westminster. 1661. (36).
Nectanus, 1106. He translated the See to Aberdeen, and King David I. greatly increased its revenue. (4).
Richard de Potton, 1256. (14).
John Rait, D.D., 1351. (19).
Petre de Ramsay, 1247. (13).
St. Beanus, 1015? (1).
Matthew Scot, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, after 1200, before 1228. (10). Lord Chancellor.
Patrick Scougal, Parson of Saltoun, 166–. (38).
Thomas Spence, translated from Galloway, 1459. (25).
William Stewart, Dean of Glasgow and Provost of Lincluden, Lord Treasurer. 1532. (30). Died in 1545.
Gilbert de Stryvelin, 1228. (11).
Adam de Tinningham, Dean of Aberdeen, 1382. (21).

BISHOPS OF ARGYLE

Alan, 1250. (4).
Andrew, 1304. (6).
Andrew Boyd (natural son to the Lord Boyd), Prebend of Glasgow, 1613. (19).
John Campbell, son to the preceding bishop. 1608. (18).
Neil Campbell, Parson of Kilmartin, 1580. (17). He resigned.
Robert Colquhoun, Rector of Luss, 1473. (11).
William Cunningham (brother to the Earl of Glencairn), 1539. (14).
David, 1330. (7).
Evaldus, 1200. (1).
James Fairly, Minister in Edinburgh, 1637. (20).
Colin Falconer, Parson at Forres, 1679. (25). Translated to Moray.
Finley, a Dominican Friar, chaplain to Murdoch, Duke of Albany, 1425. (9).
David Fletcher, Parson at Melross, 1662. (22).
David Hamilton, 1505. (13).
James Hamilton (natural brother to the Duke of Chautelherault), Subdean of the Glasgow, the first Protestant bishop of this See, 1558. (16).
Harald, 1228. (2).
John, 1499. (12).
George Lauder, Preceptor of St. Laurence, Peebles, 1427. (10).
Laurence, 1261. (5).
—— Macbean, Parson at Eastwood, 1680. (26).
Martin, 1342. (8).
Robert Montgomery, Rector of Kirkmichael, 1530. (15).
Alexander Munro, Principal of the College at Edinburgh, 1688. (27).
Arthur Ross, Parson of Glasgow, 1675. (24). Translated to Glasgow.
William Scrogie, Parson at Rathan, in Aberdeenshire, 1666. (23).
William, 1240. (3).
John Young, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, 1661. (21). Died before consecration.

BISHOPS OF BRECHIN

Adam, 1328. (14).
Albin, or Alwyn, after 1249, before 1275. (8).
John Balfour, 1470. (24).
Alexander Cairncross, 1684. (37). Translated to Glasgow.

Alexander Campbell, the first Protestant Bishop of this See, 1566. (29). He died in 1606.
Donald Campbell, Abbot of Cupar, 1558. (27).
John de Carnoth, 1435. (20).
Dominus G., 1424. (19).
Robert Douglas, Dean of Glasgow, 1682. (36). Translated to Dumblane.
James Drummond, Parson at Muthil. ——. (38). Ejected soon after the Revolution in 1688. He died in 1695.
Edward, a Monk of Cupar of Angus, after 1275, before 1284. (10).
Walter Forrester, Canon of Aberdeen, 1401. (18). Secretary of State.
Gilbert ——. (7). Died in 1249.
Patrick Graham, 1463. (23). Translated to St. Andrews.
Gregory, Archdeacon of Brechin, after 1219, before 1249. (6).
George Haliburton, Parson of Cupar of Angus, 1678. (35). Translated to Aberdeen.
John Hepburn, 1517. (26).
William de Kilconath, Dean of Brechin. (9). Died in 1275.
John de Kynninmond, 1304. (13).
Andrew Lamb, Parson of Burntisland, 1610. (30). Translated to Galloway.
Robert Laurie, Dean of Edinburgh, 1672. (34).
Patrick de Leuchars, Rector of Tinningham in East Lothian, 1354. (16). Lord Chancellor.
David Lindsay, Parson of Dundee, 1619. (31). Translated to Edinburgh.
Robert Mar, 1219. (5).
Walter Meldrum, after 1470, before 1517. (25).
Philip, 1351. (15).
Raluphus, 1202. (4). Died in 1218.
Robert, Archdeacon of Brechin, 1284. (11).
Robert, 1456. (21).
Sampson, after 1150, before 1178. (2).
George Shoreswood, Chancellor of the See of Dunkeld, and Confessor to the King, ——. (22). Lord Chancellor.
John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, after 1558, before 1566. (28).
Stephen, 1384. (17).
David Strachan, Parson of Fettercairn, 1662. (33).
T. ——, 1150. (1).
Turpin, 1178. (3).
Walter Whitford, Subdean of Glasgow, and Rector of Moffat, 1634. (32). Deprived by the Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, and died in 1643.
William, 1290. (12).

BISHOPS OF CAITHNESS

A. ——. (5). Died in 1260.
John Abernethy, Parson of Jedburgh, 1624. (27). Deprived by the Assembly of Glasgow in 1638.
Adam, Abbot of Melross, 1213. (3). He was murdered by the Earl of Caithness.
Andrew, 1150. (1).
Andrew, after 1290, before 1301. (11).
Archibald, Archdeacon of Moray, 1275. (9). He died in 1288.
Ferquhard de Bellaganach, 1301. (12).
David, ——. (13). Died in 1348.
Thomas de Fingask, 1348. (14).
Alexander Forbes, Rector of Fettercairn, 1606. (26). Translated to Aberdeen in 1615.
Patrick Forbes, 1662. (28).
George Gladstones, Minister of St. Andrews, 1600. (25). Translated to St. Andrews.
John Innes, Dean of Ross, 1447. (18). Died in 1448.
John, 1185. (2).
Malcolm, 1410. (16).
Alexander Man, 1389. (15).
William Moodie, 1448. (19). Died in 1460.

St. Gilbert Moray, Chamberlain of Scotland, 1222. (4). He died in 1245.
Nicholas, 1273. (8). The Pope would not confirm him.
Prosper, after 1460, before 1490. (20). Elected Bishop, but resigned.
Alan St. Edmunds. Lord Chancellor, 1290. (10).
John Sinclair (son to the Earl of Caithness), after 1460, before 1490. (21).
Andrew Stewart, Abbot of Fearn, in Ross-shire, 1490, (22). Lord Treasurer.
Andrew Stewart, son to the Earl of Athol, translated from Dunkeld, 1518. (23).
Robert Stewart (brother to the Earl of Lennox, and afterwards Earl of Lenox), 1543. (24). He died in 1586.
Robert Strathbrock, 1444. (17).
Walter, after 1261, before 1273. (7).
William, 1261. (6).
Andrew Wood, translated from the Isles, 1680. (29). Ejected soon after the Revolution in 1688, and died in Dunbar in 1695.

BISHOPS OF DUNBLANE

Abraham, 1220. (6).
Alpin, after 1258, before 1290. (11).
Andreas, after 1362, before 1406. (17).
Nicholas de Balmyle, Lord Chancellor. 1307. (13).
Adam Bellenden, Rector of Falkirk, 1615. (30). Translated to Aberdeen.
Walter Cambuslang, 1362. (16).
James Chisholm, Chaplain to King James III, 1486. (25). Resigned in favour of his brother.
William Chisholm, 1527. (26).
William Chisholm (nephew to the last Bishop). 1654. (27).
Clement, a Dominican preaching Friar, 1233. (9).
Dougal, after 1362, before 1406. (18).
Robert Douglas, translated from Brechin, 1684. (34). Ejected after the Revolution in 1688. He died in 1716.
Finlay, 1406. (19).
Andrew Graham, 1575. (28).
George Graham, Parson of Scoon, 1606. (29). Translated to Orkney.
John Hepburn, 1467. (24).
Jonathan, after 1160, before 1210. (4).
Robert Lauder, 1448. (22).
Laurentius, 1160. (2).
Robert Leighton, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, 1661. (32). Translated to Glasgow.
M. before 1160. (1).
Mauritius, Abbot of Inchaffray, 1319. (14).
Michael Ochiltree, Dean of Dunblane, 1430, (21).
Osbert, 1230. (8).
Robert de Praebenda, Dean of Dunblane, 1258. (10).
Radalphus, after 1220, before 1230. (7).
James Ramsay, Dean of Glasgow, 1673. (33). Translated to Ross.
Simon, after 1160, before 1210. (3).
William Stephen, Divinity reader in the University of St. Andrews, 1420. (20).
Thomas, 1459. (23).
James Wedderburn, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, 1636. (31). Deprived by the Assembly of Glasgow in 1638. Died in 1639.
William, 1210. (5).
William, 1290. (12).
William, 1353. (15).

BISHOPS OF DUNKELD

Walter de Bidun, Lord Chancellor, 1178. (5).
George Brown, Chancellor of the See of Aberdeen, after 1484, before 1515. (35).
Andrew Bruce, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1679. (48).
James Bruce, 1441. (28). Lord Chancellor. Translated to Glasgow.

Robert de Cairny, 1396. (24).
Cormacus, 1177. (3).
Matthew de Crambeth, 1288. (17).
George Crichton (nephew to Bishop George Crichton), 1550. (40).
George Crichton, 1527. (38). Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.
David, 1250. (14).
Gavin Douglas, Provost of St. Giles in Edinburgh, 1516. (37). He was brother to the Earl of Angus.
Duncan, after 1324, before 1386. (20).
Gilbert, after 1214, before 1236. (11).
Gregory, ——. (1). He died about 1169.
Gregory, 2d, about 1177–78. (4).
Henry Guthrie, formerly Parson of Stirling, 1664. (46).
George Haliburton, Parson of Perth, 1662. (45).
John Hamilton (natural son of the Earl of Arran), Abbot of Paisley, 1525. (39). Translated to St. Andrews.
John Hamilton, 1686. (49). He died one of the ministers of Edinburgh after the Revolution.
Alexander Inglis, Dean of Dunkeld, 1483. (33). Keeper of the Rolls.
Richard Inverkeithing, a Prebend of this See, after 1250, before 1272.
John, after 1324, before 1377. (21).
James Kennedy, Abbot of Scoon. Translated to St. Andrews, 1438. (26).
Alexander Lawder, 1440. (27).
Thomas Lawder, Preceptor of Soutray, 1452. (31).
John of Leicester. Archdeacon of Lothian, 1211. (8).
Alexander Lindsay, Parson of St. Mado's. 1638. (44).
James Lindsay, Minister of Perth, 1677. (47).
Galfrid Liverance, 1236. (12).
James Livingston, Dean of Dunkeld, 1476. (32). Lord Chancellor.
Donald MacNaughton, 1436. (25). Died on his way to Rome for confirmation.
Michael Monymusk, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, after 1324, before 1377. (22).
James Nicholson, Parson of Meigle, 1606. (43).
James Paton, the first Protestant Bishop of this See, 1571. (61). He resigned.
John Peebles, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1377. (23). Lord Chancellor.
Richard de Praebenda, 1169. (2).
Richard de Praebenda, 2d., after 1200, before 1211. (7).
John Raulston, Dean of Dunkeld, keeper of the Privy Seal, Secretary of State, and Lord Treasurer, 1448. (30).
Richard, 1249. (13).
Robert, 1484. (34).
Peter Rollock, a Lord of Session, 1603. (42).
John Scot, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1200. (6).
Matthew Scot, Lord Chancellor, translated from Aberdeen, after 1214, before 1236. (10).
Hugh de Sigillo, 1214.
William Sinclair, 1300. (18).
Andrew Stuart, 1515. (36). Son to the Earl of Athol. Translated to Caithness.
Robert de Stuteville, Dean of Dunkeld, 1272. (16).
William Turnbull, Archdeacon of Lothian, 1447. (29). Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Translated to Glasgow.
Walter, 1324. (19).

BISHOPS OF EDINBURGH

William Forbes, 1634. (1). One of the ministers of Edinburgh. He died the same year.
David Lindsay, 1634. (2). Translated from Brechin. He was deprived by the Assembly of Glasgow in 1638.
John Patterson, translated from Galloway, 1679. (5). Translated to Glasgow.
Alexander Ross, translated from Moray, 1687. (6). Ejected soon after the Revolution in 1688.
George Wideheart, Rector of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1662. (3).
Alexander Young. Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1671. (4). Translated to Ross.

BISHOPS OF GALLOWAY—(The second doubtful)

Adam, 1359. (17).
Andrew, 1368. (19).
James Aitkin, translated from Moray, 1680. (39).
Alexander, 1420. (22).
David Arnot, Abbot of Cambus Kenneth, 1509. (27).
James Bethune, Abbot of Dunfermline, 1508. (26). Lord Treasurer. Translated to Glasgow.
Christianus, 1154. (8). (Chalmers names Gillaldan as eighth bishop.)
John Coupar, Parson of Perth, 1615. (33).
Andrew Durie, Abbot of Melross, 1541. (29).
Elisacus, 1415. (20).
Ethilbertus, 776. (6).
Frethwaldus, 736. (4).
Gilbert, Abbot of Kinloss, 1225. (11).
Alexander Gordon, translated from the Isles, 1558. (30). He died in 1576.
John Gordon, 1576. (31). Non-consecrated.
John Gordon, Chaplain to his Majesty at New York, 1688. (40).
Gavin Hamilton, Parson of Hamilton, 1606. (32).
James Hamilton (brother to the first Lord Belhaven), Parson of Cambusnethan, 1661. (36).
Henry, 1334. (15).
Henry, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, 1255. (12).
John, 1189. (9).
Andrew Lamb, translated from Brechin, 1619. (34).
Michael, 1357. (16).
Ninian, about 395. (1).
Octa, before 723? (2).
John Paterson, Dean of Edinburgh, 1674. (37).
Pecthelmus, 723. (3).
Pictuinus, 763. (5).
Badulf, 790. (7).
Arthur Ross, translated from Argyle, 1679. (38). Translated to Glasgow.
Ninian Spot, 1459. (24).
Simon, 1321. (14).
Thomas Sydserf, translated from Brechin, 1634. (35).
Thomas, 1296. (13).
Thomas, 1362. (18).
Thomas, 1415. (21).
Thomas Spence, 1451. (23). Resigned.
George Vaus, 1489. (25).
Walter, 1209. (10).
Henry Weems, 1526. (28).

BISHOPS OF GLASGOW

James Beaton, or Bethune, 1st. Translated from Galloway, 1508. (28). Lord Chancellor. Translated to St. Andrews.
James Beaton, or Bethune, 2d, Abbot of Aberbrothock, 1551. (30).
James Beaton, 2d, 1588. (30). Restored by act of parliament.
Robert Blackader, translated from Aberdeen, 1484. (27).
William de Bondington, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1233. (9). Lord Chancellor.
James Boyd, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, 1572. (32).
James Bruce, translated from Dunkeld, 1446. (22). Lord Chancellor. Died before he was installed Bishop here.
Alexander Burnet, translated from Aberdeen, 1664. (39). Forced to resign by the Duke of Lauderdale in 1669.
Alexander Burnet, 1674. (39). Restored by the Duke of Lauderdale. Translated to St. Andrews.
Alexander Cairncross, translated from Brechin, 1684. (42).
John Cameron, Provost of Lincluden, 1426. (21). Lord Privy Seal.

George Carmichael, Treasurer of the See of Glasgow, 1483. (26). Died before his consecration.
John de Cheyam, Archdeacon of Bath in England, 1260. (10).
Gavin Dunbar, translated from Aberdeen, 1524. (29). Lord Chancellor.
Stephen de Dundimore, Chancellor of the See of Glasgow, 1317. (14).
William Erskine, titular Archbishop, not being in orders, 1585. (34).
Andrew Fairfowl, Parson at Dunse, 1661. (38).
Florentius (son to the Earl of Holland), 1202. (7). Lord Chancellor. He resigned to this See.
Matthew Glendoning, Prebend of Glasgow. 1389. (19).
Herbat, Abbot of Kelso, 1147. (2). Lord Chancellor.
Ingelram, Archdeacon of Glasgow, 1164. (3).
Joceline, Abbot of Melross. 1174. (4).
John, 1115. (1). Lord Chancellor.
John Lang, Lord Treasurer, 1474. (25).
William Lauder, Archdeacon of Lothian, 1408. (20).
James Law, translated from Orkney, 1615. (36).
Robert Leighton, translated from Dunblane, 1671. (40). He resigned in 1674.
John Lindsay, 1325. (16).
Patrick Lindsay, translated from Ross, 1633. (37). Deprived and excommunicated in 1638. Died at Newcastle in 1641.
William Malvoisine, 1200. (6). Lord Chancellor. Translated to St. Andrews.
Nicholas de Moffat, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, 1268.
Robert Montgomery, Parson of Stirling, 1581. (33). He resigned.
Andrew Muirhead, Rector of Cadzow (now Hamilton), 1455. (24).
John Paterson, translated from Edinburgh, 1687. (43). He was ejected soon after the Revolution.
John Porterfield, the first Protestant Bishop of this See, 1571. (31).
William Rae, 1335. (17).
Arthur Ross, translated from Argyle, 1679. (41). Translated to St. Andrews.
Hugo de Roxburgh, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1199. (5). Lord Chancellor.
John Spottiswood, Parson of Calder in Mid Lothian, 1603. (35). Translated to St. Andrews.
William Turnbull, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1448. (23). Lord Privy Seal.
Walter, Chaplain to the King, 1208. (8).
Walter Wardlaw, Archdeacon of Lothian, 1368, (18), and Secretary to the King.
John Wiseheart, Archdeacon of Glasgow, 1319. (15).
Robert Wiseheart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1272. (13).
William Wiseheart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1270 (12), and Lord Chancellor. Translated to St. Andrews.

BISHOPS OF THE ISLES—(The first thirteen probably mythical)

Allan, 1305. (30).
Amphibalus, 360? (1).
Angusius, 1st, 1427. (38).
Angusius, 2d, 1476. (39).
John Campbell, Prior of Ardchattan, 1558. (47). He was the son of the house of Caldar in Nairnshire.
Neil Campbell, Parson of Glastrey, 1634. (52). Deposed by the Glasgow Assembly in 1638.
John Carswell, after 1558, before 1606. (48). Titular.
Christian, after 1154, before 1203. (18).
Conindicus, before 498? (3).
John Dunkan, a Manxman, 1374. (35). Consecrated at Avignon.
Ferquhard, 1530. (44). He resigned.
Gamaliel, an Englishman, 1154. (16).
Germanus, 447? (2).
Gilbert, 1321. (31).
Alexander Gordon (second son of John, Master of Huntly), 1553. (46). Translated to Galloway.
Archibald Graham, Parson of Rothesay, 1680. (55). Ejected soon after the Revolution in 1688.

George Hepburn, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, 1510. (42). Lord Treasurer. Killed at the battle of Flodden, Sept. 9, 1513.
John, 1st, a monk of Sais, 1151. (15).
John, 2d, 1226. (22). By the negligence of his servants unfortunately burnt to death.
John, 3d, 1388. (36). The Isle of Man was now separated from this See.
John, 4th, 149–. (41).
John, 5th, 1524. (43). Elect.
Andrew Knox, Parson of Paisley, 1606. (49). The first Protestant Bishop of this See. Translated to Raphoe in Ireland.
Thomas Knox (son to the foregoing Bishop), 1662. (50).
Laurence, Archdeacon of Man, 1249. (24).
John Lesley, 1628. (51). Translated in 1633 to Raphoe in Ireland. Deprived of it during the Irish Rebellion. In 1661, made Bishop of Clogher, and died in 1671.
Bernard de Linton, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, 1328. (32). Lord Chancellor.
Roderick Maclean, Archdeacon of the Isles, 1544. (45).
Marcus, 1275. (28). Lord Chancellor of Scotland.
Michael, after 1154, before 1203. (19).
Michael, 1409. (37).
Nicholas, 1203. (20).
Onacus, 1304. (29).
Reginald, a Norwegian, after 1154, before 1203. (17).
Reginald, 2d (nephew to Olaus, King of Norway), 1217. (21).
Richard, 1st, 1252. (25).
Richard, 2d, 12—. (27). In his time the Scots regained the Island of Man.
Robert, 1492. (40).
Romulus?, before 498? (4).
Roolwer?, after 889, before 1113? (11).
William Russell, Abbot of Rushen, 1348. (34).
St. Bladus?, after 648, before 889? (8).
St. Brandan, after 889, before 1113? (13).
St. Conan?, 648? (6).
St. Contentus?, after 648, before 889. (7).
St. Machatus, 498? (5).
St. Malchus?, after 648, before 889? (9).
Simon, after 1226, before 1249. (23).
Stephen, 1253. (26).
Tarkinus, 889. (10).
Thomas, 1334. (33).
Robert Wallace, Parson of Barnwell in Ayrshire, 1661. (53).
William?, after 889, before 1113? (12).
Andrew Wood, Parson of Dunbar, 1675. (54). Translated to Caithness.
Wymundus, a Monk of Sais, 1113. (14).

BISHOPS OF MORAY

James Aitkin, 1677. (32). Translated to Galloway.
Archibald, Dean of Moray, 1253. (9).
Alexander Bar, 1362. (12).
Brice, or Bricius (brother to William, Lord Douglas), Prior of Lesmahagow, in Lanarkshire, 1203. (6).
David, 1425. (16).
Alexander Douglas, Parson of Elgin, 1606. (29).
George Douglas (natural son of Archibald, Earl of Angus), the first Protestant Bishop of this See, 1578. (28).
Columba Dunbar, 1429. (17).
Colin Falconer, translated from Argyle, 1680. (33).
Felix, ——. (3). He died in 1170.
Andrew Foreman, 1501. (23). Translated to St. Andrews.
Gregory, 1115. (1).
John Guthrie, Parson of Edinburgh. 1623. (30). Deprived with other Bishops in 1638.

William Hay, Parson of Perth, 1688. (35). He was ejected soon after the Revolution in 1688. He died in 1707.
James Hepburn (third son of Adam, Lord Hales, and brother to Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell), Abbot of Dunfermline, 1516. (24). Lord Treasurer.
Patrick Hepburn (son to Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell), Prior of St. Andrews, 1535. (27). Secretary of State.
John Innes, Archdeacon of Caithness, 1407. (14).
Henry Leighton, Chantor of Moray, 1414. (15). Translated to Aberdeen.
Murdoch Mackenzie. 1662. (31). Translated to Orkney.
Andrew de Moravia, after 1203, before 1242. (7).
David Moray, 1299. (10). He founded the Scots College at Paris.
John Pilmore, Bishop-elect of Ross, 1325. (11).
Richard, Chaplain to King William, 1187. (5).
Alexander Rose, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, 1687. (34).
Robert Schaw, Abbot of Paisley, 1524. (25).
Simon, Dean of Moray, 1242. (8).
William Spynie, Chantor of Elgin, 1397. (13).
Alexander Stewart (son to Alexander, Duke of Albany, son to King James II. by Katharine Sinclair, then his wife, daughter of William, Earl of Orkney and Caithness), 1527. (26).
Andrew Stewart, Sub-dean of Glasgow, 1482. (22). Lord Privy Seal.
David Stewart (brother to James Stewart, bishop in 1459), Parson of Spynie, 1462. (20).
James Stewart, 1459. (19). Lord Treasurer.
Simeon de Tonei, a monk of Melrose, 1171. (4).
William Tulloch, translated from Orkney, 1477. (21). Lord Privy Seal.
William, made Apostolic Legate in 1159. (2).
John Winchester (an Englishman), 1437. (18). Provost of Lincluden and Lord Register.

BISHOPS OF ORKNEY

Robert Baron, Professor of Divinity in the Marischal College of Aberdeen, 1638. (24). Elected Bishop of Orkney, but the ruling powers deprived him of the benefit of his election; and he died at Berwick.
Biarn. ——. (4). Died in September, 1223.
Adam Bothwell, 1562. (21). Died in 1593.
Andrew Bruce, 1688. (28).
Dolgsinnus, 1286. (9).
George Graham, translated from Dunblane, 1615. (23).
Henry, after 1248, before 1270. (7).
Henry, 2d, 1394. (12).
Hervey, of Haufir, 1248. (6).
Andrew Honyman, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1664. (26).
Jofrier, 1223. (5). Died in 1246.
James Law, Parson of Kirkliston, 1606. (22). Translated to Glasgow.
Murdoch Mackenzie, translated from Moray, 1688. (27).
Robert Maxwell, Provost of the collegiate church, Dumbarton, after 1511, before 1540. (19).
Petrus, 1270. (8).
Radalphus, ——. (1). He lived in the time of King David I.
Robert Reid, Prior of Beaulieu, 1540. (20). President of the Court of Session.
Edward Stewart, 1511. (17).
Thomas, after 1511, before 1540. (18).
Thomas Sydserf, 1662. (25). He had been bishop of Galloway before 1638, and was the only surviving Bishop at the Restoration.
Thomas de Tulloch, 1422. (13).
William Tulloch, 1468. (15). Translated to Moray.
William, before 1188. (2).
William, 2d. Died in 1188. (3).
William, 3d, 1310. (10).
William, 4th, 1390. (11).
William, 5th, 1448. (14).

BISHOPS OF ROSS (The first two doubtful.)

Alexander, 1357. (17).
Robert Cairncross, 1539, Abbot of Holyroodhouse. (26). Lord Treasurer.
Robert Cockburn, 1508. (24).
Thomas de Dundmore, 1309. (12).
William Elphinston, Archdeacon of Argyle, 1482. (22). Translated to Aberdeen.
Thomas de Fifyne, 1274. (10).
John Fraser, Abbot of Melross, 1485. (23).
Gregory, 1161. (3).
James Hay, Abbot of Dundrennan, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 1525. (25).
Henry, 1463. (20).
John, 1st, 1334. (15).
John, 2d, 1420. (18).
John Lesley, Secretary to Queen Mary, 1565. He died at Brussels in 1596. (29).
Patrick Lindsay, Parson of St. Vigians, in Angus, 1613. (31). Translated to Glasgow.
David Lindsay, the first Protestant Bishop of this See, 1600. (30).
Macbeth, before 1161. (1).
Matthaeus, 1273. (8). Died in the city of Lyons.
John Maxwell, 1633. (32). Died in 1646.
Andrew Murray, 1213–14. Elected, but he refused to be consecrated.
David Paniter (or Panter), 1546. (27). Secretary of State.
John Paterson, Parson of Aberdeen, 1662. (33).
John Pilmore, 1325. (13).
James Ramsay, translated from Dunblane, 1684, (35). Ejected soon after the Revolution in 1688.
Reinaldis, 1195. (4). He died in 1213.
Robert, Chaplain to King William, 1214. (5).
Robert, 2d, 1269. (7).
Robert, 3d, Archdeacon of Ross, 1270. (8).
Robert, 4th, 1284. (11).
Rogerus, 1st, 1328. (14).
Roger, 2d, 1340. (16).
St. Duthac, after 1214, before 1269.
Simon?, before 1161. (2).
Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, 1560. (28). Lord President of the Court of Session.
Thomas, 1481. (21).
Thomas Urquhart, 1449. (19).
Alexander Young, translated from Edinburgh, 1679. (34).

BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS

Abel, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1253. (23).
Patrick Adamson, Parson of Paisley, 1576. (46). He died in 1591.
Adrian?, 840? (1). Killed by the Danes, and buried in the Island of May, 872.
Alwinus, 1025 to 1028. (7).
William Bell, Dean of Dunkeld, 1332. (29). Elected; but the pope refused to confirm him.
David Benham, 1233. (22). Great Chamberlain to the King.
James Bennet, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1328. (28).
David Bethune, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, nephew to James Bethune, 1539. (43). Cardinal and Lord Chancellor. Killed by Norman Leslie, Feb. 1, 1545.
James Bethune, translated from Glasgow, 1522. (42.) Lord Chancellor.
Alexander Burnet, translated from Glasgow, 1679. (50). Died, 1684.
John Douglas, Rector of the University of St. Andrews, 1572. (45).
Eadmerus, 1120. (14). A monk of Canterbury.
Ernald, Abbot of Kelso, about 1159. (17).
Andrew Foreman, translated from Moray, 1514. (41).
Fothadus, before 952 to 955. (3).
Fothadus II., 1059 to 1093. (10).
William Fraser, Dean of Glasgow, 1279. (26). Lord Chancellor.
Gameline, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1255. (24). Lord Chancellor.

George Gledstanes, translated from Caithness, 1606. (47).
Godericus, who anointed King Edgar in 1093, ——. (13). Died in 1107.
Patrick Graham, translated from Brechin, 1466. (37).
Gilbert Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1404. (34). Elected Lord Chancellor.
Gregorius, after 954, before 1068. (11). Sat two years.
John Hamilton, translated from Dunkeld, 1546. (44). He was the natural son of James, 1st Earl of Arran.
Hugh, Chaplain to King William, 1173. (19).
James Kennedy, translated from Dunkeld, 1440. (36). Lord Chancellor. He was a younger son of James Kennedy of Dunmure, by the Lady Mary, Countess of Angus, a daughter of King Robert III.
Kellach, or Cellach, 904–08 to ——. (2).
Kellach II., 970 to 995. (6).
William Lamberton, Chancellor of the Diocese of Glasgow, 1298. (27).
William Landel, Rector of Kintell, 1341. (30).
Maelbrigde, 963 to 970. (5).
Maelduin, 1028 to 1055. (8).
Malisius, 955 to 963. (4).
William Malvoisine, translated from Glasgow, 1202. (21). Lord Chancellor.
Stephen De Pay, Prior of St. Andrews, 1385. (31). He died at Alnwick, soon after his election.
Richard, 1159, Chaplain to King Malcolm IV. (18).
Robert, Prior of Scoon, 1122. (15).
Roger, son to the Earl of Leicester in England, 1188. (20). Lord Chancellor.
Arthur Ross, translated from Glasgow, 1684. (51). The last Archbishop of this See. He was ejected soon after the Revolution.
William Schives, Archdeacon of St. Andrews. 1478. (38).
John Scot, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1173. (19).
James Sharp, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, 1661. (49). Killed, May 3, 1679.
John Spottiswood, translated from Glasgow, 1615. (48). Lord Chancellor. Died in 1639.
Alexander Stewart (natural son to King James IV.), 1509. (40). He was Legate *a latere*, but was killed along with his father at the battle of Flodden, in 1513.
James Stewart, 1497. (39). Duke of Ross (second son to King James III). Lord Chancellor. He died in 1503.
Thomas Stewart (son to King Robert II.), Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1401. (33)
Walter Trail, Canon of St. Andrews, after 1385, before 1401. (32). Appointed by the pope without an election.
Turgot, after 954, before 1093. (12). Prior of Durham. Sat 25 or 26 years.
Tuthaldus, 1055 to 1059. (9).
Walter, Abbot of Melrose, 1159. (16). Elected, but he could not be prevailed upon to accept.
Henry Wardlaw, Precentor of the See of Glasgow, after 1404, before 1440. (35).
William Wiseheart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1272. (25). Lord Chancellor.

BARONETS OF SCOTLAND

The Order of Knights-Baronets was designed to be established by King James VI., in 1621, but it was not actually founded until the year 1625 when King Charles I., granted a certain portion of land in Acadia, or New Scotland, to each person upon whom a baronetcy was conferred. This land they were to hold of Sir William Alexander (afterwards Earl of Stirling), with precedency to them, and their heirs-male forever, before all Knights called *Equites Aurati*, and all lesser Barons called Lairds, and all other gentlemen, except Sir William Alexander, his Majesty's Lieutenant in Nova Scotia, his heir, their wives and children. The title of Sir was to be prefixed to their Christian name, and Baronet added to their surname; and their own and their eldest sons' wives were to enjoy the title of Lady, Madam, or Dame. Thus, from the institution and design of this order of Baronets in Scotland, they are denominated Baronets of Nova Scotia.

A LIST OF THE BARONETS OF NOVA SCOTIA

Alexander Abercrombie, of Birkenboig, ——.
Archibald Acheson of Glencairny, 1628; afterwards Viscount Gosford, in Ireland.
Patrick Agnew of Lochnaw, 1629.
William Alexander of Menstrie, 1625; afterwards Earl of Stirling. Extinct.
John Anstruther of that ilk, 1694.
Robert Anstruther of Wrae, afterwards of Balcaskie, 1694.
Michael Arnot of Arnot, 1629.
Gideon Bailie of Lochend, 1636. Extinct.
Robert Baird of Saughtonhall, 1695.
William Baird, eldest son of Sir John Baird of Newbyth, 1680. Extinct.
James Balfour of Denmiln, Lord Lyon King at Arms, 1633.
Alexander Bannerman of Elsick, 1682.
Robert Barclay of Pierston, 1668.
Robert Barr, Burgess of Glasgow, ——. Extinct.
Edward Barret, Lord Newburgh, 1628. Extinct.
George Bennet, in the shire of Fife, 1671. Extinct.
William Bennet of Grubet, 1670. Extinct.
Henry Bingham of Castlebar, in Ireland, 1634; afterwards Lord Lucan.
John Blackadder of Tulliallan, 1626. Extinct.
Mary Bolles, Widow Osburton, in Nottinghamshire, 1635.
James Brown of the Island of Barbadoes, 1664. Extinct.
Patrick Brown of Colstoun, 1686. Extinct.
William Bruce of Balcaskie, 1668. Extinct.
William Bruce of Stonehouse, 1629.
Thomas Burnet of Leyes, 1626.
James Calder of Muirton, afterwards of Parkhouse, in the county of Kent, 1686.
Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, 1679. Extinct.
Colin Campbell of Lundie, 1627. Extinct.
Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, 1628. Extinct.
Dugal Campbell, of Auchinbreck, 1628.
Duncan Campbell, of Glenorchy, 1625; afterwards Earl of Breadalbane.
Sir James Campbell of Arbuckle, 1668.
James Carmichael of Westerhall, 1627. Extinct.
John Carmichael of Carmichael, 1627; afterwards Earl of Hyndford.
Alexander Carnegie of Pitarrow, afterwards of Southesk, 1663.
Hugh Cathcart of Carlton, 1703.
James Chalmers of Cults, 1664. Extinct.
John Clerk of Pennicuick, 1679.
John Cochran of Ochiltree, 1679; afterwards Earl of Dundonald.
James Cockburn, of Cockburn, 1671.
William Cockburn, eldest son of Mr. Cockburn of Langton, 1627.
Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, 1704.
John Colquhoun of Luss, or Tillycolquhoun, 1625.
Cooper of Gogar, 1638.
Crawford of Kilbirney, afterwards of Jordanhill, 1638.
Walter Crosbie, of Crosbie Park, in Ireland, 1630.
Alexander Cuming of Culter, 1695.
Alexander Cunningham of Corsehill, 1672.
David Cunningham of Auchinhervie, 1633. Extinct.
David Cunningham of Milncraig, afterwards of Livingstone, 1702.
David Cunningham of Robertland, 1630.
John Cunningham of Caprington, 1669.
William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, 1627. Extinct.
John Curzon of Keddleston, in Derbyshire, 1636; afterwards Lord Scarsdale.
John Dalmahoy of Dalmahoy, 1679. Extinct.
David Dalrymple of Hailes, 1701.
Hugh Dalrymple of North Berwick, 1698.
James Dalrymple of Killoch, afterwards of Cranston, 1698.
James Dalrymple of Stair, afterwards Earl of Stair, 1664.
Robert Dalzell, of Glenae, 1666; afterwards Earl of Carnwath.
Thomas Dalziel of Binns, 1685.

William Davidson, Conservator of the Scots Privileges at Campvere, 1661. Extinct.
William Denham of Westsheil and Coltness, 1693. See James Stewart, 1705.
James Dick of Prestonfield, 1707.
William Dick of Braid, 1638.
Robert Dickson of Sornbeg, 1695.
Alexander Don of Newton, 1667.
James Douglas of Kilhead, 1668.
William Douglas of Glenbervie, 1625.
—— Dunbar of Hemprigs, afterwards of Northfield, 1700.
David Dunbar of Baldoon, 1664. Extinct.
James Dunbar, alias Sutherland, younger, of Hemprigs, second son to Lord Duffus, 1706,
James Dunbar of Mochrum, 1694.
William Dunbar of Durn, 1698.
Gilbert Elliot of Headshaw, afterwards Minto, 1700.
Gilbert Elliot of Stobbs, 1666.
James Elphinstone of Logie, 1701. Extinct.
William Elphinstone, one of his Majesty's cup-bearers, 1628. Extinct.
Charles Erskine of Alva, 1666.
Charles Areskine of Cambo, 1666.
Alexander Falconer of Glenfarquhar, 1670. Extinct.
John Ferguson of Kilkerran, 1703.
Archibald Fleming, Commissary of Glasgow, 1661. Extinct.
Arthur Forbes of Castleforbes, 1628; afterwards Lord Forbes.
Samuel Forbes of Foveran, 1700.
William Forbes of Cragievar, 1630.
William Forbes of Monymusk, afterwards of Pitsligo, 1626.
George Forrester of Corstorphin, 1625; afterwards Lord Forrester. Extinct.
John Fortescue of Salden, in Buckinghamshire, 1636.
John Foulie of Ravelstoun, 1661. Extinct.
Alexander Foulis of Collinton, 1634.
Alexander Fraser, of Dorris, 1673. Extinct.
Alexander Fraser, of Philorth, 1628; afterwards Lord Saltoun.
John Gascoigne, of Barnebon, Yorkshire, 1635.
Henry Gibb of Carribberie, 1634.
Alexander Gibson of Durie, ——. Extinct.
Thomas Gibson, son to Mr. Gibson of Pentland, 1702.
Alexander Gilmour of Craigmillar, 1668.
Alexander Gordon of Cluny, 1625. Extinct.
John Gordon of Embo, 1631.
John Gordon of Haddo, 1642; afterwards Earl of Aberdeen.
John Gordon of Lesmore, 1625.
John Gordon of Park, 1686.
Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, 1625.
Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, 1626; afterwards Viscount Kenmure.
William Gordon of Afton, second son of John Gordon of Earlstoun, 1706.
William Gordon of Dalpholly, 1704. Extinct.
William Graham of Braco, 1625. Extinct.
William Graham of Gartmore, 1665. Extinct.
Francis Grant of Cullen, afterwards of Monymusk, 1705.
James Grant of Delvey, 1688.
James Gray, 1707. Extinct.
Robert Grierson of Lag, 1685.
Charles Halket of Pitfirran, 1671.
John Hall of Dunglass, 1687.
—— Halyburton of Pitcur, ——. Extinct.
Alexander Hamilton of Haggis, 1670. Extinct.
Archibald Hamilton of Rosehall, 1703. Extinct.
Francis Hamilton, of Killoch, 1628. Extinct.
George Hamilton of Barntoun, 1692. Extinct.
James Hamilton of Broomhill, 1635. Extinct.
James Hamilton of Westport, 1627. Extinct.
Sir William Hamilton of Preston, ——.

Robert Hannay of Mochrum, 1630.
James Hay of Linplum, 1667. Extinct.
James Hay of Smithfield, 1635. Extinct.
John Hay of Aldeston, 1703.
John Hay of Park, 1663.
John Henderson of Fordel, 1664.
Scipio Hill, 1707. Extinct.
James Holburne of Menstrie and Otterstoun, 1706.
John Home of Blackadder, 1671.
Patrick Home of Lumsdeane, afterwards of Renton, 1697.
Alexander Hope of Kerse, 1672.
Thomas Hope of Craighall, afterwards of Pinkie, 1628.
William Hope of Kirkliston, 1698.
Patrick Houston of Houston, 1668.
Patrick Hume of Polwarth, 1625; afterwards Earl of Marchmont.
James Inglis of Cramond, 1687.
Alexander Innes of Coxtoun, 1686.
Robert Innes of Balsenny, 1628.
Robert Innes of Innes, 1625.
Alexander Jardin, of Applegirth, 1672.
George Johnston of Caskieben, 1626.
John Johnstone of Westerhall, 1700.
Samuel Johnston of Elphinston, 1627. Extinct.
James Keith of Powburn, 1662. Extinct.
William Keith of Ludquhairn, 1629. Extinct.
William Keith, Earl Marischal, 1625. Extinct.
Andrew Kennedy of Cloburn, 1698. Extinct.
Archibald Kennedy of Culzean, 1682; afterwards Earl of Cassillis.
John Kenedy of Girvan Mains, 1673. Extinct.
Andrew Keir, of Greenfield, 1637. Extinct.
Thomas Kilpatrick of Closeburn, 1685.
David Kinloch of Kinloch, 1685.
Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, 1686.
John Kirkaldy of Grange, 1664. Extinct.
John Lauder of Fountainhall, 1690. See John Lauder of Idlington, 1688.
John Lauder of Idlington, afterwards of Fountainhall, 1688.
Robert Laurie of Maxwelltown, 1685.
John Leslie of Wardes, 1625. Extinct.
John Leslie, Earl of Rothes, 1660. Commissioner.
Alexander Lindsay of Evelick, 1666.
Alexander Livingstone, a natural son of the Earl of Callendar, 1685. Extinct.
David Livingstone of Dunnipace, 1625. Extinct.
James Livingstone of Bedlormie and West Quarter, 1699.
John Livingstone of Kinnaird, 1627. Extinct.
William Lockhart of Carstairs, 1672.
Edward Longwell, of Wolwer, in Bucks, 1638.
Alexander MacCulloch, of Myrstoun, 1664. Extinct.
Donald McDonald of Sleat, 1625; afterwards Lord Macdonald in Ireland.
James Macgill of Cranston-Riddel, 1627. Extinct.
Donald Mackay of Strathnaver, 1627; afterwards Lord Reay.
Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, 1679.
James Mackenzie, son to the Earl of Cromarty, 1704. Extinct.
John Mackenzie of Tabat, 1628; afterwards Earl of Cromarty. Extinct.
Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty, 1704. Extinct.
Kenneth Mackenzie of Scatwell, 1703.
Lauchlan Maclean of Morvaren, 1631.
John Maitland (second son of Charles Maitland, of Hatton), 1680; afterwards Earl of Lauderdale.
Richard Maitland of Pitrichie, 1672. Extinct.
John Malcolm of Balbedy, afterwards of Lochore, 1665.
James Maxwell of Calderwood, 1627.
John Maxwell of Nether Pollock, 1682.
John Maxwell of Nether Pollock, 1707.

Patrick Maxwell of Springkell, 1683.
Robert Maxwell of Orchardtoun, 1663.
William Maxwell of Monreith, 1681.
Alexander Menzies of Menzies, 1665.
Robert Miln of Barntoun, 1686.
John Moncrief of Moncrief, 1626.
Hector Monroe of Foulis, 1634.
Robert Montgomery of Skelmorly, 1628. Extinct.
Edward More of Langford, in Nottinghamshire, 1636.
George Mowat of Inglistoun, 1664. Extinct.
Patrick Muir of Rowallen, 1662. Extinct.
Alexander Murray of Melgum, 1704. Extinct.
Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, 1628.
John Murray of Abirmont, 1631. Extinct.
Patrick Murray of Elibank, 1628; afterwards Lord Elibank.
Richard Murray of Cockpool, 1625.
Thomas Murray of Glendoick, 1676.
William Murray of Auchtertyre, 1673.
William Murray of Blebo, 1637.
William Murray of Clermont, 1626.
William Murray of Dynnerne, 1630. Extinct.
William Murray of Stanhope, 1664.
Andrew Myrton of Gogar, 1701. Extinct.
James Naesmith of Dawick, 1706.
Thomas Nairn of Dunsinnan, 1704.
Archibald Napier of Merchiston, 1627; afterwards Lord Napier. Extinct.
James Nicolson of Cockburnspath, 1625.
John Nicolson of Leswade, afterwards of Glenbervie, 1629. Extinct.
Sir John Nicolson of Tillicoultry, ——.
Thomas Nicholson of Balcaskie, 1700. Extinct.
Thomas Nicholson of Carnock, 1637. Extinct.
Patrick Nisbet of Craigintinny, afterwards of Dean, 1669.
Walter Norton of Chester, in Suffolk, 1635.
Alexander Ogilvie of Forglen, 1701; afterwards Lord Banff.
George Ogilvie of Barras, 1661.
George Ogilvie of Forglen, 1627; afterwards Lord Banff.
John Ogilvie of Carnousie, 1626; afterwards Earl of Findlater.
John Ogilvie of Innerquharrity, 1626.
James Oliphant of Newton, 1629. Extinct.
Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, 1686. Extinct.
William Paterson of Eccles, 1687. Extinct.
Thomas Peir of Stanypots, in Kent, 1638.
Arthur Pikington, of Stainlie, Yorkshire, 1635.
Robert Pollock of Pollock, 1703.
George Preston of Valleyfield, 1637.
John Preston of Airdrie, 1628.
Archibald Primrose of Chester, 1651. Extinct.
Robert Pringle of Stitchill, 1683.
William Purves of Purves-Hall, 1665.
Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, 1669. Extinct.
Gilbert Ramsay of Balmain, 1625.
Gilbert Ramsay of Banff, 1666.
James Ramsay of Whitehill, 1665. Extinct.
John Raney of Rotham, in Kent, 1635.
Sir John Raney of Rotham, in Kent, 1636.
John Reid of Barruck, 1703.
Robert Richardson of Pencaitland, 1630. Extinct.
John Riddel of Riddel, 1628.
James Rocheid of Innerleith, 1704. Extinct.
Francis Ruthven of Redcastle, 1666. Extinct.
Francis Scott of Thirlestane, 1666; afterwards Lord Napier.
John Scott of Ancrum, 1671.
Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, 1683.

Henry Seton of Touch, afterwards of Culbeg, 1642.
John Seton of Garleton, son to the Earl of Wintoun, 1664.
Robert Seton of Windygowl, son to the Earl of Wintoun, 1671. Extinct.
Walter Seton of Abercorn, 1662. Extinct.
William Sharp of Scotscraig, 1683. Extinct.
John Shaw of Greenock, 1687. Extinct.
James Sibbald of Rankeilour, 1630. Extinct.
—— Sinclair of Kinnaird, ——.
James Sinclair of Canisbay, afterwards of Mey, 1631.
James Sinclair of Dunbeath, 1704.
John Sinclair of Stevenson, afterwards of Murkle, 1636.
Robert Sinclair of Longfordmachus, 1664.
James Skene of Curriehill, ——.
Henry Slingsby, of Scriven, in Yorkshire, 1638.
—— Stewart of Ochiltree, ——; afterwards Lord Castlestewart, in Ireland.
Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, 1667.
Archibald Stewart, of Burrow, 1687. Extinct.
Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk, 1668.
Charles Stuart, second son of the Earl of Moray, 1681. Extinct.
James Stuart, of Bute, 1627; afterwards Earl of Bute.
James Stewart, second son to the Earl of Galloway, 1627. Extinct.
James Stewart, younger, of Goodtrees, 1705. See William Denham, 1693, and Thomas Stewart, 1698.
John Stewart of Grandtully, 1668.
Robert Stewart of Allanbank, 1687.
Robert Stewart of Tullicoultry, 1707.
Thomas Stewart of Blair, 1683. Extinct.
Thomas Stewart of Coltness, 1698. See William Denham, 1693, and James Stewart, 1705.
George Stirling of Glorat, 1666.
Henry Stirling of Ardoch, 1666.
Alexander Strachan, of Thornton, 1625.
Thomas Strachan of Inchtuthel, a descendant of the family of Thornton, 1685.
George Suttie, of Balgone, 1702.
Thomas Thompson of Duddingston, 1636. Extinct.
Patrick Threipland of Fingask, 1687.
Philip Vernate of Carleton, Yorkshire, 1634.
Thomas Wallace of Craigie, 1669. Extinct.
Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie, 1631.
George Warrender of Lochend, 1705.
John Wedderburn of Blackness, afterwards of Ballendean, 1704.
Patrick Wedderburn of Gosford, 1697. Merged in Halket of Pitfirran. See Charles Halket, 1671.
George Weir of Blackwood, 1694. Extinct.
Thomas Moncrieffe Wellwood of Tullibole, 1685.
James Wemyss of Bogie, 1704.
John Wemyss of Wemyss, 1625; afterwards Earl of Wemyss.
Andrew Whiteford of Blairquhan, 1701.
Edward Widdrington of Widdrington, in Northumberland, 1635; afterwards Lord Widdrington.
George Wishart of Cliftonhall, with divers remainders, 1706.
John Wood of Bonnytoun, 1666. Extinct.

A LIST OF THE LORD CHANCELLORS OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE YEAR 1057 TO THE ABOLISHING OF THAT OFFICE IN 1708

Alexander de Baliol, 1295.
Walterus de Beide, a Frenchman, 1183.
Bernard, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, 1301.
David Bethune, Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews, 15—.
James Bethune, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1512.
Walter Bidun, Bishop-elect of Dunkeld, 1171.
William de Bond, 1247.

William Bondington, Bishop of Glasgow, 1231.
Willielmus de Bosco, or Wood, Bishop of Dunblane, 1211.
Robert Boyd, Lord Boyd, 13—.
Robert, Lord Boyd 1460.
Adam, Bishop of Brechin, 129–.
Patrick, Bishop of Brechin, again, 1367.
James Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, 1444.
Alan, Bishop of Caithness; and confirmed in the office by King Edward I. of England, as superior, about 1296.
William Caldwell, Prebend of Glasgow, 1349.
John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, 1424.
Archibald, Earl of Argyle, 1572.
Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyle, Commissioner, 1690.
Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyle, 1484.
Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyle, 1579.
John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, 1641.
Thomas de Carnsto, or Charteris de Kinfawns, 1347.
Sir John Carrick, Prebend of Glasgow, 137–.
Sir John Carrick, again, 13—.
Sir Alexander Cockburn, of Langton, 1395.
Earl Constantine, to Duncan II., 1094.
Sir William Crichton, afterwards Lord Crichton, 14—. Turned out.
William, Lord Crichton, again, 1447.
William Douglas, Duke of Hamilton, Commissioner, 1690.
Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1157.
William Cuming, Bishop of Durham, 1150 (about).
William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, 1660.
Archibald Douglass, Earl of Angus, 1493.
Archibald Douglass, Earl of Angus, husband to the Queen-Mother, 1525.
James Douglas, Earl of Morton, 1562.
James Douglas, Earl of Morton, again, 1567.
James Drummond, Earl of Perth, 1684.
Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. Tutor to King James V., 1528.
Richard, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, 12—.
Edward, 1147.
William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1489.
Evan, to King Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, 1057.
Constantine, Earl of Fife, to King Alexander I., 1107.
Andrew Foreman, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1506.
Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, 1422.
William Fraser, Dean of Glasgow, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews, 1273.
Engelramus, Bishop of Glasgow, 1151.
Florence, Bishop-elect of Glasgow, 1202.
Florentine, Bishop-elect of Glasgow, 1213.
Herbert, Abbot, and Bishop of Glasgow, 1213.
Hugo, Bishop of Glasgow, 1189.
John, Bishop of Glasgow, 1189.
George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, 1498.
George Gordon, 2d Earl of Huntly, 1561.
George Gordon, 3d Earl of Huntly, 1567.
George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, 1682.
John Graham, Earl of Montrose, 1597.
Gilbert Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen, to King Robert III., and during the administrations of Robert and Murdoch, Dukes of Albany.
John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 15—.
Sir George Hay, afterwards Viscount Dupplin and Earl of Kinnoul, 1622.
John Hay, Marquis of Tweeddale, 1692.
John Hay, Marquis of Tweeddale, 1704.
Herbert, Great Chamberlain, 1129.
Patrick Hume, Lord Polwarth, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, 1696.
Humphrey, Bishop of Dunkeld, to King Edgar, 1098.
William de Huntingdon, 1231.

Richard de Inverkeithing, 1231; afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld.
Richard de Inverkeithing, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1253.
Maurice, Bishop of the Isles, 1298.
James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1444.
Robert Kildelicht, Abbot of Dunfermline, 1214.
John Laing, Bishop of Glasgow, 1482.
William Lauder, Bishop of Glasgow, 1424.
Roger, son to the Earl of Leicester, 1178; afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews.
John Leslie, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Rothes, 1664.
Patrick de Leuchars, Bishop of Brechin, 1345.
William de Lindesay, 1230.
James Livingstone, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1483.
Willielmus de Lundyne, 1192.
John Lyon, Lord Glammis, 1380.
John, Lord Glammis, 1573.
Sir John Maitland of Lethington, Lord Thirlestane, 1587.
William Malvoisine, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1199.
Hugo de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale, 1165.
Nicolaus, Chamberlain, 1161.
Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 11—.
James Ogilvie, eldest son to the Earl of Findlater, Viscount and afterwards Earl of Seafield, 1702.
James Ogilvie, Earl of Seafield, afterwards Earl of Findlater, 1705. The last Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.
Walterus de Oliford, 1216.
William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and Caithness, 1455.
Oswald, to King Donald VII., 1093.
John Peebles, Bishop-elect of Dunkeld, 1377.
Duncan Petit, Archdeacon of Glasgow, 14—.
Willielmus Riddel, 1214.
Willielmus de Riparis, Prior of St. Andrews, 1163.
Earl Rorey, to King Donald VII., after the expulsion of Duncan, 1097.
Monsieur Ruby, a French lawyer. 156–.
Gameline, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1251.
Matthew Scot, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1227.
Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, 1605.
George Shoreswood, Bishop of Brechin, 1458.
Sphothad (pothad?), Abbot of the religious Culdees, to Duncan, 1094.
John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1634.
Thomas de Stryvelin, Archdeacon of Glasgow, 1226.
Alexander Stewart (natural son to King James IV.), Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1510.
Andrew Stewart, Lord Evandale, 1460.
James Stuart, (second son to King James III.), Duke of Ross, and Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1500.
James Stewart, Earl of Arran, 1584.
John Stuart, Earl of Athol, 1578.
Walter, Seneschallus, (or Steward), 1153.
William Stuart, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1546.
George Sutherland, Earl of Sutherland, Commissioner, 1690.
Dr. Walter Twynham, Canon of Glasgow, 1327.
Walter, 1125.
Walterus de Vidone, 1187.
William Wischart, Bishop of Glasgow, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews, 1256.

A LIST OF THE LORD HIGH TREASURERS AND COMMISSIONERS OF SCOTLAND

William, Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Annandale, Jan. 30, 1696.
William, Earl of Annandale, May 24, 1696. Commissioner.
William, Earl of Annandale, Oct. 21, 1698. Commissioner.
William, Earl of Annandale, 1702. Commissioner.
William, Marquis of Annandale, Feb. 5, 1703. Commissioner.

William, Marquis of Annandale, Nov. 17, 1704. Commissioner.
Archibald, Duke of Argyle, Feb. 5, 1703. Commissioner.
Archibald, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Argyle, Jan. 30, 1696. Commissioner.
Archibald, Earl of Argyle, May 24, 1696. Commissioner.
Archibald, Earl of Argyle, Oct. 21, 1698. Commissioner.
Archibald, Earl of Argyle, 1702. Commissioner.
Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, 1641. Commissioner.
Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, 1649. Commissioner.
Henry Arnot, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, 1490.
John, Marquis of Athol, Lord Privy Seal, May 23d, 1687. Commissioner.
Cuthrie Baillie, Commendator of Glenluce, 1512.
George Baillie, Esq., Treasurer-Deputy, Nov. 17, 1704. Commissioner.
Colin, Earl of Balcarras, 1674. Commissioner.
Colin, Earl of Balcarras, May 23, 1687. Commissioner.
Sir Robert Barton of Overbarnton, 1529.
Sir David Beaton of Creich, 1507.
John, Lord Belhaven, Nov. 17, 1704. Commissioner.
Walter, Lord Blantyre, 1595.
David, Lord Boyle, Treasurer-Deputy, 1702. Commissioner.
David, Lord Boyle, (eldest son to the Earl of Glasgow), Treasurer-Deputy, Feb. 5, 1703. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Breadalbane, March 3, 1692. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Breadalbane, 1695. Commissioner.
Robert, Lord Burleigh, 1649. Commissioner.
Robert Cairncross, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, afterwards Bishop of Ross, 1528.
Lord Archibald Campbell, 1705. Commissioner.
John Campbell, of Lundy, 1517.
Sir Daniel Carmichael, 1649. Commissioner.
Sir James Carmichael, 1641. Commissioner.
Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, 1555.
John, Earl of Cassillis, 1649. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Cassillis, Dec. 7, 1689. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Cassillis, March 3, 1692. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Cassillis, 1695. Commissioner.
John, Lord Cochrane, eldest son to the Earl of Dundonald, 1667. Commissioner.
Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Esq.; Treasurer-Deputy, Oct. 21, 1698. Commissioner.
Archibald Crawford, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, 1480.
John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, 1660. Commissioner.
William, Earl of Crawford, Dec. 7, 1689. Commissioner.
Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, 1520.
James, Earl of Drumlanrig, (eldest son to the Duke of Queensberry), March 3, 1692. Commissioner.
James, Earl of Drumlanrig (eldest son to the Duke of Queensberry), 1695. Commissioner.
Hon. William Drummond, afterwards Viscount Strathallan, Feb. 24, 1686. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Dundonald, 1674. Commissioner.
Alexander, Earl of Eglintoun, 1649. Commissioner.
Alexander, Earl of Eglintoun, 1702. Commissioner.
Alexander, Earl of Eglintoun, Feb. 5, 1703. Commissioner.
David, Lord Elcho (eldest son to the Countess of Wemyss), 1702. Commissioner.
Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, 1599.
Archibald, Earl of Forfar, 1705. Commissioner.
Archibald, Earl of Forfar, 1706. Commissioner.
James, Earl of Galloway, 1705. Commissioner.
David, Earl of Glasgow, Treasurer-Deputy, 1705. Commissioner.
David, Earl of Glasgow, Treasurer-Deputy, 1706. Commissioner.
David, Earl of Glasgow, Treasurer-Deputy, 1707. Commissioner.
William, Earl of Glencairn, 1641. Commissioner.
George, Duke of Gordon, May 23, 1687. Commissioner.
William, Earl of Gowrie, 1572.
Sir David Guthrie, of Guthrie, 1466.

Sir Walter de Haliburton, Lord of Dirleton, 1439.
Sir Walter Haliburton, again, 1440.
John Hamilton (brother to the Regent), Abbot of Paisley, and afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1546.
William, Duke of Hamilton, Feb. 24, 1686. Commissioner.
William, Duke of Hamilton, May 23d, 1687. Commissioner.
George Hepburn, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, afterwards Bishop of the Isles, 1509.
James Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, 1515.
Robert, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, 1537.
Hon. Alex. Hume (eldest son to Lord Polwarth), Treasurer-Deputy, May 24, 1696. Commissioner.
Sir George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, 1601.
Sir James Hume, Bart., Nov. 17, 1704. Commissioner.
Sir Robert Ker, K.B., Earl of Somerset, 1611.
Alexander, Earl of Kincardine, 1667. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Kintore, Treasurer-Deputy, Feb. 24, 1686.
Sir James Kirkaldie of Grange, 1548.
Sir William Knowlis, Preceptor of Torphichen, 1470.
John Laing, Parson of Kenland, 1473.
John Leslie, Earl of Rothes, 1660. Commissioner.
John, Duke of Lauderdale, 1674. Commissioner.
John, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale, 1667. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Lindsay, 1641. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Lindsay, Appointed by the States, 1644. Commissioner.
George, Earl of Linlithgow, March 3, 1692. Commissioner.
George, Earl of Linlithgow, 1695. Commissioner.
Robert Livingstone, son to the Governor of the Kingdom, 1439.
Hugh, Earl of Loudoun, 1702. Commissioner.
Hugh, Earl of Loudoun, Nov. 17, 1704. Commissioner.
Hugh, Earl of Loudoun, Feb. 5, 1703. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Loundoun, Lord Chancellor, 1641. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Loudoun, Lord Chancellor, 1649. Commissioner.
Sir Robert Lundin, of Balgony, 1499.
Sir Thomas Lyon of Auld Bar, Master of Glammis, 1585.
Hon. Charles Maitland, Dep. Treas. and Master of the Mint, 1674. Commissioner.
Richard, Viscount Maitland (eldest son to the Earl of Lauderdale), Treasurer-Deputy, May 23, 1687. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Mar, 1616.
Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, Chancellor, Oct. 21, 1698. Commissioner.
Sir John Maxwell, of Pollock, Bart., Jan. 30, 1696. Commissioner.
Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Bart., May 24, 1696. Commissioner.
Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Bart., Oct. 21, 1698. Commissioner.
Andrew, Abbot of Melrose, 1449.
Hon. Alexander Melville, eldest son to Lord Melville, Dec. 7, 1689. Commissioner.
Hon. Francis Montgomery, Esq., Feb. 5, 1703. Commissioner.
Hon. Francis Montgomery, Esq., Nov. 17, 1704. Commissioner.
Hon. Francis Montgomery, Esq., 1705. Commissioner.
Francis Montgomery, Esq., 1706. Commissioner.
Francis Montgomery, Esq., 1707. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Montrose, 1705. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Montrose, 1706. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Montrose, President of the Privy Council, 1707. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Montrose, 1584.
William, Earl of Morton, 1630.
Sir Robert Murray, Lord Justice-Clerk, 1667. Commissioner.
Thomas de Myrton, Dean of Glasgow, 1420.
David, Earl of Northesk, 1705. Commissioner.
David, Earl of Northesk, 1706. Commissioner.
Patrick de Ogilvie, 1430.
Sir Walter Ogilvie, of Lintrethan, 1420.
Sir Walter Ogilvie, of Stratheren, 1516.
James, Earl of Perth, Chancellor. Feb. 24, 1686. Commissioner.
James, Earl of Perth, Chancellor, May 23d, 1687. Commissioner.

Patrick, Lord Polwarth (afterwards Earl of Marchmont), Chancellor, May 24, 1696. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Queensberry, Jan. 30, 1696. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Queensberry, May 24, 1696. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Queensberry, Oct. 21, 1698. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Queensberry, 1702. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Queensberry, Feb. 5, 1703. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Queensberry, 1705. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Queensberry, 1706. Commissioner.
James, Duke of Queensberry, Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1707. Commissioner.
William, Duke of Queensberry, Feb. 24, 1686. Commissioner.
William, Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Queensberry, 1682. Commissioner.
Alexander, Lord Raith (eldest son to the Earl of Melville), Treasurer-Deputy, March 3, 1692.
Alexander, Lord Raith, Treasurer-Deputy, Jan. 30, 1696. Commissioner.
Sir John Ramsay of Balmaine, 1480.
Robert Richardson, Commendator of St. Mary Isle, 1561.
William, Lord Ross, 1705. Commissioner.
William, Lord Ross, 1706. Commissioner.
William, Lord Ross, 1707. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Rothes, Lord Chancellor, 1667. Commissioner.
John, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Rothes, Lord Chancellor, 1674. Commissioner.
David, Lord Ruthven, Dec. 7, 1689. Commissioner.
James, Earl of Seafield, Chancellor, 1702. Commissioner.
James, Earl of Seafield, Chancellor, Feb. 5, 1703. Commissioner.
James, Earl of Seafield, Chancellor, 1705. Commissioner.
James, Earl of Seafield, Chancellor, 1706. Commissioner.
James, Earl of Seafield, Chancellor, 1707. Commissioner.
Charles, Earl of Selkirk, Nov. 17, 1704. Commissioner.
George Schaw, Abbot of Paisley, 1494.
Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness,
James Stewart, Dean of Moray, 1455.
William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1530.
William Stewart, Provost of Lincluden, 1564.
William, Viscount Strathallan, May 23, 1687. Commissioner.
George, Viscount Tarbat, Clerk Register, Feb. 24, 1686. Commissioner.
George, Viscount Tarbat, May 23, 1687. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Traquair, 1636.
John, Earl of Tweeddale, 1667. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Tweeddale, May 23, 1687. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Tweeddale, Dec. 7, 1689. Commissioner.
John, Earl of Tweeddale, Chancellor, March 3, 1692. Commissioner.
John, Marquis of Tweeddale, Chancellor, 1695. Commissioner.
John, Marquis of Tweeddale, Chancellor, Jan. 30, 1696. Commissioner.
John, Marquis of Tweeddale, Chancellor, Nov. 17, 1704. Commissioner.
John, Lord Yester (eldest son to the Marquis of Tweeddale), 1695. Commissioner.

A LIST OF THE COMPTROLLERS OF SCOTLAND

Robert Arnot of Woodmill, 1513. Killed at Flodden.
Robert Barnton of Overbarnton, 1520.
Walter, Prior of Blantyre, 1597.
David Bruce, 1426.
Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, 1584.
James Cockburn of Skirling, 1567.
John Colquhoun of Colquhoun, 1464.
Sir James Colville of Ochiltree, 1525.
William, Commendator of Culross, 1546.
James, Abbot of Dunfermline, 1506.
Duncan Forrester of Carden, 1514.
Alexander Garden, 1516.
David Guthrie of Guthrie, 1467.
Patrick Hamilton, 1515.

Sir James Hay of Fingask, 1610.
Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, 1599.
Patrick Hume of Polwarth, 1499.
Alexander Inglis, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1488.
Alexander Leslie, of Warderis, 1472.
Robert de Livingston, 1448.
Thomas Menzies, 1543.
Sir David Murray of Gospetrie, afterwards Lord Scoon, 1600.
Sir Gideon Murray, of Elibank, was the last Comptroller to King James VI., in whose time the office was suppressed, and incorporated with that of the Lord High Treasurer, 1615.
Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, 1563.
Alexander Nairne of Sanford, 1446.
James Riddoch of Aberladenoche, 1507.
Peter Rollock, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1603.
William, Abbot of Ross, 1548.
Monsieur de Ruby, to Queen Mary, the Regent, 1557.
David Seton of Parbroath, 1589.
James Schaw of Salquhy, 1471.
Thomas Simson, 1472.
John Spence, 1429.
Ninian Spot, Canon of Dunkeld, 1458.
Bartholomew Villemore, 1560.
Adam Wallace, of Craigie, 1468.
Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow, 1561.
Andrew Wood of Largo, 1585.
David Wood of Craig, 1538.

A LIST OF THE LORD KEEPERS OF THE PRIVY SEAL, 1424 TO 1766

David, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, 1514.
William, Marquis of Annandale, 1715.
John Arouse, 1459.
James, Duke of Athol, 1733.
John, Duke of Athol, 1713.
John, Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Athol, 1672.
John, Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Athol, 1702.
David Beaton, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1542.
John, Earl of Breadalbane, 1765.
George Buchanan, a Lord of Session and Privy Counsellor, Commendator of Crossraguel, and Preceptor to the King, 1571.
John Cameron, Provost of Lincluden and Bishop of Glasgow, 1426.
Lord Frederick Campbell, son to the Duke of Argyle, 1765.
John, Lord Carmichael, afterwards Earl of Hyndford, 1689.
Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, 1595.
Robert Colvill of Crawford, a Lord of Session.
George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1526.
Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, 1527.
Charles, Earl of Dunfermline, 1661.
William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1500.
Walter Footte, Provost of Bothwell, 1424.
Archibald, Earl of Forfar, 1689.
William Foulis, Provost of Bothwell, 1432.
George, Lord Fyvie, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, 1553.
Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1507.
Thomas, Earl of Haddington, 1626.
John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1542.
George, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, 1519.
Archibald, Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyle, 1721.
John, Earl of Kintore, 1689.
James Lindsay, Provost of Lincluden, 1463.

David Livingston, Provost of Lincluden, 1482.
Hon. James Stuart-Mackenzie, brother to the Earl of Bute, 1763.
Hon. James Stuart-Mackenzie, again (for life), 1766.
John Maitland, Prior of Coldingham, 1567.
Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, 1563.
William, Earl Marischal, 1660.
George, Earl of Melville, 1690.
James, Duke of Montrose, 1709.
James, Duke of Queensberry, 1695.
James, Duke of Queensberry, 1705.
John, Prior of St. Andrews, 1489.
John, Duke of Roxburgh, 1714.
Robert, Earl of Roxburgh, 1641.
William, Lord Ruthven, 1547.
Thomas Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1467.
Thomas Spence, Bishop of Galloway, 1458.
Andrew Stewart (uterine brother to King James III.), Bishop-elect of Moray, 1472.
Walter Stewart Commendator of Blantyre, 1583.
John, Earl of Sutherland, by the Parliament, 1649.
William Tulloch, Bishop of Orkney, afterwards Bishop of Murray, 1470.
William Turnbull, Canon of Glasgow, 1442.

A LIST OF THE LORD KEEPERS OF THE GREAT SEAL OF SCOTLAND, 1708 TO 1783

William, Marquis of Annandale, 1714.
James, Duke of Athol, 1763.
James, Earl of Findlater and Seafield, 1713.
Archibald, Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyle, 1733.
Hugh, Earl of Loudoun, 1708.
Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, 1764.
James, Duke of Montrose, 1716. Died in 1731.
Charles, Duke of Queensberry and Dover, 1761.

A LIST OF THE LORD PRESIDENTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND, 1625 TO 1706

William, Earl (afterwards Marquis)of Annandale, 1693.
William, Marquis of Annandale, 1702.
William, Marquis of Annandale, 1705.
William, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, 1689.
Sir George Gordon of Haddo, afterwards Earl of Aberdeen, 1681.
John, Duke of Lauderdale, 1672.
John, Earl of Loudoun, 1649.
George, Earl of Melville, 1695.
James, Duke of Montrose, 1706.
James, Marquis of Montrose, 1682.
James, Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Montrose, 1704.
John, Earl of Montrose, 1625.
William, Duke of Queensberry, 1686.
John, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Rothes, 1660.
John, Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Tweeddale, 1663.

A LIST OF THE SECRETARIES OF STATE FROM THE REIGN OF KING MALCOLM IV. TO THE YEAR 1746

Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, 1626.
William, Marquis of Annandale, 1704.
Sir Archibald Acheson of Glencairn, 1626.
John Arouse, Archdeacon of Glasgow, 1454.
Alexander, Earl of Balcarras, 1659.
Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, to Queen Mary, 1564.

Michael Balfour, Abbot of Melrose, 1496.
John, Earl of Buchan, 1418.
Patrick, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, again, 1528.
John Cameron, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, 1424.
Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, 1591.
Honourable John Dalrymple, eldest son to Viscount Stair, 1690.
James Elphinstone of Innerneitie, afterwards Lord Balmerino, 1597.
Thomas Erskine of Halton, afterwards Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, 1524.
William Fowlis, 1429.
Thomas, Earl of Haddington, 1612.
Andrew de Hawick, Rector of Liston, 1410.
Sir Alexander Hay of Newton, 1608.
Thomas Hay, 1516.
Patrick Hepburn, Rector of Whiteston, 1524.
John, Earl of Hyndford, 1696.
Alexander Inglis, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, 1488.
James Johnston, Esq., 1690.
William, Earl of Lanark, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, 1641.
John, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale, 1660.
James Law, Archdeacon of Glasgow, 1463.
Sir John Lindsay of Balcarras, 1596.
William, Earl of Lothian, appointed by the Parliament, when the Earl of Lanark fled for malignancy, 1644.
Hugh, Earl of Loudoun, 1705.
Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, 1584.
Sir William Maitland of Lethington, younger, 1561.
James Maxwell of Cramond, son to Sir William Maxwell, to Queen Mary, 1564.
John, Earl of Mar, 1705.
John, Viscount (afterwards Earl of) Melfort, 1685.
George, Lord Melville, afterwards Earl of Melville, 1689.
John Methven, 1432.
Charles, Earl of Middleton, 1682.
James, Duke of Montrose, 1714. Resigned in 1715.
Alexander, Earl of Moray, 1682.
Richard Muirhead, Dean of Glasgow, 1495.
Richard Muirhead, Dean of Glasgow, 1535.
John, Lord Murray (eldest son to the Marquis of Athol), Earl of Tullibardine, 1696.
Nicolaus, to King Malcolm IV.
James Ogilvie, Lord Deskford, (eldest son of the Earl of Findlater), Viscount (and afterwards Earl of) Seafield, 1697.
William Otterburne, 1452.
David Paniter, Bishop of Ross, 1543.
Patrick Paniter (or Panter), Archdeacon of Moray, afterwards Abbot of Cambuskenneth, 1490.
Duncan Pecoce, to King Robert II., 1380.
Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline and Archdeacon of St. Andrews, 1572.
Sir John Preston, Lord President of the Court of Session, 1608.
James, Duke of Queensbury, 1702.
John Raulston, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1448.
David Rizzio, to Queen Mary, 1559.
John, Duke of Roxburgh, 1716. Resigned in 1725.
James, Earl of Seafield, 1696.
George, Earl of Seaforth, to King Charles II. during his exile, 1650.
Charles, Earl of Selkirk, 1731.
George de Shoriswood, 1453.
Sir Robert Spottiswood, of New Abbey, Lord President of the Court of Session, 1644.
James Strachan, Canon of Aberdeen, 1543.
George, Viscount Tarbat, afterwards Earl of Cromarty, 1702.
John, Marquis of Tweeddale, 1742. Resigned in 1746.
Thomas de Vaus, Dean of Glasgow, 1454.
Archibald Whitlaw, Archdeacon of Lothian, 1463.

A LIST OF THE LORD CLERK REGISTERS OF SCOTLAND, FROM 1200 to 1784

John Arouse, Archdeacon of Glasgow, 1450.
Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, Rector of Flisk, 1565.
John, Lord Belhaven, and four more, 1689.
William de Bosch and one Hugo, before 1100.
Lord Frederick Campbell, son to the Duke of Argyle, 1767.
Hon. Alex. Hume Campbell, brother to the Earl of Marchmont, 1756.
Willielmus Capellanus, and Alexander de Carrerg, 1253.
Richard Craig, Vicar of Dundee, 1440.
Walter Drummond, Dean of Dunblane, 1497.
Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen, 1500.
Robert de Dunbar, 1323.
Sir James Foulis of Collington, 1531.
John Fraser, Rector of Restalrig, 1492.
Sir Alexander Gibson, Jr., of Durie, 1641.
David, Earl of Glasgow, 1708.
John Gray, to King Robert II., before 1400.
Galfrid and Gregory, to King Alexander II., before 1250.
David Guthrie, of Guthrie, 1471.
Sir John Hamilton, of Magdalens, brother to the Earl of Haddington, 1622.
Sir Thomas Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Haddington, 1612.
Sir Alexander Hay, of Easter Kennet, 1577.
Sir Alexander Hay of Lands, 1632.
Sir Alexander Hay of Whitburgh, 1612.
Sir George Hay, of Nethleisse, afterwards Earl of Kinnoul, 1616.
William Hepburn, Vicar of Linlithgow, 1488.
Alexander Inglis, Chancellor of the See of Aberdeen, 1477.
Archibald, Earl of Isla, afterwards Duke of Argyle, 1714.
Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, 1649.
James Johnston, 1704.
John Laing, Rector of Newlands, 1473.
Patrick Leith, Canon of Glasgow, 1482.
Sir Stephen Lockhart, to King James IV.
William, Marquis of Lothian, 1739.
Fergus Macdowall, 1466.
James Macgill of Rankeilor, Parson of Flisk, 1554. Turned out for D. Rizzio's murder in 1565.
James Macgill of Rankeilor, again, 1567.
Sir George Mackenzie, afterwards Viscount Tarbat, and Earl of Cromarty, 1681.
Sir George Mackenzie, again, 1692.
Sir Thomas Marjoribanks of Ratho, 1548.
Sir John Methven, 1449.
James, Duke of Montrose, July, 1716.
James, Earl of Morton, 1761.
Richard Muirhead, Dean of Glasgow, 1489.
Sir James Murray, of Philiphaugh, 1706.
Nicholaus, secretary to King Malcolm IV., before 1100.
Nicol Otterburn, 1455.
Alexander, Lord Polwarth, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, Dec., 1716.
Sir Archibald Primrose of Chester, 1660.
Simon de Quincy, before 1100.
William, Archbishop of St. Andrews, before 1100.
John Schives, 1426.
Alexander Scott, Rector of Wigton, 1482.
Charles, Earl of Selkirk, 1696.
Charles, Earl of Selkirk, 1733.
George Shoriswood, Rector of Culter, 1442.
Sir John Skene of Curriehill, 1594.
Sir John Skene and his son, James Skene, 1598.
John, Marquis of Tweeddale, 1702.

A LIST OF THE LORDS JUSTICE-GENERALS OF SCOTLAND

Archibald, Earl of Argyle, 1537.
Archibald, Earl of Argyle, 1589.
Colin, Earl of Argyle, 1514.
Colin, Earl of Argyle, 1578.
Gillespick, Earl of Argyle, 1567.
John, Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Athol, 1663.
Hugh de Berklay, South of Forth, about 1250.
John, Earl of Cassilis, 1649.
Walter Clifford, before 1216.
George, Earl of Cromarty, 1703.
Alexander Cumin, Earl of Buchan, 1253.
William Cumin, before 1216.
William Cumin, Earl of Buchan, 1224.
Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, 1526.
John, Lord Drummond, 1494.
John, Lord Drummond, and John, Lord Glammis, 1489.
Comes Dunetus, in the reign of King William.
Sir William Elphinstone, after 1628, before 1642.
Robert de Erskine, North of Forth, 1366.
The Earl of Fife, before 1216.
John, Lord Glammis, and John, Lord Drummond, 1489.
John, Lord Glammis, and Robert, Lord Lyle, 1492.
William, Earl of Glencairn, 1646.
George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, and Andrew Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, after 1457, before 1488.
Andrew, Lord Gray, and John, Lord Kennedy, 1504.
John Haldane of Gleneagles, North of Forth, 1477.
Patrick, Lord Hales, and Robert, Lord Lyle, after 1457, before 1488.
Sir Thomas Hope, younger, of Carse, 1642.
David, Earl of Huntingdon, before 1216.
Archibald, Earl of Isla (afterwards Duke of Argyle), for life, 1710.
John, Lord Kennedy, and Andrew, Lord Gray, 1504.
Robert de Lauder, North of Forth, 1426.
Andrew Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, and George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, after 1457, before 1488.
David de Lindsay, South of Forth, 1243.
John, Lord Lindsay de Byres, North of Forth, 1457.
Robert, Earl of Lothian, 1692.
Robert, Lord Lyle, Lord Chief Justice, 1488.
Robert, Lord Lyle, and John, Lord Glammis, 1492.
Sir George Mackenzie, afterwards Viscount Tarbat and Earl of Cromartie, 1678.
William, Earl of Menteith, 1628.
Patrick de Ogilvy, North of Forth, 1446.
Walter Oliphant, 1227.
William, Earl of Orkney, South of Forth, after 1457; before 1488.
James, Earl of Perth, 1682.
Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington, 1678.
Charles, Duke of Queensberry and Dover, 1763.
William, Earl (afterwards Marquis and Duke) of Queensberry, 1680.
Alexander, son of Walter, Seneschal or Steward to King Alexander III., about 1246.
Alan Fitz Walter, Seneschal or Steward to King William the Lion; died 1204.
Walter, son to Alan, Seneschal or Steward to King Alexander II.; died 1246.
David, Viscount Stormont, 1778.
John, Marquis of Tweeddale, 1761.
Walter, Earl of Ross, North of Forth, 1239.

A LIST OF THE LORDS JUSTICE-CLERKS, OR SECOND JUDGES OF JUSTICIARY, TO 1784

Sir John Ballenden of Achnoul, 1547.
Sir Lewis Ballenden of Achnoul, 1578.

Thomas Ballenden of Achnoul, 1539.
Henry Balneaves, 1540.
William de Camera, to King David II.
Sir James Carmichael of Carmichael, 1634.
Adam Cockburn of Ormistoun, 1707.
Sir John Cockburn of Ormistoun, 1591.
Nicholas Crawford of Oxengangs, 1524.
Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, 1688.
Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Minto, Bart., 1762.
Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood, 1625.
Charles Erskine of Tinwald, 1748.
Andrew Fletcher, of Milton, 1735.
Adam Forrester, to King David II.
Sir James Foulis, of Collingtoun, 1663.
William Halket of Belsico, 1478.
Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, 1637.
Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw, 1693.
James Henderson of Fordil, 1507.
Richard Lawson, of Heirigs, 1491.
Thomas Miller of Barskimming, 1766.
Sir Robert Murray, 1661.
Adam Otterburn of Redhall, 1537.
Thomas Scott of Pitgorn, 1537.
Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenson, 1689.
James Wishart of Pittarrow, 1513.

A LIST OF THE LORD PRESIDENTS OF THE COURT OF SESSION FROM THE INSTITUTION OF THAT COURT IN 1532 TO 1784

William Baillie of Provand, 1566.
Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, 1567.
Robert Craigie of Glendoick, 1754.
Sir Hew Dalrymple, of North Berwick, 1698.
Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards Viscount Stair, 1671.
Sir James Dalrymple, again, 1689.
Robert Dundas of Arniston, 1748.
Robert Dundas of Arniston, 1760.
James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino, 1605.
Sir David Falconer of Newton, 1682.
Duncan Forbes of Culloden, 1737.
Sir John Gilmour of Craigmillar, 1661.
Sir George Gordon, afterwards Earl of Aberdeen, 1681.
Thomas Hamilton, Lord Binning, 1616.
Sir George Lockhart, of Carnwath, 1685.
Alexander Milne, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, 1532.
John Preston of Fentonbarns, 1609.
Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, 1543.
Sir Alexander Seton, Lord Urquhart, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline, 1593.
Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, 1558.
John Sinclair, Bishop of Brechin, 1565.
Sir James Skene of Curriehill, 1626.
Sir Robert Spottiswood of New Abbey, 1633.

A LIST OF THE LORD ADVOCATES OF SCOTLAND, FROM 1483 TO 1784

Henry Balneaves, to Queen Mary, about 1560.
David Brothwick of Loch-hill, 1573.
Ilay Campbell, Esq., January, 1784.
Robert Craigie, Esq., 1742.
Robert Crichton of Eliok, 1561.
Thomas Cummin, a Lord of Session, about 1560.
Sir David Dalrymple, 1709.
John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, 1687.

Henry Dundas, Esq., 1775.
Robert Dundas, Esq., 1754.
Robert Dundas, Esq., of Arniston, 1720.
Charles Areskine, 1737.
Henry Erskine, 1783.
Sir John Fletcher, 1661.
Duncan Forbes, Esq., 1725.
John Foulis and Adam Otterburn, 1527.
William Grant, Esq., 1748.
Sir Thomas Hamilton, about 1600.
Sir Thomas Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Haddington, 1595.
William Hart of Levelands, 1594.
James Harrison of Fordel, 1494.
Thomas Hope of Craighall (afterwards Sir Thomas Hope), 1626.
Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, 1641.
Henry Lauder of St. Germains and Adam Otterburn, 1533.
Richard Lawson of Heirigs, 1503.
Andrew Logie, about 1594.
David Macgill of Cranston-Riddel (son to Sir James, Lord Clerk Register), 1582.
David Macgill, again, 1595.
Sir George Mackenzie, after 1666; before 1687.
Sir George Mackenzie, again, 1687.
Thomas Miller, Esq., 1760.
James Montgomery, Esq., 1766.
Sir John Nesbitt, 1666.
Sir Thomas Nicholson, about 1650.
Sir William Oliphant of Newton, 1612.
Adam Otterburn of Redhall, 1525.
Adam Otterburn and John Foulis, 1527.
Adam Otterburn and Henry Lauder of St. Germains, 1533.
Sir Archibald Primrose, 1659.
John Ross of Mongrenan, 1483.
John Skeen, 1589.
John Spence of Condie, 1561.
Sir James Stuart, 1689.
James Wishart of Pitarrow, 1531.

A LIST OF LORD HIGH ADMIRALS OF SCOTLAND TO 1706

Alexander, Duke of Albany, 1482.
Alexander, Earl of Kincardine, 1668 (Vice-Admiral).
Archibald, Earl of Angus, after 1502, before 1511.
James, Earl of Arran, after 1502, before 1511.
Adam, Earl of Bothwell, 1511. Heritably.
Francis, Earl of Bothwell, 1583.
James, Earl of Bothwell, and Duke of Orkney, 1567. Attainted.
Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, 1502.
Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, 1544.
George, Earl of Caithness, to King James II.
William, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, to King James II., 1707.
David, Earl of Crawford, 1474.
William, Duke of Hamilton, 1673.
Charles, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, after 1673, before 1705.
James, Duke of Lennox, 1633.
James, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, 1626. Heritably.
John, Earl of Linlithgow, 1626.
Robert, Lord Maxwell, after 1502, before 1511.
James, Duke of Montrose, 1705.
James, Earl of Morton, 1578. Beheaded.
Henry, Earl of Orkney, to King Robert III.
His Royal Highness, Duke of York and Albany, afterwards King James VII., 1633.
David, Earl of Wemyss, 1706.
Andrew Wood of Largo, 1477.

A LIST OF THE VICE-ADMIRALS OF SCOTLAND, FROM 1707 TO 1784

John, Earl of Breadalbane, 1776.
James, Earl of Findlater and Seafield, 1738.
Lord William Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, 1782.
John, Earl of Hyndford, 1764.
William, Earl of March, afterwards Duke of Queensberry, 1767.
George, Earl of Morton, 1733.
Charles, Duke of Queensberry and Dover, 1722.
John, Earl of Rothes, 1714.
John, Earl of Stair, 1729.
David, Earl of Wemyss, 1708.

A LIST OF THE LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAINS OF SCOTLAND

Robert, Duke of Albany, 1383.
Sir Alexander Baliol of Cavers, 1290.
Henry de Baliol, Lord of Reidcastle, 1224.
David Benham, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1237.
James Bennet, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1330.
Walter de Berclay, Lord of Reidcastle, 1165.
Walter Biggar, Parson of Errol, 1368.
Robert, Lord Boyd, 1467. Beheaded.
James, Earl of Buchan, 1471. Resigned.
James, Earl of Buchan, 1478.
John, Earl of Buchan, 1406.
Sir William Bulloch, 1335.
Sir Reynold Chyne of Inverugie, 1267.
Sir James Crichton of Frendraught, 1440.
Sir John Colquhoun of Colquhoun, 1474. Killed at the siege of Dunbar.
Edward, 1153.
Robert Erskine, Lord of Erskine, 1350.
James, Lord Fleming, 1553.
John, Lord Fleming, 1517. Murdered by Drumelzer.
John, Lord Fleming, 1565. Killed at the siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1572.
Malcolm, Lord Fleming, 1524. Killed at the battle of Pinky, 1547.
Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, 1425.
Sir Alexander Fraser, Lord of Cowie, 1325.
John, Lord Glamis, 1378.
Herbert, 1128.
Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, 1147.
Alexander, Lord Hume, 1488. Beheaded.
Gilbert de Lempedlar, 1260.
Charles, Duke of Lennox, 1655.
Charles, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, 1685.
Esme, Duke of Lennox, 1580.
Esme, Duke of Lennox, 1624. Heritably.
James, Duke of Lennox, 1625.
Ludowick, Duke of Lennox, 1584.
David Lindsay, Lord Crawford, 1256.
John Lindsay, Bishop of Glasgow, 1279.
Sir William Lindsay, Rector of Ayr, 1317.
James, Lord Livingston, 1453.
Thomas, Earl of Mar, 1358.
William, Earl of Mar, 1266.
Sir Eumer Maxwell, Lord of Caerlaverock, 1258.
Sir John Maxwell, Lord Caerlaverock, 1231.
Robert de Meyneers, 1249.
James, Duke of Monmouth, and Buccleugh, 1680. Beheaded.
David, Duke of Montrose, 1484.
Michael Monymusk, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1364.
Gilbert Moray, Bishop of Caithness, after 1165, before 1224.
Sir Reginald More, 1329.

Dr. Robert Peebles, Canon of Glasgow, 1321.
Philip, after 1128, before 1147.
Sir Thomas Randolph, 1269.
Philip de Valoniis, Lord of Panmure, after 1165, before 1224.
William de Valoniis, Lord of Panmure, after 1165, before 1224.

MEMBERS OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENTS TO 1707.

In the Parliament of Scotland the Estates sat and voted together as one chamber. There was no division into an Upper and Lower House. The following Return, therefore, contains only the names and dates of election, so far as they can be ascertained, of the elected or representative Members of the Parliament of Scotland, with the names of the shires or burghs for which they were respectively returned.

The beginnings of Parliamentary representation in Scotland are associated with the rise of the burgesses into Political importance, as the Third Estate of the realm, in the early part of the fourteenth century. Their presence in the Great Council of the nation is first clearly accertained on the occasion of the Parliament held at Cambuskenneth, 15th July, 1326, when the earls, barons, burgesses, and freeholders, in full Parliament assembled, granted to King Robert Bruce, in consideration of his great services, and for the due support of the Royal dignity, the tenth penny of all rents and profits of lands, estimated according to the old extent or valuation of King Alexander III.; the King conceding in return the important constitutional limitation that no tax or impost should be levied by the Crown without the consent of the Parliament. It has generally been supposed that thenceforward the burgesses appeared by their Commissioners in every Parliament; but this does not admit of being satisfactorily determined, inasmuch as no sederunts or rolls of Members have been preserved of the many Parliaments which assembled between that date and the middle of the following century.

Only a very few lists of Commissioners for Burghs are extant of earlier date than the beginning of the sixteenth century. Before that time the records contain the names of those only who, at the beginning of each Session, were elected Members of the committees on which great part of the business of the Parliament was devolved—the Committee of articles [*Domini ad articulos inquirendos*], by which all measures were discussed and prepared for receiving legislative sanction; and the Judicial Committee for hearing of causes and appeals [*Domini auditores ad causas et querelas contradicta*], which, co-ordinately with the Lords of Council, discharged the functions of a supreme civil tribunal till the institution, in 1532, of a permanent high court of judicature, under the name of the Court of Session.

By the small barons and freeholders, who were regarded as of the same estate with the greater barons, the feudal obligation to give suit and presence in the King's High Court of Parliament was always felt to be a burden; and as early as the time of James I., in 1427, an Act was passed for their relief, granting them authority to elect representatives. This statute, however, remained inoperative. In 1457 and 1503 Acts were passed for relief of the more inconsiderable of the freeholders, granting exemption, except when specially summoned, to those of them whose holdings were below a specified value. In 1567 there was renewed legislation on the subject of the election of Commissioners, but it was not till 1587 that the representation of the shires was actually established. It was then ordained "that the Commissioners of all the Sheriffdoms be elected at the first head court after Michaelmas yearly"; that they be "authorized with sufficient commissions,

sealed and subscribed by six at least of the barons and freeholders" of the shire; and that the "compearance of the said Commissioners of the shires in Parliaments, or General Councils, shall relieve the whole remanent small barons and freeholders of the shires of the suit and presence due in the said Parliaments." From that time onwards the Commissioners for the shires are found in the roll of every Parliament.

Besides the Parliaments, Conventions of the Estates were frequently called to gether for the despatch of urgent business. At first they consisted of the Privy Council, with a few additional Members specially summoned, and their sittings rarely exceeded one or two days. In 1567 it was enacted that the Provosts of Burghs, should be present in every Convention, and especially when taxation was to be imposed. This was, for a time, very imperfectly observed; but, gradually, the representation of the burghs became more regular, and the representation of the shires being established towards the close of the sixteenth century, the composition of the Convention of Estates became at length substantially identical with that of the Parliament. The Convention which met 14th March, 1689, was turned into a Parliament, without re-election of Members. The Conventions have therefore been included in this Return.

Sir Alexander Abercromby, of Birkenbog, Banffshire, 1640–1, 1643, 1646–7 and 1648, 1661–3.
Alexander Abercromby, of Glasshaugh; Banffshire, 1706–7.
Alexander Abercromby, of Tullibody; Clackmannanshire, 1703–7.
Sir James Abercromby, of Birkenbog; Banffshire, 1693 to 1702.
—— Acheson, Laird of Gosford; Haddington Constabulary, 1625.
Lancelot Abernethy, Edinburgh, 1440, ——, 1463, 1464.
David Abirkerdo, Dundee, 1468.
George Abirkerdo, Dundee, 1468.
—— Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1540 bis., 1560.
John Acheson, Dunbar, 1583.
John Acheson, Dunbar, 1612, 1617.
Sir Robert Adair, of Kinhilt; Wigtonshire, 1639–41, 1649–50.
Andrew Adamson, Lanark, 1357.
George Adamson, Dunbar, 1640–1, 1650.
Henry Adamson, Perth, 1581, 1596.
James Adamson, Perth, 1594, 97, 1604, 1605, 1607, 1608.
James Adamson, Perth, 1617.
John Adamson, Edinburgh, 1571.
William Adamson, Edinburgh, 1528.
William Adamson, Edinburgh, 1540, 34.
David Adie, of Newark; Aberdeen, 1678, 1685–6.
James Adie, Perth, 1597, 1602.
James Affleck, Dundee, 1596.
William Affleck, Dundee, 1617.
Sir Andrew Agnew, of Lochnaw; Wigtonshire, 1644, 1645–7, 1648–9, 65, 67, 69, 70.
Sir Andrew Agnew, of Lochnaw; Wigtonshire, 1685, 89, 90, 93, 95, 96, 98, 1700.
Sir Patrick Agnew, of Lochnaw; Wigtonshire, 1628–33.
Sir Patrick Aikenhead, Dunfermline, 1697, 99.
James Aikman, Edinburgh, 1473, 1504.
Adam Ainslie, Jedburgh, 1689, 1700.
Andro Ainslie, Jedburgh, 1681–2, 1685–6.
James Ainslie, Jedburgh, 1579.
George Airth, Cupar, 1617.
James Airth, Pittenweem, 1639–41.
Walter Airth, Pittenweem, 1621, 1644, 1645–7.
Edward Aitkin, Dunbar, 1599, 1608.
James Aitkin, Culross, 1648–9.

Alexander Alexander, Aberdeen, 1667.
Archibald Alexander, Perth, 1605.
David Alexander, Anstruther Easter, 1645–6 (?) (also 1646–7).
John Alexander, Anstruther Easter, 1639–40.
Robert Alexander, Stirling, 1579, 1584, 1594.
Robert Alexander, Anstruther Easter, 1612, 17, 25, 28–33, 45.
Robert Alexander, New Galloway, 1685–6.
Robert Alison, Jedburgh, 1585.
William Alison, Jedburgh, 1543.
Andrew Allansone, Aberdeen, 1469, 71.
George Allardice, of that ilk, Kincardineshire, 1607, 1612.
George Allardice, of that ilk, Kintore, 1702–7.
John Allardice, Aberdeen, 1702–7.
John Allardice, of that ilk, Kincardineshire, 1607, 1612.
William Alves, Dumfries; Sanquhar, 1702, 1702–7.
David Anderson, Cupar, 1617, 1625, 1630, 1639–41.
Henry Anderson, Perth, 1596.
James Anderson, Cupar, 1587, 90, 93, 94.
James Anderson, Cupar, 1640.
John Anderson, Dunfermline, 1678.
John Anderson, Cupar, 1585.
John Anderson, Inverurie, 1681–2, 1685–6, 89, 93.
John Anderson, of Dowhill; Glasgow, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
John Anderson, younger, of Westerton; Dornoch, 1692 to 1702.
Mathew Anderson, Kirkcaldy, 1678, 1685–6.
Thomas Anderson, Cupar, 1456.
Thomas Anderson, 1479.
Walter Anderson, Montrose, 1583.
William Anderson, Perth, 1593.
William Anderson, of Newtoune; Glasgow, 1655, 67, 69–74.
William Annand, 1583.
John Anstruther, Anstruther Easter, 1597, 1600.
Sir John Anstruther, Anstruther Easter, 1702–7.
Sir Philip Anstruther, of that ilk, Fifeshire, 1665, 67, 78.
Sir Robert Anstruther, of Balcaskie; Anstruther Easter, 1681–2, 1694; Anstruther Wester, 1702–7; Fifeshire, 1710.
Sir William Anstruther, of that ilk, Fifeshire, 1681–2, 1689, 1689 to 1702, 1702–7.
Alexander Arbuthnott, of Knox; Kincardineshire, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
Alexander Arbuthnott, Bervie, 1702–4.
—— —— laird of Arbuthnott, Kincardineshire, 1621.
David Arnot, Kirkcudbright, 1621.
Sir David Arnot, of that ilk, Kinross-shire, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
John Arnot, Edinburgh, 1586, 87, 88, 90.
Sir John Arnot, of Berwick, Edinburgh, 1608, 1609.
Sir John Arnot, of Birswick, Edinburgh, 1608, 1609.
John Arnot, St. Andrews, 1612.
Robert Arnot, Perth, 1639–41, 43, 1644–7.
Henry Arthur, St. Andrews, 1621.
John Asson (or Easson), St. Andrews, 1681–2, 1685–6.
John Atkinson, Haddington, 1479.
William Auchinleck, Dundee, 1612, 1617.
George Auchinleck, of Balmanno; Perthshire, 1617.
John Auchmutie, Stirling, 1583, 1584.
John Auld, Irvine, 1543.
—— —— —— laird of Auldliston; Linlithgowshire, 1621.
Alexander Austin, (Oistane), Edinburgh, 1587, 1588, 1590, 1596.
—— Ayr, Ayr, 1567.
—— Ayton laird of Ayton,* Fifeshire, 1644.
John Ayton, 1483.
John Ayton, Haddington, 1645–7.
John Bagenoch, Inverurie, 1621.

* *Sir John Ayton, of Ayton*, m. 1636, Elizabeth, 4th dau. of Sir John Wemyss, Bart., or. Earl of Wemyss 25 June, 1633.

George Baillie, North Berwick, 1621.
George Baillie, of Jerviswood; Berwickshire, 1691 to 1702; Lanarkshire, 1702–7, etc.
Hugh Baillie, North Berwick, 1587.
Hugh Baillie, Fortrose, 1678.
William Baillie, Inverness, 1581.
Sir William Baillie, of Lamington; Lanarkshire, 1612.
Sir William Baillie, of Lamington; Lanarkshire, 1639–41; 1645–7; 1648.
William Baillie, of Lamington; Lanarkshire, 1689, 1689 to 1702, 1702–7.
Andrew Baird, Banff, 1628–33, 1639–40.
James Baird, of Auchmedden; Banffshire, 1665, 1669–72.
James Baird, younger, of Auchmedden; Banffshire, 1678.
Sir John Baird, of Newbyth; Aberdeenshire, 1665, 67.
John Baird, Cullen, 1669–72.
—— Balfour, laird of Burleigh, 1599.
—— Balfour, laird of Burleigh; Fifeshire, 1645.
Sir Bartholomew Balfour, of Redheugh, 1608.
Sir David Balfour, of Forrest; Fifeshire, 1685–6.
Duncan Balfour, St. Andrews, 1583, 88, 94, 1612.
Major Henry Balfour, of Dunbog; Fifeshire, 1702–7.
Sir Michael Balfour, of Denmiln; Fifeshire, 1643–4.
Robert Balmanno, 1473.
Henry Balnaves, Perth, 1597.
Hector Bannatyne, laird of Kaines; Buteshire, 1617 (?), 1628–33, 1639–41, 1648.
James Bannatyne, Ayr, 1569.
Ninian Bannatyne, of Kaines; Buteshire, 1667, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2.
William Bannatyne, Lanark, 1545.
Robert Barbour, dean of Guild; Inverness, 1667.
Col. David Barclay, Forfar and Kincardine, 1654–5, 1656–8.
John Barclay, laird of Johnston, Barclay; Kincardineshire, 1650–1.
John Barclay, dean of Guild; Cupar, 1669–72.
Robert Barclay, Irvine, 1639–41, 1643, 1645–6, 1649, 1650, 1651.
—— Barclay, laird of Johnston-Barclay, Kincardineshire, 1650–1.
James Barron, Edinburgh, 1560, 67, 68, 69.
Patrick Barron, Edinburgh, 1478, 79, 82, 83, 1526.
Andrew Barry, 1526.
Alexander Bayne, Dingwall, 1661–3, 1669–70.
Sir Donald Bayne, of Tulloch; Dingwall, 1681–2; Ross-shire, 1685–6.
John Bayne, younger, of Tulloch; Dingwall, 1702–7.
Ranald Bayne, Dingwall, 1593.
Henrie Beattie, Dysart, 1669–74.
Robert Beattie, Montrose, 1644.
William Beattie, Bervie, 1685–6, 89, 1689 to 1702.
Andro Bec, Edinburgh, 1367.
Thomas Beniston, Pittenweem, 1579.
Andrew Belfrage, Dunfermline, 1681–2.
Andrew Bell, Linlithgow, 1612, 1621, 1628–33.
George Bell, Linlithgow, 1640, 1643–4, 1645, 1645–6, 1648.
James Bell, Glasgow, 1597, 1612, 1643–4, 1644.
John Bell, Glasgow, 1661–3.
John Bell, Glasgow, 1681–2.
Lawrence Bell, St. Andrews, 1357.
Patrick Bell, Glasgow, 1625, 1639–41.
Robert Bell, Linlithgow, 1646–7.
William Bell, Stirling, 1545, 1546.
Sir Alexander Belshes, laird of Toftis; Berwickshire, 1644–7, 1650–1.
Captain James Bennet, Inverkeithing, 1667, 1669–74, 1678.
Capt. William Bennet, of Grubbet; Roxburghshire, 1693 to 1702, 1702–7, 1707–8.
Patrick Benson, Perth, 1560.
George Bertrame, 1466.
Walter Bertrame, Edinburgh, 1479, 1482, 83, 85, 92.
William Bertrame, Lanark, 1468.
Thomas Bervic, Edinburgh, 1445.

—— Bethune, laird of Balfour; Fifeshire, 1621.
—— Bethune, laird of Creiche; Fifeshire, 1644–5–6.
Alexander Bethune, Kilrenny, 1612.
Alexander Bethune, Kilrenny, 1641.
David Bethune, of Balfour; Fifeshire, 1702–7.
George Bethune, Kilrenny, 1689, 1693.
James Bethune, younger, of Balfour; Kilrenny, 1702–7.
Patrick Bissett, Lanark, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669–72.
Alexander Black, Anstruther Easter, 1649, 1661–3.
John Black, Dysart, 1704–7.
Thomas Black, Montrose, 1367.
William Black, Anstruther Wester, 1648.
Peter Blackburn, Edinburgh, 1641.
William Blackburn, Inverke thing, 1593, 1617, 21, 1628–33.
—— —— Blair, laird of Argyleshire, 1621, 30.
—— Blair, laird of Ardblair; Perthshire, 1650–1.
—— Blair, laird of Balthyock; Perthshire, 1648.
Alexander Blair, Perth, 1504.
Bryce Blair, Annan, 1685–6, 1689.
Edward Blair, Culross, 1630.
Gawin Blair, of Braxfield; Lanark, 1617, 1621.
James Blair, Ayr, 1617, 1628–33.
Patrick Blair, Perth, 1597.
Patrick Blair, of Littleblair, sheriff—Orkney and Zetlandshire, 1663, 1669–72.
William Blair, Ayrshire, 1669–72, 1678, 1685–6, 1689, 1690.
Robert Blindsele, Aberdeen, 1482, 1483.
Richard Blyth, Dundee, 1567 bis.
Wilyame Bonar, St. Andrews, 1456, 1468, 1471.
Alexander Bonkill, Edinburgh, 1472, 1479.
William Bonkill, Dunbar, 1579.
Major Hugh Bontine, of Kilbryde; Ayrshire, 1690 to 1702.
Nicoll Bontine, of Ardoch; Dumbartonshire, 1685–6.
James Borthwick, Edinburgh, 1649–50.
James Borthwick (deacon of the Cherurgeons), Edinburgh, 1661.
Hendrie Boswell, Kirkcaldy, 1667.
James Boswell, Kinghorn, 1621.
John Boswell, Kinghorn, 1579, 1617.
John Boswell (or Mr. Robert Cunynghame), Kinghorn, 1650–1, (or James Robertson).
John Boswell, dean of Guild; Kirkcaldy, 1689, 1689–1702.
John Boswell, Sanquhar, 1689, 1692.
Francis Bothwell, Edinburgh, 1524, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35.
Alexander Bower, Dundee, 1650, 1651.
David (or William) Bowsie, Crail, 1579.
Robert, Lord Boyd, Glasgow, 1575.
David Boyle, of Kelburne; Buteshire, 1689, 1699.
James Boyle, Irvine, 1681–2, 1685–6.
John Boyle, of Kelburne; Buteshire, 1678, 1681–2, 1685.
Sir Roger Boyle, Baron of Broghill (county Cork, Ireland); Edinburgh city, 1656–8.
Alexander Bredy, 1653.
John Brisbane, of Bishoptoune; Renfrewshire, 1644–5, 1650.
John Brisbane, younger, of Bishoptoune; Ayrshire, 1704–7.
Benjamin Brissie, of Dolphinton; East Lothian, 1654–5.
Sir Alexander Brodie, of that ilk; Elgin and Forresshire, 1643–4, 1645, 1646–7, 1649, 1650.
Alexander Brodie, of Lethen; Nairnshire, 1646–7, 1649.
George Brodie, of Aslisk; Nairnshire, 1693 to 1702; Forresshire, 1703–7.
James Brodie of that ilk; Elgin and Forfarshire, 1689, 1689 to 1702, 1702–7.
William Brodie, of Whitewreath; Forres, 1693 to 1702.
Thomas Bolton, Lanark, 1504 bis.
—— —— Broun (or Brown), laird of Colstoun; Haddingtonshire, 1593.
—— —— Broun, laird of Carlsluith; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1645–6.
Adam Broun, Jedburgh, 1641, 1644.

Andro Broun, Perth, 1504.
George Broun, Dundee, 1644.
George Broun, Haddington, 1649.
Hugh Broun, Edinburgh, 1596.
Hugh Broun, Inverary, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
James Broun, Kilrenny, 1651.
Sir James Broun, of Fordell; Perthshire, 1649–50.
John Broun, Jedburgh, 1645–6, 1649.
John Broun, Burntisland, 1649.
Robert Broun, Irvine, 1621, 1628–33, 1646–7, 1648.
Robert Broun, Innerkeithing, 1650.
William Broun, Haddington, 1581, 1586.
William Broun, Inverary, 1678, 1681–2.
Adam Brownhill, Edinburgh, 1367.
—— Bruce, laird of Airth, 1592, 1593.
Alexander Bruce, of Broomhall; Culross, 1661–3, 1669–74, 1678, 1685–6; Sanquhar, 1692, 1702.
Andrew Bruce, of Earlshall; Fifeshire, 1665, 1667.
Anthony Bruce, Stirling, 1585, 1592, 1593.
David Bruce, of Clackmannan; Clackmannanshire, 1678, 1685–6, 1689.
Sir George Bruce, Culross, 1593, 1600, 1612, 1617, 1621.
George Bruce, Culross, 1625.
Sir Henry Bruce, of Clackmannan; Clackmannanshire, 1661–3, 1667, 1669–74.
—— Bruce, Laird of Carnoch; Stirlingshire, 1644.
John Bruce, of Wester Alden; Kinghorn, 1678.
John Bruce, of Kinross; Kinross-shire, 1702–7, 1707–8.
Patrick Bruce, of Bungoin; Cupar, 1702–7.
Robert Bruce, Stirling, 1504, 1526.
Robert Bruce, Kinghorn, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Thomas Bruce, Stirling, 1628–33, 1630.
Thomas Bruce, of Weltown; Stirling, 1639–41, 1643–4, 1644–5, 1649.
Sir William Bruce, of Balcaskie; Fifeshire, 1669–74; Kinross-shire, 1681–2, 1685–6.
David Brunton, Lanark, 1585.
John Bryce, Dumfries, 1687.
Arthur Buchanan, of Sound; Orkney and Zetlandshire, 1667.
George Buchanan, Stirlingshire, 1643–4, 1644–5, 1645–6, 1649–50, 1650.
John Buchanan, Stirlingshire, 1661–3.
William Bully, Edinburgh, 1440.
Alexander Bunsch, Perth, 1468, 1478, 1488.
Andrew Bunsch, Perth, 1526.
Johnne de Burgh, Stirling, 1357.
John Burnesyde, Culross, 1650–1.
—— Burnett, laird of Leys, 1605; Kincardineshire, 1621.
Sir Thomas Burnett, of Leys; Kincardineshire, 1689, 1689 to 1702, 1702–7, 1707–8.
Richard Cadyock, Montrose, 1357.
Johnne Cadyow, Aberdeen, 1440.
Samuel Cairmunt, Kirkcudbright, 1681–2.
Bartholomew Cairns, Edinburgh, 1479.
James Calder, Elgin, 1669–72; Elgin and Forresshire, 1685–6.
John Caldwell, of that ilk, Renfrewshire, 1690, 1700.
John Callender, Kirkcudbright, 1686.
James Cameron, 1474.
Alexander Campbell, of Glenstrae; Argyllshire, 1678.
Alexander Campbell, younger, of Calder; Nairnshire, 1706–7.
Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll; Aberdeen, 1658–9.
Robert Campbell, of Monzie; Argyllshire, 1766–8, 1768–72.
Colin Campbell, of Blythswood; Glasgow, 1645.
Charles Campbell, of Campbelltown; 1700–2, 1703–7.
Coline Campbell, Glasgow, 1645.
James Campbell, of Ardkinglass; Argyllshire, 1646–7, 1648–9.
Sir Colin Campbell, of Aberchill; Inverary, 1669–74; Perthshire, 1690–1702.
Sir Colin Campbell, of Ardkinglass; Argyllshire, 1693–1702.
Colin Campbell, of Woodside; Renfrew, 1702–7.

Sir Duncan Campbell, of Auchinbreck; Argyllshire, 1628–33, 1639–41, 1643.
Daniel (or Donald) Campbell, of Ardintenie; Inverary, 1702–7.
Sir Dougall Campbell, of Auchinbreck; Argyllshire, 1649.
—— Campbell, laird of Glenorchy; Argyllshire, 1592, 1593, 1599.
Sir Duncan Campbell, Argyllshire; 1628–33, 1639–41, 1643.
Duncan Campbell, of Carrick; Dumbartonshire, 1639–41, 1648.
Sir Duncan Campbell, of Auchinbreck; Argyllshire, 1689, 1700.
Hugh Campbell, of Loudoun; Irvine, 1579, 87, 97, 99.
John Campbell, of Calder; Nairnshire, 1628–33.
Sir Hugh Campbell, of Cessnock; Ayrshire, 1639–41, 1645–7, 1649–50.
Sir Hugh Campbell, of Calder; Nairnshire, 1661–3, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6, 1689, 1693.
James Campbell, Dumbarton, 1645–6, 1648–50.
James Campbell, Linlithgow, 1649.
James Campbell, of Ardkinglass; Ayrshire, 1646–7, 1648–9.
James Campbell, Glasgow, 1678.
James Campbell, brother to Earl of Argyll; Renfrew, 1699–1702; Ayr Burghs, 1708–10.
Sir James Campbell, of Auchinbreck; Argyllshire, 1702–7.
Sir James Campbell, of Ardkinglass; Argyllshire, 1702–7.
Sir Hugh Campbell, Earl of Loudoun; 1579, 87, 97, 99, 1601.
John Campbell, Dundee, 1646.
John Campbell, of Calder; Nairnshire, 1628–33, 1630.
John Campbell, of Ardchattan; Argyllshire, 1644–1661–3.
John Campbell, of Succoth; Argyllshire, 1681–2.
Sir John Campbell, of Glenorchy; Argyllshire, 1661–3.
Sir John Campbell, younger, of Glenorchy; Argyllshire, 1669–74.
Sir John Campbell, of Carrick; Argyllshire, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
John Campbell, of Succoth; Argyllshire, 1681–2.
John Campbell, of Shankstoun; Ayrshire, 1700–2.
John Campbell, of Mamore; Argyllshire, 1700–2, 1702–7.
Sir Duncan Campbell, of Glenorchy; Earl of Breadalbane, 1592, 1593, 1599, 1625.
Daniel Campbell, of Schawfield, 1702–8.
Sir Robert Campbell, of Glenorchy; Argyllshire, 1639–41, 1643, 1644–7.
William Campbell, Inverness, 1612.
William Campbell, Dumbarton, 1650.
Henry Cant, Edinburgh, 1473, 76, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85, 90, 92.
John Carketill, Haddington, 1583.
Sir Daniel Carmichael, of Hyndford; Lanarkshire, 1649–50, 1689, 1693.
James Carmichael, Edinburgh, 1558.
James Carmichael, Dundee, 1593.
Lord James Carmichael, Dundee, 1593.
Sir John Carmichael, laird of Carmichael, 1593, 94, 96, 97.
Robert Carmichael, of Carp; Sanquhar (county Dumfries), 1665, 1667, 1669–72, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.
William Carmichael, Edinburgh, 1504.
William Carmichael, Dundee, 1526, 1535.
Sir William Carmichael, Lanarkshire, 1644–5.
William Carmichael, Lanark, 1702–7.
David Carnegie, 1592, 93, 94, 96, 97.
Sir Alexander Carnegie, of Pitarrow; Kincardineshire, 1643, 1644–5, 1645, 1646–7.
Alexander Carnegie, 1609—laird of Balnamoon.
Sir David Carnegie, laird of Kinnaird; Forfarshire, 1600, 1605, 1609; Fifeshire, 1612.
Sir David Carnegie, of Pitarrow; Kincardineshire, 1667, 1669–74.
James Carnegie, of Balnamoon; Forfarshire, 1669–74, 1681–2, 1685–6.
James Carnegie, of Findhaven (Phinheavin); Forfar, 1669–74, 1686, 1698–1702, 1702–7.
Sir John Carnegie, laird of Craig; Forfarshire, 1645–6.
Sir John Carnegie, of Boysack; Forfarshire, 1661–3.
John Carnegie, Forfar, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6, 1689, 1698.
Robert Carnegie, Bervie, 1670.

Alexander Carrick, North Berwick, 1585.
James Carruthers, Annan, 1681–2.
John Carruthers, of Denbie; Lochmaben, 1702–7.
Andrew Carstairs, St. Andrews, 1650, 1661–3.
—— Cathcart, laird of Cairltoune; Ayrshire, 1625.
Hugh Cathcart, of Carleton; Ayrshire, 1702–7.
Henry Cavelin, Linlithgow, 1468.
—— Cavers, laird of ——, Roxburghshire, 1644, 1645–6.
Richard Chaipland, Haddington, 1644 (also 1646–7), 1648.
Alexander Chalmers (Chamer), Aberdeen, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1479.
Alexander Chalmers, Perth, 1525; Aberdeen, 1526.
James Chalmers, of Gaitgirth; Ayrshire, 1628–33.
John Chalmers, Perth, 1468.
Thomas Chalmers (de Camera), Aberdeen, 1435.
Andro Charteris, Perth, 1467, 68, 69, 71, 73, 79.
Sir John Charteris, Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1621, 1625, 1628–33.
Sir John Charteris, of Annisfield; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1639, 1641.
Patrick Charteris, 1521–3, 1524, 1525, 1527.
Sir John Cheislay, of Kerswell; Lanarkshire, 1649–50.
Sir Robert Cheislay, Edinburgh, 1696–1702.
Robert Chernside, Glasgow, 1593.
John Cheyne, Aberdeen, 1593, 1594.
John Cheyne, of Arnotischyre; Aberdeenshire, 1617.
Walter Cheyne, Kintore, 1617.
Michael Chisholm, Edinburgh, 1571.
David Christie, of Balsillie; Dysart, 1685, 1689, 1689–90, 1702 (died 1703).
Edward Cleghorn, Edinburgh, 1681–2.
Robert Clelland, of Pittenweem; Anstruther Wester, 1689, 1689–1702.
John Clephane, Burntisland, 1586.
Nicol Clephane, Burntisland, 1599.
Robert Clephane, Anstruther Easter, 1593.
Alexander Clerk, Edinburgh, 1567, 1569, 79, 81, 83.
Alexander Clerk, Edinburgh, 1621, 30.
Johnne Clerk, Montrose, 1357.
Sir John Clerk, of Pennycuik; Edinburgshire, 1690 to 1702.
John Clerk, younger, of Pennycuik; Whithorn, 1702–7.
Patrick Clerk, Rutherglen, 1357.
William Clerk, Haddington, 1468.
William Clinston, Wigton, 1673–4.
Alexander Clunes, Cromarty, 1661.
Sir William Cochrane, Ayrshire, 1644–7.
George Cochrane, Ayr, 1585, 93,97.
James Cochrane, Edinburgh, 1641.
Sir John Cochrane, of Ochiltree; Ayrshire, 1667, 1669–74, 1681–2.
Michael Cochrane, Wigtoun, 1600.
Walter Cochrane, of Dumbreck; Aberdeen, April 15, 1693, until his death, Dec. 5, 1694.
—— Cochrane, laird of Cowdoun; Ayrshire, 1644, 1644–7.
William Cochrane, of Kilmarnock; Renfrew, 1689, 1689–98; Dumbartonshire, 1702–7.
—— Cockburn, laird of Clerkington; Haddington constabulary, 1644–7.
Adam Cockburn, laird of Clerkington; Haddington constabulary, 1678, 1681–2, 1689, 1692.
Sir Archibald Cockburn, of Langton; Berwickshire, 1678, 1685–6, 1689–1702.
Archibald Cockburn, of Borthwick; Berwickshire, 1685–6.
Harry Cockburn, Haddington, 1605, 1612, 1617.
Harie Cockburn, Haddington, 1681–2.
James Cockburn, Haddington, 1572, 1579, 85, 92, 93, 94, 99, 1600.
James Cockburn, Haddington, 1617, 21, 25, 1628–33.
Sir John Cockburn, of Ormistoun, 1608.
John Cockburn, of Skraling, 1608.

—— Cockburn, laird of Ryslaw; Berwickshire, 1625.
John Cockburn, Haddington, 1643.
John Cockburn, of Ormistoun; Haddington constabulary, 1648–9.
John Cockburn, of Ormistoun; Haddington constabulary, 1702–7.
Stephen Cockburn, Haddington, 1492.
Sir William Cockburn, of Langton; Berwickshire, 1612.
Sir William Cockburn, of Langton; Berwickshire, 1640–1.
—— Collace, of Balnamoon; Forfarshire, 1612.
John Collinson, Aberdeen, 1531, 1596.
Alexander Colquhoun, of Luss, 1605; Dumbartonshire, 1612.
Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, of Balvie; Dumbartonshire, 1639–41, 1643–4, 1645–7.
Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, of Luss; Dumbartonshire, 1702–7.
Sir John Colquhoun, laird of Luss; Dumbartonshire, 1621.
Sir John Colquhoun, of Luss; Dumbartonshire, 1651, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
William Colquhoun, of Craigtoun; Dumbartonshire, 1689.
William Coltrane, Wigtoun, 1681–2, 1685–6, 1689, 1689–1702, 1702–7.
Sir James Colvile.
Sir James Colvile, 1531, 1532, 1535, 1536.
—— Colvile, laird of Easter Wemyss, 1596.
John Colvile, Stirling, 1590.
Adam Congalton, Haddington, 1357.
Dionys Conqueror, Perth, 1579, 1583
James Cook, Pittenweem, 1685–6.
Clement Cor, Edinburgh, 1593, 94, 96, 98, 99.
Nicol Cornwall, of Bonhard; Linlithgow, 1593, 1594, 96, 97, 98, 99, 1600.
John Corsan, Dumfries, 1621.
John Corsan, Dumfries, 1628–33; Kirkcudbright, 1640–1, 1649.
John Corsell, Dumfries, 1617.
Adam Cossar, Stirling, 1449, 1467, 1469.
Sir John Couper, of Gogar; Edinburghshire, 1681–2.
John Cowan, Stirling, 1625, 1651.
Walter Cowan, Stirling, 1588, 1596, 1597.
Patrick Cowper, Dunfermline, 1628–33.
William Cowper, Cupar, 1488.
Johnne Crab, Aberdeen, 1357, 1367.
Alexander Craig, Banff, 1621.
Robert Craig, of Riccarton; Edinburghshire, 1693–1702.
William Craig, Dumfries, 1678, 1681–2.
David Craigie, of Over Sandy; Kirkwall, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Hugh Craigie, Orkney and Zetlandshire, 1661 (d. April 15, 1663).
James Craigie, younger, of Dumbarnie; Perthshire, 1698–1702.
Sir William Craigie, of Gairsay; Orkney and Zetland stewartry, 1681–2, 1689, 1689–1702.
—— Craigie-Hall, laird of ——, 1597.
—— Craigengelt, laird of ——; Stirling, 1567.
Thomas Cranstoun, Edinburgh, 1445.
Thomas Cranstoun, Lauder, 1646–7.
William Cranstoun, Edinburgh, 1439, 49, 56, 58, 62, 63, 64.
Sir William Cranstoun, Roxburghshire, 1608.
Andrea Craufurd (or Crawford), 1474.
David Craufurd, Ayr, 1587, 90.
James Craufurd, Ayr, 1583.
James Craufurd, Linlithgow, 1649, 1650.
Sir John Craufurd, of Kilbirny; Ayrshire, 1644, 1661.
John Craufurd, of Kilbirny; Ayrshire, 1693–1702, 1702–3.
John Craufurd, of Auchenames; Renfrewshire, 1774–80; Glasgow burghs, 1780–4, 1784–90.
Nicholas Craufurd, Linlithgow, 1524, 25, 26, 28.
Patrick Craufurd, of Auchenames; Ayrshire, 1741–7, 1747–54; Renfrewshire, 1761–1761–8.
Thomas Craufurd, Glasgow, 1578.
—— Crichton, laird of Ruthven; Forfarshire, 1644.

David Crichton, of Lugtoun; Edinburghshire, 1621, 1639–41.
James Crichton, of Crechton; Edinburgh, 1478, 79, 88, 89.
James Crichton, of Frendraught; Aberdeenshire, 1625, Banffshire, 1639–40, 1641.
James Crichton, of St. Leonards; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1661–3.
John Crichton, Sanquhar, 1628–33.
Robert Crichton, Whithorn, 1641.
William Crichton, Sanquhar, 1645–7.
William Crichton, of Craufurdtown; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1690, until his death, May 13, 1702.
Thomas Crombie, of Kennay; Aberdeenshire, 1628–33, 1639–40, 1644.
John Crosbie (Corsbie), Kirkcudbright, 1644.
Robert Cruickshank, of Banchory; Aberdeen, 1694–1702.
Alexander Cullane, Stirling, 1594, 1597.
—— Culrossie, laird of ——; Sutherlandshire, 1641.
Andrew Cumming-Gordon, Bervie, 1672–4.
David Cumming (Comyn) -Gordon, Cupar, 1357.
Jasper Cumming-Gordon, Inverness, 1587.
William (or Robert) Cumming-Gordon, 1583 (a notary public, 1574).
William Cumming-Gordon, of Elgin; Banff, 1669–72.
—— Cunninghame (or Cunynghame), laird of Ballindallock; Stirlingshire, 1645.
Alexander Cunninghame, Irvine, 1571.
Alexander Cunninghame, laird of Corsehill; Ayrshire, 1630.
Alexander Cunninghame, Crail, 1641, 49, 51.
Alexander Cunninghame, of Chirrielands; Irvine, 1689.
Alexander Cunninghame, of Uhlane; Irvine, 1689 to 1702, 1702 until his death, July 14, 1705.
Alexander Cunninghame, of Craigends; Renfrewshire, 1734–41, 1741 until his death, Dec. 23, 1742.
Allane Cunninghame, Crail, 1621.
Cuthbert Cunninghame, Dumfries, 1643.
Sir David Cunninghame, of Milncraig; Lauder, 1702–7.
Gabriel Cunninghame, Glasgow, 1628–33, 1640.
Henry Cunninghame, Anstruther Wester, 1641, Kilrenny, 1643.
Herbert Cunninghame, Dumfries, 1600, 1612.
James Cunninghame, laird of Glengarnock, 1605.
John Cunninghame, of Brownhill; Ayrshire, 1665.
Sir John Cunninghame, of Lambrughton; Ayrshire, 1681–2.
Nicoll Cunninghame, Sanquhar, 1621.
Robert Cunninghame, Dumfries, 1583.
Robert Cunninghame, Kinghorn, 1612, 1628–33, 1639–41, 1644, 1644–7, 1648–9, 1661.
Robert Cunninghame, Irvine, 1665, 1667, 1669 until death, Oct. 24, 1673.
Robert Cunninghame, Dumbarton, 1667.
William Cunninghame, Ayr, 1571.
William Cunninghame, Glasgow, 1592.
William Cunninghame, Dumbarton, 1593.
William Cunninghame, Kinghorn, 1593.
William Cunninghame, laird of Caprington; Ayrshire, 1617.
Sir William Cunninghame, of Cunynghamehed; Ayrshire, 1628–33, 1639–40.
Sir William Cunninghame, of Cunynghamehed; Ayrshire, 1648–9, 1650.
William Cunninghame, of Craigane; Renfrewshire, 1643.
William Cunninghame, Ayr, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1681–2.
William Cunninghame, younger, of Craigends; Renfrewshire, 1689, 1689–1700.
Nicholas Cupar, 1357.
—— Cupar, Cupar, 1567.
Alexander Cupar, Inverness, 1661–3, 1678.
James Cupar, Inverness, 1617.
John Cupar, Inverness, 1593.
John Cupar, Inverness, 1685–6, 1689, 1689–1702.
John Dairsie, Anstruther Wester, 1640.
George Dallas, of St. Martin's; Cromartyshire, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.

Hugh Dallas, Fortrose, 1665.
David Dalrymple, of Hailes; Culross, 1697–1702, 1702–7.
George Dalrymple, son of John, Viscount Stair, Stranraer, 1703–7.
Hugh Dalrymple, of North Berwick; New Galloway, 1696–1702, 1702–7.
Sir James Dalrymple, of Stair; Wigtonshire, 1672–4, 1678, 1681–2; Ayrshire, 1689, 1690.
Johnne Dalrymple, Edinburgh, 1445, 1458.
Sir John Dalrymple, younger, of Stair; Stranraer, 1689, 1689–90.
William Dalrymple, of Glenmure; Ayrshire, 1702–7.
Thomas Dalzell, of Binns; Linlithgowshire, 1678, 1681–2, 1685.
Gawen Dalzell, Perth, 1605.
Sir John Dalzell, of Glenae; Dumfries, sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1681–2, 1685, until his death, April 8, 1686.
William Darroch, Stirling, 1567, 1568.
Lawrence Davidson, Sanquhar, 1643, 1649.
Patrick Davidson, Linlithgow, 1488.
Robert Davidson, Dundee, 1644, 1649, 1651.
Andrew Dawe, Crail, 1640, 43, 45 (also 1646–7?), 1648.
John Dawe, Crail, 1665, 1667.
James Dawling, Queensferry South, 1639–41, 1644.
Sir John Dempster, of Pitliver; Inverkeithing, 1681–2, 1685–6; Fifeshire, 1689, 1687–1702, 1690–3.
Robert Dempster, Brechin, 1639–41.
Sir William Denholme, of Westheills; Lanarkshire, 1690–1702.
James Denholme, Edinburgh, 1643.
James Dewar, Burntisland, 1674–5, 1678, 1681–2.
Capt. Andrew Dick, Orkney and Zetlandshire stewartry, 1678.
Sir James Dick, of Priestfield; Edinburgh, 1681–2.
David Dickinson, Forfar, 1661.
Andrew Dickson, Inverkeithing, 1649, 1651.
John Dickson, of Wingiston; Peebles, 1568.
John Dickson, Peebles, 1612, 1617.
John Dickson, Sanquhar, 1645.
John Dickson, of Busbie; Lanarkshire, 1649.
John Dickson, Hartrie; Pebbles-shire, 1649–50.
Patrick Dickson (Peebles ?), 1583.
Robert Dickson (eldest son of John Dicksone, minister of Kells), New Galloway, 1661–3, 1667, 1669–74.
Sir Robert Dickson, of Inveresk; Edinburghshire, 1702–7.
Donald Dingwall, dean of Guild; Dingwall, 1685–6.
Richard Dobie, Edinburgh, 1608.
Alexander Donaldson, Whithorn, 1661–3, 1665.
David Donaldson, Brechin, 1664.
David Donaldson, elder, Brechin, 1665.
David Donaldson, younger, dean of Guild; Brechin, 1678, 1681–2.
Robert Doock, Ayr, 1678.
Alexander Douglas, Banff, 1641, 1643, 1644–5, 1649–50, 1651.
Alexander Douglas, of Spynie; Elgin and Forresshire, 1669–74.
Sir Alexander Douglas, of Eagleshay; Orkney and Zetland stewartry, 1702–7.
Archibald Douglas, Edinburgh, 1526–1560.
Sir Archibald Douglas, of Whittinghame, 1604; Haddington constabulary, 1605, 1607, 1608.
Archibald Douglas, of Tofts; Berwickshire, 1617.
Archibald Douglas, Roxburghshire, 1644.
Sir Archibald Douglas, of Cavers; Roxburghshire, 1661–3
Archibald Douglas, of Cavers; Roxburghshire, 1700–2, 1702–7.
David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1646–7, 1648.
Hector Douglas, Tain, 1621.
James Douglas, Haddington, 1479.
Sir James Douglas, of Drumlanrig, 1608, 1609.
Sir James Douglas, of Spott; Haddington constabulary, 1612.
James Douglas, of Mouswall; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1644, 1649, 1650–1.

James Douglas, of Skirling; Peeblesshire, 1685–6.
John Douglas, Crail, 1585.
John Douglas, Elgin, 1639–40; 1643, 1645, 1650.
Sir Robert Douglas, of Kelhead; Dumfries burghs, 1735; Dumfriesshire, 1741–7.
Sir Robert Douglas, of Blackerstoun; Berwickshire, 1661–3.
Robert Douglas, Kirkwall, 1702–7.
Robert Douglas, of Strathendric; Fifeshire, 1703, until death, April 25, 1706.
William Douglass, of Whittinghame; Haddington constabulary, 1605.
Sir William Douglas, Roxburghshire, 1617.
Sir William Douglas, Roxburghshire, 1612, 1617, 1621, 1628–33, 1639–40, 1644, 1645–6, 1650–1.
Sir William Douglas, Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1617.
William Douglas, of Mouswall; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1644, 1648–9.
William Douglas, of Egilshaw; Orkney and Zetland, 1667.
Sir William Douglas, of Cavers; Roxburghshire, 1690 until his death, Aug. 2, 1698.
William Douglas, of Dornock; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1702–7.
—— Dow, laird of Bandeth; Stirlingshire, 1646–7.
Adam Drummond, of Megginch; Perthshire, 1690–1702.
Charles Drummond, Linlithgow, 1567, 1568, 1572.
George Drummond, of Milnab; Edinburgh, 1685–6.
James Drummond, Perth, 1585, 92, 93, 97, 1600.
Sir John Drummond, of Burnebank; Perthshire, 1665, 1667.
John Drummond, of Lundy; Fifeshire, 1678.
Samuel Drummond, of Carlowrie; Linlithgowshire, 1644, 1644–5.
Thomas Drummond, of Riccartoune; Linlithgowshire, 1661, 1665.
Thomas Drummond, of Riccarton; Linlithgowshire, 1685–6, 1689, 1689–99.
William Drummond, of Riccarton; Linlithgowshire, 1628–33, 1630, 1639–40.
Sir William Drummond (lieut.-genl.), of Cromlix; Perthshire, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2 1685–6.
Alexander Duff, of Braco; Banffshre, 1689, 1689–1702, 1702 until his death, June 25, 1706.
Alexander Duff, of Drummuir; Inverness, 1702–7
George Duff, Cullen, 1593.
Willam Duff, Inverness, 1681–2
Johnne Dumfries, 1440.
Robert Dunbar, 1475.
Alexander Dunbar, Nairn, 1617.
Alexander Dunbar, of Boath; Nairnshire, 1643.
Alexander Dunbar, of Westfield; Elgin and Forresshire, 1696–1702, 1702 until death, Feb. 16, 1703.
David Dunbar, of Baldoon; Wigtonshire, 1651–1, 1665, 1681–2.
George Dunbar, Cullen, 1661.
James Dunbar, Forres, 1587, 1628–33.
James Dunbar, of Hempriggs; Caithness-shire, 1706–7.
John Dunbar, of Moynes; Nairnshire, 1617, 1628–33.
John Dunbar, Forres, 1639–41.
Ninian Dunbar, Elgin and Forresshire, 1646–7.
Patrick Dunbar, of Balnaferrie; Elgin and Forresshire, 1665, 1667.
Patrick Dunbar, of Machrimore; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1693–1702.
Sir Robert Dunbar, of Grangehill; Elgin and Forresshire, 1669–70.
Robert Dunbar, of Grangehill; Elgin and Forresshire, 1703 until death, June 16, 1704.
Thomas Dunbar, of Grange; Elgin and Forresshire, 1681–2, 1689 until his death, Dec. 1, 1696.
William Dunbar, Forres, 1646–7, 1648.
William Dunbar, of Hempriggs; Caithness-shire, 1678.
Walter Duncan, Kinghorn, 1617.
William Duncan, Dundee, 1583, 1585.
William Duncoll, Dumfries, 1357.
George Dundas, of that ilk; Linlithgowshire, 1644, 1644–7, 1648.

George Dundas, of Duddington; Linlithgowshire, 1649–50.
Sir James Dundas, of Arniston; Edinburghshire, 1612, 1625.
Sir James Dundas, laird of Arniston; Edinburghshire, 1648.
James Dundas, of Mortoune; Linlithgowshire, 1669–74.
John Dundas, of Newliston; Linlithgowshire, 1617.
Sir Robert Dundas, of Arnistown; Edinburghshire, 1700–2, 1702–7.
Sir Walter Dundas, of that ilk, 1609; Linlithgowshire, 1612, 1617, 1621, 1628–33.
—— Dundee, Dundee, 1526–1568.
Allan Dunlop, Irvine, 1644–5.
Allan Dunlop, younger, of Craig; Irvine, 1661.
Robert Dunning (Dunnyn), 1472, 1475, 1482.
James Dykes, Perth, 1661–3.
George Eassone (or Asson), Dysart, 1703 until his death, Nov. 4, 1704.
John Eassone, St. Andrew, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Alexander Edgar, Haddington, 1696–1702, 1703–7.
Edward Edgar, Edinburgh, 1640–1, 1646–7.
John Edgar, of Wedderlie; Berwickshire, 1681–2.
—— Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1479, 1491, 1528, 32, 35, 43, 44, 46, 60, 68, 93.
Andrew Edmonstone, 1597, 1599.
Archibald Edmonstone, of Duntreath; Stirlingshire, 1628–33.
James Edmonstone, laird of Duntreath; Dumbartonshire, 1593.
Alexander Eizat, Culross, 1643.
Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Stobs; Roxburghshire, 1661–3, 1667, 1669–74.
William Elliot, of Stobs; Roxburghshire, 1640–1, 1643, 1645–7, 1650–1.
Sir William Elliot, of Stobs; Roxburghshire, 1689, 1689 until April 25, 1693.
Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Minto and Headshaw; Roxburghshire, 1702–7.
Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs, Roxburghshire, 1661–3; 1667, 1669–74.
Robert Elliot, Selkirk, 1661–3.
William Elliot, Selkirk, 1621, 1628–33, 1644, 1644–5, 1648.
George Elliot, Selkirk, 1661–3.
William Elliot, Selkirk, 1621, 1628–33, 1644, 1644–5, 1648.
George Elphinstone, Glasgow, 1583.
James Elphinstone, Inverurie, 1669–74.
Sir James Elphinstone, of Logie; Aberdeenshire, 1693–1702.
Richard Elphinstone, of Airth; Stirlingshire, 1681–2.
—— Entekine, Ayrshire, 1625.
Sir Alexander Erskine, of Dune; Forfarshire, 1630, 1639–41, 1645.
Arthur Erskine, of Scotscraig; Fifeshire, 1643–4, 1645, 1648–9.
Sir Charles Erskine, Stirlingshire, 1641, 1650.
Sir Charles Erskine, of Cambuskenneth; Clackmannanshire, 1644, 1649–50.
Sir Charles Erskine, of Alva and Cambuskenneth; Clackmannanshire, 1665, 1667; Stirlingshire, 1689, until his death, June 4, 1690.
David Erskine, of Dun; Forfarshire, 1689 until his death, May 26, 1698.
John Erskine, of Dun; Montrose, 1563, 67, 68, 69.
John Erskine, of Balgony; Stirlingshire, 1630.
Sir John Erskine, of Alva; Clackmannanshire, 1700–2; Burntisland, 1702–7.
Col. John Erskine, of Stirling, 1702–7.
Sir Thomas Erskine, 1602.
Thomas Erskine, Aberdeenshire, 1630.
—— Erskine, laird of Ballhaggardie; Aberdeenshire, 1644.
William Erskine, Culross, 1689, until his death, May 15, 1697.
John Ewart, Kirkcudbright, 1661.
John Ewart, Kirkcudbright, 1689 until death, Feb. 28, 1700.
Nicholas Ewart (Udwart), Edinburgh, 1589.
William Ewart, Kirkcudbright, 1678.
Normand Fairfull or Farefool, Anstruther Wester, 1641, 1644, 1645–6.
Alexander Fairlie, of Braid, 1597.
Sir Alexander Falconer, of Halkertoun; Kincardineshire, 1643–4, 1644–5, 1645–7.
Sir Alexander Falconer, of Glenfarquhar; Kincardineshire, 1667.
Sir David Falconer, of Newtown; Forfarshire, 1685, until his death, Jan. 12, 1686.
Eliseus Falconer, Montrose, 1367.
Sir James Falconer, of Phesdoe; Kincardineshire, 1702 until his death, June 19, 1705,

Sir John Falconer, of Ballnakellie; Kincardineshire, 1678, 1681–2, 1685 until his death, May 18, 1686.
Samuel Falconer, Forres, 1617.
Robert Fall (Faa), Dunbar, 1693–1702.
George Falla (Fawla), Edinburgh, 1458.
Thomas Fallisdaill, Dumbarton, 1600, 1612, 1621.
Johne Falside (Fauside), Edinburgh, 1468.
Robert Farquhar, Forres, 1612.
Robert Farquhar, Aberdeen, 1645–6.
Norman Farson, Anstruther Wester, 1643.
Robert Ferguson, Inverkeithing, 1579, 87.
William Ferguson, younger, of Badifurrow; Inverurie, 1661–3.
Alexander Ferguson, of Isle; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1702–7.
John Ferguson, of Craigdarroch; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1649.
Robert Ferguson, of Craigdarroch; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1649, 50, 51, 1661–3, 1665, 67, 1669–72, 1678.
William Ferguson, of Craigdarroch; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1640–1.
Johnne Fife, Aberdeen, 1456, 1458.
William Fingask or Fingass, Dumfries, 1685 until his death, May 31, 1686.
John Finlayson, Dundee, 1590, 94, 97.
Thomas Fisher, Edinburgh, 1599, 1600, 1608.
James Fleming, Glasgow, 1569, 1571.
Patrick Fleming, of Barochane, Renfrewshire, 1628–33.
Robert Fleming, Edinburgh, 1644.
William Fleming, Perth, 1567, 68, 79, 87.
Sir Andrew Fletcher, Forfarshire, 1646–7, 1648.
Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, Haddingtonshire, 1681–2; Haddington constabulary, 1702–7.
George Fletcher, dean of Guild, Dundee, 1665.
James Fletcher, Dundee, 1639–41.
James Fletcher, of Salton, Haddingtonshire constabulary, 1678.
James Fletcher, Dundee, 1685–6, 1689, 1689 until his death, May 19, 1702.
Robert Fletcher (Flesheour), Dundee, 1596, 97, 99.
Thomas Focart (Fokert), Edinburgh, 1467.
—— Forbes, laird of Brux, Aberdeenshire, 1621.
—— Forbes, laird of Reresse (Rires), Fifeshire, 1630.
Alexander Forbes, Inverurie, 1678.
Arthur Forbes, of Echt, Aberdeenshire, 1645–6, 1649–50.
Duncan Forbes, of Culloden; Inverness, 1625, 1628–33, 1639–40, 1649.
Duncan Forbes, of Culloden; Nairnshire, 1678, 1681–2; Inverness-shire, 1689–1702; Nairnshire, 1702 until his death, June 20, 1704.
Francis Forbes, of Thornhill; Forres, 1665.
John Forbes, of Pitsligo; Aberdeenshire, 1612.
John Forbes, of Leslie; Aberdeenshire, 1639–41.
John Forbes, of Culloden; Inverness, 1649, 1650, Inverness-shire, 1669–74.
John Forbes, of Culloden; Nairnshire, 1704–7.
Sir John Forbes, of Craigievar; Aberdeenshire, 1689–1702.
Sir Robert Forbes, of Learnie; Inverurie, 1700–7.
Sir Samuel Forbes, of Foveran; Aberdeenshire, 1693–1702.
Sir William Forbes, of Craigievar; Aberdeenshire, 1639–41, 1644, 1645–6.
William Forbes, younger, of Leslie; Aberdeenshire, 1649.
Henry Forrest, Linlithgow, 1540, 44, 45.
James Forrest, Jedburgh, 1645.
John Forrest, Linlithgow, 1583, 85.
—— Forrest, Linlithgow, 1472.
Alexander Forrester, (or Forster) Stirling, 1524, 25, 26, 35.
Alexander Forrester, of Garden; Stirling, 1569.
Alexander Forrester, Tain, 1643.
Alexander Forrester, Fortrose, 1672.
Alexander Forrester, of Edertaine; Tain, 1672.

David Forrester, Whithorn, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Duncan Forrester, Stirling, 1482, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92.
Sir George Forrester, of Corstorphine; Edinburghshire, 1625, 1628–33.
George Forrester, Dundee, 1669–74.
Henry Forrester, of Corstorphine, 1597.
John Forrester, Tain, 1665, 78, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Matthew Forrester, Stirling, 1468, 71, 74, 76, 78, 79.
Robert Forrester, Stirling, 1543.
Robert Forrester, of Boquhane; Stirling, 1569, 1578, 1585, 1587.
John Forhous (or Forus), Haddington, 1567, 1568.
David Forres, St. Andrews, 1599.
James Forres, Glasgow, 1600, 1604, 1605, 1607.
William Forsyth, Forres, 1621.
—— Fothringham (laird of Powrie-Fothringham), Forfarshire, 1621.
David Fothringham, of Powrie; Forfarshire, 1665.
John Fothringham, Dundee, 1569.
Thomas Fothringham, 1482 (of Powrie), 1483 (of Dundee ?), 1484, 1485 (of Dundee ?).
Alexander Foulis, Linlithgow, 1469, 71, 72, 74, 76, 78, 79, 1483, 84, 88, 89.
George Foulis, Edinburgh, 1604, 1605, 7, 8, 12, 17, 21,
James Foulis, Edinburgh, 1526.
James Foulis, (laird of Colinton), Edinburghshire, 1594.
Sir James Foulis, of Colinton; Edinburghshire, 1612.
Sir James Foulis, of Colinton; Edinburghshire, 1645–7, 1648, 1651, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1672–4, 1678, 1681–2.
Sir James Foulis, of Colinton; Edinburghshire, 1685–6, 1689, 1693.
Sir James Foulis, of Colinton; Edinburghshire, 1704–7.
Sir Alexander Fraser, of Philorth; Aberdeenshire, 1643, 1648, 1661–3.
Sir Alexander Fraser, of Duris; Kincardineshire, 1669–70.
Finlay Fraser, Inverness, 1669–74.
Hew Fraser, of Belladrum; Inverness-shire, 1678.
Hugh Fraser, younger, of Belladrum, Inverness-shire, 1685–6.
Sir James Fraser, of Brae; Inverness, 1646–7, 1649.
Robert Fraser, Wick, 1702–7.
Thomas Fraser, of Strichen; Inverness-shire, including Ross, 1639–40.
William Fraser, of Culbakie; Inverness-shire, 1649, 50, 51.
—— Fullarton, of Corsbie; Ayrshire, 1643–4, 1648.
Adam Fullarton, Edinburgh, 1572.
John Fullarton, of Kinnaher; Forfarshire, 1693–1702.
Alexander Futhie (or Fithie), Arbroath, 1651.
Henry Futhie (or Fithie), Arbroath, 1667, 1669–74.
John Fyfe, Elgin, 1681–2.
William Fyfe (Fyiff), Banff, 1681–2.
David Galbraith, 1440.
Edward Galbraith, Edinburgh, 1593, 94, 96, 97.
George Gardyne, Burntisland, 1639–41, 1644, 1644–7, 1648–9, 1650–1, 1661 until his death, June 21, 1663.
John Gardyne, Elgin, 1579.
John Gardyne, of Lantoune; Forfarshire, 1667.
James Garne, Elgin, 1579.
Thomas Garoch, Whithorn, 1678.
Alexander Gartshore, of that ilk, Dumbartonshire, 1685–6.
Lawrence Garoch, Aberdeen, 1357.
Robert Gatmilke, Perth, 1357.
Alexander Ged (or Gedd), Burntisland, 1689, 1689–1702.
William Ged (or Gedd), Burntisland, 1670 until his death, Oct. 27, 1673.
James Geddie, Crail, 1587.
John Geddie, of St. Nicholas; St. Andrews (city), 1667, 1669–74, 1678.
Martin Geddie, St. Andrews, 1569.
John Gellie, Fortrose, 1667.
Sir Alexander Gibson, of Durie; Fifeshire, 1661 until his death, Oct. 1, 1661.
Alexander Gibson, Linlithgow, 1646–7.
Michael Gilbert, Edinburgh, 1585.

Donald Gilchrist, Rothesay, 1649.
John Gilchrist, Renfrew, 1587.
Johnne Gill, Perth, 1357, 1367.
Alexander Gilliott (Gylyot), Edinburgh, 1357.
Sir Alexander Gilmour, of Craigmillar; Edinburghshire, 1690–1702.
Sir John Gilmour, of Craigmillar; Edinburghshire, 1661–3, 1665, 67, 69, until his death, Jan. 16, 1672.
Herbert Gladstanes (Glaidstanis), Kirkcudbright, 1579.
John Glas, Perth, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Andrew Glasfurd, Cupar, 1685–6.
John Glasfurd, Cupar, 1649–50.
—— Glasgow, Glasgow, 1560.
Andrew Glen, Linlithgow, 1651, 1661–3.
George Glen, Linlithgow, 1641.
James Glen, Linlithgow, 1625, 1639–41.
John Glendoning, Kirkcudbright, 1667, 1669–72.
Robert Glendoning, Kirkcudbright, 1665.
William Glendoning, Kirkcudbright, 1628–33, 1639–41, 1643, 1645–7, 1648.
Johnne Goldsmyth, Edinburgh, 1357.
George Good (Gude), Ayr, 1535, 1545.
Sir Adam Gordon, of Dalfolly; Sutherlandshire, 1689 until his death, Oct. 25, 1700.
Alexander Gordon, of Erlestoane; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1641.
Alexander Gordon, of Cluny; Aberdeenshire, 1612.
Alexander Gordon, Dornock, 1661.
Alexander Gordon, Aberdeen, 1689 until his death, April 15, 1693.
Alexander Gordon, of Gairthrie; Sutherlandshire, 1700–2, 1702–5.
Alexander Gordon, of Pitburg; Aberdeenshire, 1702–7.
George Gordon, Aberdeen, 1588.
Sir George Gordon, of Haddo; Aberdeenshire, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2.
George Gordon (son of Sir Robert of Embo), Dornock, 1685–6; 1689 until his death Dec. 21, 1692.
Sir George Gordon, of Edinglassie; Banffshire, 1681–2, 1685–6.
James Gordon, laird of Lesmoir; younger, Aberdeenshire, 1625.
James Gordon, younger, of Creachlee; New Galloway, 1689 until his death, Aug. 27, 1690.
Sir John Gordon, laird of Lochinvar, 1594, 1597.
John Gordon, of Bucklee; Inverness-shire, 1617.
John Gordon, of Innermarkie; Banffshire, 1628–33.
John Gordon, of Cardines; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1643, 1645.
Sir John Gordon, Sutherlandshire, 1681–2, 1689, 1693 until his death, May 10, 1700.
Sir John Gordon, of Doall; Sutherlandshire, 1685–6.
John Gordon, younger, of Carrell; Sutherlandshire, 1700–2.
Sir Ludovick Gordon, of Gordonston, Elgin and Forresshire, 1649.
Robert Gordon, Inverness, 1586.
Sir Robert Gordon, of Lochinvar; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1612.
Robert Gordon, New Galloway, 1628–33, 1639–41, 1643–4.
Sir Robert Gordon, Inverness-shire, 1630.
Sir Robert Gordon, of Embo; Sutherlandshire, 1649–50, 1661.
Sir Robert Gordon, of Langdale; Sutherlandshire, 1663.
Robert Gordon, of Lumsdeall (Rumsdeall); Sutherlandshire, 1661–2, 1678.
Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonstown, younger; Sutherlandshire, 1672–4, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.
William Gordon, of Craig; Kirkcudbright stewartry until his death, April 12, 1693.
—— Goslintoun, Lanarkshire, 1625.
Robert Gourlay, Culross, 1641, 1644, 1645.
John Govan, Peebles, 1685–6.
George Graeme, of Inchbrackie; Perthshire, 1643–4.
David Graeme, of Orchill; Perthshire, 1724 until his death, April 28, 1726.
Mungo Graeme, of Gorthie; Perthshire, 1702–7.
Patrick Graeme, of Inchbrackie; Perthshire, 1612.
—— Graham, laird of Monorgund; Forfarshire, 1646–7.
Alexander Graham, of Drynie; Rosemarkie and Channurie of Ross or Fortrose burgh, 1661–3.

Sir David Graham, of Fintrie; Forfarshire, 1641.
David Graham, younger, of Fintrie; Forfarshire, 1702–7.
Harie Graham, of Breckness, Orkney and Zetland stewartry, 1685–6.
James Graham, of Bucklyvie, Stirlingshire, 1702–7.
John Graham, Glasgow, 1649–50.
John Graham, younger, Glasgow, 1583.
John Graham, of Fintry; Perthshire, 1678.
John Graham, Killearn; Stirlingshire, 1702–7.
Sir Robert Graham, of Morphie; Kincardineshire, 1617, 1625, 1628–33, 1639–41.
Sir William Graham, of Claverhouse; Forfarshire, 1628–33.
William Graham, of Blaatwood; Annan, 1669–72.
Alexander Grant, of Grant; Inverness-shire, 1702–7.
Sir Alexander Grant, of Dalbey, Inverness burghs, 1761–8.
Andrew Grant, Perth, 1612.
Andrew Grant, Perth, 1650, 1650–1.
James Grant, of Grant, 1681.
James Grant, of Moynes; Nairnshire, 1667.
John Grant, of Moynes; Nairnshire, 1639–41.
John Grant, of Moynes; Nairnshire, 1661–3.
Ludovick Grant, of that ilk, Elgin and Forresshire, 1681–2; Inverness-shire, 1681–2, 1689, 1689–1702, 1702–7.
Andrew Gray, Perth, 1617, 1621, 1625, 1628–33.
Andrew Gray, Montrose, 1643–4, 1649.
George Gray, Haddington, 1639–41.
Gilbert Gray, of Saphosk; Aberdeen, 1663.
James Gray, Lanark, 1617.
John Gray, Dysart, 1650.
Robert Gray, of Skibo; Sutherlandshire, 1643–4.
Robert Gray, of Ballone; Sutherlandshire, 1645, 1648.
Robert Gray, Dornoch, 1648.
William Gray, Aberdeen, 1661, until his death, May 12, 1663.
George Greenlaw (Girnelaw), 1464, 67; (Haddington ?), 1468; 1472, 1473.
John Greenlaw (Girnelaw), 1466, 1467.
Symon Greig (Greg), Cupar, 1478.
Sir Robert Grierson, of Lag; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1628–33, 1639–41, 1643, 1644–7, 1648.
Sir Robert Grierson, of Lag; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.
William Grierson, of Bargattoune; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1644, 1645, 1646–7, 1648–9.
Patrick Grieve, Burntisland, 1607, 1608, 1612, 1617.
David Grundiston, Cupar, 1524.
Alexander Guthrie, Edinburgh, 1569.
James Guthrie, Montrose, 1587.
James Guthrie, Edinburgh, 1630.
Malcolm Guthrie, Dundee, 1472, 1479.
—— Haddington, Haddington, 1543.
Adam Haddington, Haddington, 1357.
John Haddington, Perth, 1479, 1485.
James Hair, Lanark, 1686.
[James] Haldane, of Gleneagles, 1608. Son of John, by his wife, Isabel Hume; m. Margaret Murray, daughter of John, Earl of Tullibardine, father of Sir John, M.P., 1630.
[Sir John] Haldane, laird of Gleneagles; Perthshire, 1630, 1644–5. Son of James. M. Catherine, dau. of Sir John Wemyss, of Wemyss and sister of the first Earl.
John Haldane, of Gleneagles; Perthshire, 1689; Dumbartonshire, 1700–2; Perthshire, 1702–7.
Mungo Haldane (Haddin), of Gleneagles; Perthshire, 1681–2, 1685 until death, May 19, 1685.
—— Holgreen, Kincardineshire, 1686.
Sir Charles Halkett, of Pitfirrane; Fifeshire, 1681–2; Dunfermline, 1689 until his death, Nov. 12, 1697.
Sir James Halkett, of Pitfirrane; Fifeshire, 1649.

Sir James Halkett, of Pitfirrane; Dunfermline, 1702 until his death May 19, 1705.
John Halkett, Kirkcaldy, 1593.
Sir Peter Halkett, of Pitfirrane; bart. (*alias* Wedderburn), of Gosford; Dunfermline, 1705–7.
Sir John Hall, of Dunglass; Edinburgh, 1689, 1690 until his death, Aug. 5, 1696.
Robert Hall, Renfrew, 1628–33.
Robert Hall (elder), Queensferry, 1650, or Samuel Wilson.
Robert Hall, of Fulbar; Renfrew, 1667, 1681–2. 1685–6.
James Halliday, Dumfries, 1617.
John Halliday, Dumfries, 1593.
George Halliwell (Halywell), Selkirk, 1585.
—— Halyburton (Haliburton), laird of Pitcur; Forfarshire, 1617.
Alexander Halyburton, 1475, 1476.
George Halyburton, Dundee, 1649.
Gilbert Halyburton, Burntisland, 1663.
James Halyburton, Dundee, 1563, 67, 69, 72, 75, 78, 79, 81.
James Halyburton, of Pitcur; Forfarshire, 1702–7.
William Halyburton, Haddington, 1468.
Thomas Halyburton, Dundee, 1625, 1630–44.
—— Hamilton, laird of Binning; Linlithgowshire, 1646–7, 1648.
—— Hamilton, laird of Boighall; Linlithgowshire, 1645–6.
Sir Alexander Hamilton, of Innerwick; Haddingtonshire, 1600, 1608, 1609; Haddington constabulary, 1612.
Andrew Hamilton, Glasgow, 1546.
Arthur Hamilton, Irvine, 1673.
Claude Hamilton, of Barnes; Dumbartonshire, 1689, 1689–1702.
Gavin Hamilton, of Raplock; Lanarkshire, 1628–33.
Gavin Hamilton, of Raplock; Lanarkshire, 1665, 1667.
Sir George Hamilton, of Blackburne; Caithness-shire, 1644.
Sir James Hamilton, of Lettrick; Lanarkshire, 1593, 1600.
James Hamilton, Linlithgow, 1597.
Sir James Hamilton, of Orbiston; Dumbarton, Argyll, and Bute, 1654–5.
James Hamilton, Glasgow, 1617.
James Hamilton, of Dalserfe; Lanarkshire, 1643–4, 1644.
James Hamilton, Dunbar, 1681–2.
James Hamilton, of Aikenhead; Lanarkshire, 1690–1702; 1702–7.
Sir John Hamilton, of Lettrick; Lanarkshire, 1605, 12, 17, 21, 25.
Sir John Hamilton, of Grange; Linlithgowshire, 1617.
Sir John Hamilton, of Preston; Haddington constabulary, 1621, 1628–33, 1639–41.
Sir John Hamilton, of Biel; Haddington constabulary, 1645–7.
Sir John Hamilton, of Orbiston; Renfrewshire, 1645.
John Hamilton, of Udston; Lanarkshire, 1649.
Sir John Hamilton, of Hallcraig; Cullen, 1696–1702.
Matthew Hamilton, Glasgow, 1546.
Ninian Hamilton, Crail, 1639–41, 1644.
Paul Hamilton, Buteshire, 1617.
Patrick Hamilton, of Little Preston; Edinburghshire, 1628–33, 1644.
Robert Hamilton, of Bathgate; Linlithgowshire, 1612.
Sir Robert Hamilton, of Silvertonhill; Lanarkshire, 1661–3–78.
Robert Hamilton, Banff, 1665.
Sir Thomas Hamilton, of Drumcairn, 1594.
Sir Thomas Hamilton, of Preston, Haddington constabulary, 1661–3, 1665, 1667.
Thomas Hamilton, Lanark, 1689, 1689–1702.
William Hamilton, Ayr, 1540, 1543, 1546.
William Hamilton, Anstruther Easter, 1643, 1644, 1649.
William Hamilton, of Orbiston; Dumbartonshire, 1678; Renfrewshire, 1681–2, 1685–6.
William Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1670–4.
Sir William Hamilton, of Whitelaw; Queensferry, 1689, 1689–1702, 1702 until his death, May 5, 1705.
George Hampseid, Cullen, 1639–41.
John Hannay, Wigton, 1581 (probably son of Alexander Hannay, of Kirkdale, county Galloway, who purchased these lands in 1582).

Patrick Hannay, Wigton, 1639–41, 1643, 1644–5 (probably son of Patrick Hannay, of Kirkdale; he m. Agnes, dau. of Gavin Dunbar of Baldoon, county Ayr).
William Harden, Dundee, 1367.
Robert Hardy, Elgin, 1641.
Sir John Harper, of Cambusnetham; Lanarkshire, 1669–74.
Edward Hart, Edinburgh, 1586.
John Hartrig, Dumbarton, 1579.
Alexander Harvey, Inverurie, 1617.
William Harvey (Hervie), Edinburgh, 1583.
George (or Francis ?) Hay, laird of Balhousie; Perthshire, 1644–5.
George Hay, of Nauchtane; Fifeshire, 1650, 1651.
James Hay, 1593.
Sir James Hay, of Smithfield; Peeblesshire, 1628–33, 43.
James Hay, Banffshire, 1643.
Sir James Hay, of Linplum; Haddington constabulary, 1669–74.
John Hay, Elgin, 1617, 1621, 1628–33.
John Hay, Elgin, 1646–7, 1648–50.
John Hay, East Lothian; Haddingtonshire, 1669–74.
John Hay, of Lochloy; Nairnshire, 1689, 1689 until his death, April 10, 1693.
Col. James Hay, counties of Fife and Kinross, 1654–5.
Patrick Hay, Perth, 1678.
Robert Hay, Kirkcaldy, 1585.
Robert Hay, of Strowie; Perthshire, 1695–1702.
Thomas Hay, Elgin, 1587.
Thomas Hay, of Balhousie; Perthshire, 1693, Dec. 31, 1697.
Walter Hay, Dundee, 1593.
William Hay, Kirkcaldy, 1594.
William Hay, of Drummelzier; Selkirkshire, 1685–6.
Johnne Heiton, Haddington, 1367–1456.
Richard Hendchyld, Crail, 1357.
George Henderson, Edinburgh, 1543.
James Henderson, (Edinburgh ?), 1504.
John Henderson (of Henrysone), Lochmaben, 1645–7, 1648, 1661–3.
Robert Henderson, of Holland; Orkney and Zetlandshire, 1617.
Thomas Henderson, Jedburgh, 1587, 93, 94.
—— Hepburn, laird of Wauchton; Haddingtonshire, 1593, 94; Haddington constabulary, 1594, 98, 99, 1605, 1609.
Sir Adam Hepburn, of Humbie; Haddington constabulary, 1643–4, 48, 1650–1.
Archibald Hepburn, Haddington, 1471, 1476.
James Hepburn, Perth, 1583.
John Hepburn, Haddington, 1483, 84, 85, 88.
John Hepburn, of Wauchton, Haddington constabulary, 1650.
Sir Patrick Hepburn, of Wauchton; Haddington constabulary, 1639–41, 1643–4.
Sir Robert Hepburn, Haddington constabulary, 1621.
Robert Hepburn, of Keith; Haddington constabulary, 1649–51.
Robert Rickart, Hepburn, Kincardineshire, 1678–74.
William Hepburn, of Beinstoun; Haddington constabulary, 1693–1702.
George Heriot, Edinburgh, 1585, 92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 1600, 1602, 1604, 1605, 1607.
—— Herring, laird of Lethendie; Perthshire, 1607, 1608.
William Higgins, Linlithgow, 1689, 1700.
Archibald Highgate (Hiegat), Glasgow, 1586.
James Hill, Queensferry, 1681–2.
Robert Hill, Queensferry, 1643, 1644–5.
Sir Roger Hog, of Harcass; Berwickshire, 1678.
—— Home, (or Hume)laird of Spott, 1593, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99.
—— Home, laird of Blackadder; Berwickshire, 1617.
Alexander Home, of North Berwick, 1590; Edinburgh, 1593, 1594.
Alexander Home, of St. Leonards; Lauder, 1639–40.
Alexander Home, of Plandergaist; Berwickshire, 1648.
Alexander Home, Lauder, 1678, 1685–6.
Sir Alexander Home, Kirkwall, 1698 to 1702; Berwickshire, 1706–7.
Sir Andrew Home (son of Earl of Marchmont), Kirkcudbright, 1700–2, 1702–7, 1707–8.

Sir David Home, of Wedderburne; Berwickshire, 1621, 1639–41, 1645, 1646, 1649, 1650.
Sir George Home, of Wedderburne, 1590, 1792; Berwickshire, 1593, 1594, 1604, 1605.
George Home, North Berwick, 1639–41, 1643–4, 1644–5.
George Home, of Whitfield; New Galloway, 1703–7.
Sir Harie Home, of Hardrig; Berwickshire, 1648.
Sir John Home, of North Berwick; Haddington constabulary, 1617.
John Home, of Renton; Berwick, 1628–33.
Sir John Home, of Blackadder; Berwickshire, 1639–40, 1643–4, 1646–7.
Col. John Home, of Glandergaist; Berwickshire, 1661–3.
Sir John Home, of Blackadder; Berwickshire, 1690–1702, 1702 until his death, April 4, 1706.
Sir Patrick Home, laird of Polwarth; Berwickshire, 1630.
Sir Patrick Home, of Polwarth; Berwickshire, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1689 until Dec. 26, 1690.
Sir Patrick Home, of Renton; Berwickshire, 1702–7.
Robert Home, Lauder, 1579.
Sir William Home, Aytoun; Berwickshire, 1643–4.
Sir A. Hope, Haddington constabulary, 1650.
Sir Archibald Hope, of Rankeillour; Fifeshire, April 25, 1706, until his death, Oct. 29, 1706.
Charles Hope, of Hopetoun; Linlithgowshire, 1702 until April 15, 1703.
Sir James Hope, of Kerse; Stirlingshire, 1649.
Sir James Hope, of Hopetown; Stirlingshire, 1649–50; Lanarkshire, 1650.
Sir John Hope, 1653.
John Hope, of Hopetoun; Linlithgowshire, 1681–2.
Sir Thomas Hope, of Kerse; Clackmannanshire, 1639–41; Stirlingshire, 1643.
Sir Thomas Hope, of Rankeillour; Fifeshire, 1706–7.
Alexander Horseburgh, of that ilk, Peeblesshire, 1700–2, 1702–7.
—— Houstoun, Renfrewshire, 1593, 94, 1609.
Anthony Houstoun, Whithorn, 1643.
Sir John Houstoun, of that ilk, Renfrewshire, 1685–6; Stirlingshire, 1689, 1689–1700; Renfrewshire, 1702–7.
Sir Ludovic Houstoun, of that ilk, Dumbartonshire, 1628–33; Renfrewshire, 1639–41; Dumbartonshire, 1645, 1649, 1651; Renfrewshire, 1645–7, 1648.
Patrick Houstoun, Renfrew, 1698 until his death, September, 18, 1699.
William Houstoun, Dumbarton, 1587.
William Houstoun, Whithorn, 1648.
—— Howieson (Houesoun), Dundee, 1588.
Andrew Howieson, Kilrenny, 1645–6, 1650.
Alexander Howieson (Howiston), Kilrenny, 1645.
David Hunter, Forfar, 1643.
Robert Hunter, Ayr, 1685–6.
William Hunter, Forfar, 1640–1.
John Hutchinson, Arbroath, 1702–7.
Alexander Inglis, Perth, 1644.
James Inglis, Glasgow, 1608, 1612, 1617, 1621.
Robert Inglis, 1482.
Robert Inglis, Edinburgh, 1702–7.
Alexander Innes, of Cockstoune; Elgin and Forresshire, 1685–6.
Sir Harie Innes, of that ilk, Elgin and Forresshire, 1704–7.
James Innes, of Landsyde; Caithness-shire, 1648, 1665.
Robert Innes, of that ilk, Elgin and Forresshire, 1612.
Sir Robert Innes, of that ilk, Elgin and Forresshire, 1639–41, 1648.
Sir Robert Innes of Muiretoune; Elgin and Forresshire, 1665.
Robert Innes, of Blairtown; Anstruther Easter, 1685–6.
Robert Innes, Fortrose, 1681–2, 1685–6, 1689.
William Inverpeffer, Dundee, 1367.
Alexander Irvine, laird of Drum; Kincardineshire, 1600, 1604.
Sir Alexander Irvine, of Drum; Aberdeenshire, 1628–33, 1643.
Francis Irving, Dumfries, 1617, 1625.
John Irving, Dumfries, 1630, 1639–41.

John Irving, Dumfries, 1661, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
Gideon Jack, Lanark, 1621, 1628–33, 39–41, 43–4, 44–5, 46–7, 48–9, 1649.
John Jackson, Renfrew, 1593.
Robert Jackson, Dunbar, 1644, 45 (? 1646–7).
Alexander Jaffray, Aberdeen, 1639–40.
Alexander Jaffray, 1649, 1649–50.
John Jaffray, Aberdeen, 1649–50, 1650.
Alexander Jameson, Cupar, 1612.
George Jameson, Cupar, 1643–4, 1644–7, 1648–50, 1651.
John Jameson, Rothsay, 1644.
Robert Jameson, Ayr, 1581, 1602.
Thomas Jameson, Perth, 1543.
Alexander Jardine, laird of Applegirth; Dumfries (or Nithsdale) sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1645–6.
—— Jedburgh, Jedburgh, 1506.
John Johnson, Linlithgow, 1357.
Nicholas Johnson, Peebles, 1357.
Thomas Johnson, Inverkeithing, 1357.
Alexander Johnston or Johnstone, of Elchiesfields; Dumfries (or Nithsdale) sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1693–1702.
Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warristoun; Edinburghshire, 1643–4, 1644–7, 1649.
David Johnston, Annan, 1678.
Edward Johnston, Annan, 1628–33.
George Johnston, Dumfries, 1644; Annan, 1646–7.
James Johnstone, Earl of Hartfell; sheriffdom of Dumfries, 1654–5.
Sir James Johnston, of Westerhall; Dumfries (or Nithsdale) sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1689 until his death, May 2, 1700.
James Johnston, of Carhead; Dumfries (or Nithsdale) sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1690 until his death, April 12, 1693.
John Johnston, Edinburgh, 1581.
[John] Johnston, laird of Caskieben, 1608.
John Johnston, Dumfries, 1640, 1644, 1644–7.
John Johnston, of Elchishields; Lochmaben, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2.
Sir John Johnston, of Westerhall; Dumfries (or Nithsdale) sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1700–2, 1702–7.
Sir Patrick Johnston, Edinburgh, 1702–7.
Robert Johnston, Dumfries, 1659–1702, 1702–7.
Sir William Johnston, of Westerhall; Annan, 1698–1702, 1702–7.
Col. George Keith, of Aden; Aberdeenshire, 1661–3.
James Keith (son of John), Kintore, 1661–3.
Robert Keith, Montrose, 1625, 1628–33, 1639–40.
James Kellie, Dunbar, 1678.
Robert Kellie, Dunbar, 1703–7.
James Kennan, Dumfries, 1689, 1689 until his death, Feb. 18, 1695.
—— Kennedy, laird of Bargany, 1597.
—— Kennedy, laird of Kermuckis; Aberdeenshire, 1646–7.
Hew Kennedy, Ayr, 1621.
Hew Kennedy, Ayr, 1643, 1649–50, 1650–1.
Hugh Kennedy, Lochmaben, 1643; Ayr, 1644, 1645–7, 1648, 1649.
[Sir Thomas] Kennedy, laird of Culleane, 1599.
Thomas Kennedy, of Halleaths; Lochmaben, 1685–6, 1689, 1689 until his death, May 6, 1695.
Andro Ker (or Kerr), Linlithgow, 1579, 1594–1605.
[Sir Andrew] Ker, of Fernihurst, 1597.
Sir Andrew Ker, of Greenhead; Roxburghshire, 1645, 1648–9.
Sir Andrew Ker, of Greenhead; Roxburghshire, 1658–9, 1669–74.
Edward Ker, Edinburgh, 1617.
Sir James Ker, of Hundelie; Roxburghshire, 1630.
John Ker, Linlithgow, 1467.
[Sir] John Ker, of Hirzell; Roxburghshire, 1605, 1607.
John Ker, Selkirk, 1617–1630.
[Sir John] Ker, laird of Lochtour.
[Sir John] Ker, laird of Lochtour; Roxburghshire, 1644.

Ralph Ker, Lauder, 1617.
Thomas Ker, Aberdeen, 1583.
[Sir] Thomas Ker, of Cavers; Roxburghshire, 1643–4, 1648–9.
[William] Ker, laird of Cessford, 1597, 1599.
[William] Ker, laird of Newton; Roxburghshire, 1646–7, 1656–8.
Sir William Ker, of Greenhead; Roxburghshire, 1685–6, 1702–7.
John Kidd, Arbroath, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Robert Kidd [Kyd], Dundee, 1357.
Harrie Kinglassie, Inverkeithing, 1612, 1630.
Mark Kinglassie, Inverkeithing, 1639–41, 1643–4, 1644–7, 1648.
David Kingorne, Dysart, 1630.
George Kingorne, Pittenweem, 1630.
Francis Kinloch, Edinburghshire, 1678.
John Kinloch, Dundee, 1667.
Sir George Kinnaird, of Rossie; Perthshire, 1661–3.
Patrick Kinnaird, of Inchture; Perthshire, 1625, 1643.
James Kinross, Inverness, 1579.
Richard Kintore, Aberdeen, 1467, 1471.
John Kircaldy, Kinghorn, 1585, 1600.
[Sir Thomas] Kirpatrick, laird of Closeburn; Dumfries-shire, 1593.
Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Closeburne; Dumfries (or Nithsdale) sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1639–41.
Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Closeburn; Dumfries (or Nithsdale), sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1690–1702.
Alexander Kirktown, Jedburgh, 1617, 1628–33.
Gilbert Kirkwood, Edinburgh, 1633.
James Kirkwood, Haddington, 1597.
Adam Kirkyntolach, St. Andrews, 1357.
John Knollis (or Knowis), Aberdeen, 1469, 72, 78, 88, 90.
—— Kynneries, Inverness-shire, 1646–7.
—— Kynymound, laird of Craigie Hall, 1597; Fifeshire, 1600.
John Laing (Layng or Layne), Forres, 1661.
Thomas Laing (Lang), Dumfries, 1357.
Thomas Lamb, Kirkcaldy, 1612, 17, 21.
William Lamb, Haddington, 1678.
—— Lamont, Argyllshire, 1630.
Archibald Lamont, of Inneryne; Argyllshire, 1685–6.
James Lamont, of Inneryne; Argyllshire, 1639–40.
—— Lanark, Lanark, 1543.
—— Lauder, laird of Bas, 1592, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 1605.
—— Lauder, laird of Haltoun; Edinburghshire, 1621.
Alexander Lauder, Edinburgh, 1504.
Andrew Lauder, Lauder, 1583.
Charles Lauder, of Park; Lauder, 1681–2.
George Lauder (or John Levington), North Berwick, 1649.
Hugh Lauder, Dunbar, 1587.
James Lauder, Dunbar, 1645; 1646–7, 48; Renfrew, 1645.
James Lauder, Dunbar, 1661–3, 65, 67, 1669–72, 1690 until his death, Aug. 13, 1696.
Sir John Lauder, of Fountainhall; Haddington constabulary, 1685–6, 1690–1702, 1702–7.
Sir John Lauder, of Haltoun; Edinburghshire, 1685–6, 1689, 1689–93, 1696.
Maurice Lauder, Dunbar, 1585.
Robert Lauder, North Berwick, 1600.
Thomas Lauder, North Berwick, 1579, 83, 1612, 1617.
William Lauder, of Edinburgh, 1528.
William Lauder, Lauder, 1649.
John Laurie, of Maxwelltoun; Dumfries (or Nithsdale) sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1643.
James Law, Kirkcaldy, 1644–5, 1649.
James Lawson, Edinburgh, 1526, 1531, 1532.
James Lawson, Anstruther Easter, 1678.
Richard Lawson, Edinburgh, 1479, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 91, 92, 93.

Sir William Lawson, laird of Boghall; Linlithgowshire, 1625.
George Lawtie, Cullen, 1646–7, 1648.
James Lawtie, Cullen, 1628–33.
David Learmonth (Leirmonth), St. Andrews, 1524.
James Learmonth, St. Andrews, 1524, 35, 40, 43, 44.
James Learmonth, of Dersie; St. Andrews, 1587, 93, 1600.
Sir James Learmonth, of Balcomie; Fifeshire, 1625.
(Sir John) Learmonth, laird of Balcomie; Fifeshire, 1593, 1596, 1604, 1609, 1612.
Sir Patrick Learmonth, of Dersie; St. Andrews, 1567, 1568, 1569.
Patrick Learmonth, of Dersie; St. Andrews, 1581, 1585,
—— Leighton, Montrose, 1578.
Patrick Leighton, Montrose, 1612, 1630.
Robert Leighton, Montrose, 1581, 1587.
Thomas Leith, Linlithgow, 1367.
William Leith, Aberdeen, 1357, 1367.
James Lentron, St. Andrews, 1646–7 (or James Robertson).
Robert Lentron, St. Andrews city, 1665.
John Lepar, St. Andrews City, 1639–40, 1644–6.
Andrew Leslie, Elgin, 1661–3.
George Leslie, eldest son of William, of Burdsbank; Cullen, 1663, 1678, 1685–6.
(John) Leslie, laird of Balquhain, Aberdeenshire, 1593, 1608.
John Leslie, of Bochane; Aberdeenshire, 1617; Kintore, 1621.
Sir John Leslie, of Newton; Fifeshire, 1621, 1633.
Norman Leslie, Kilrenny, 1621.
Patrick Leslie, Aberdeen, 1633, 1640–1, 1643, 1644–5, 1648.
William Liberton, Edinburgh, 1450.
Alexander Lindsay, Perth, 1545.
David Lindsay, Cupar, 1540, 43, 44, 45, 48.
Sir David Lindsay, Cupar, 1571, 72, 85.
Sir David Lindsay, of Edzell, 1597, 98, 99, 1605, 1608.
David Lindsay, Brechin, 1621.
David Lindsay, of Edgell; Forfarshire, 1678.
(James) Lindsay, of Beltsanes; Lanarkshire, 1643–4.
(Sir John) Lindsay, laird of Dunrod; Lanarkshire, 1593, 96.
John Lindsay, Anstruther Easter, 1641, 1650–1.
John Lindsay, of Edzell; Forfarshire, 1649.
Patrick, Lord Lindsay, of the Byres; Edinburgh, 1575.
Robert Lindsay, of Dunrod; Rutherglen, 1579.
Robert Lindsay, Rutherglen, 1617.
—— Linlithgow, 1560.
George Linlithgow, Perth sheriffdom, 1654–5.
Edward Little, Edinburgh, 1526.
William Little, Edinburgh, 1592.
Henry Livingstone, 1469, 1479.
Sir James Livingstone, of Kilsythe, Aug. 17, 1661; Stirlingshire, 1661.
Sir John Livingstone, of Dumfries.
Sir John Livingstone, of Dunipace, 1605; Stirlingshire, 1607, 9, 12, 17, 21, 30.
John Livingstone (Levington), North Berwick, 1649.
Robert Livingstone, Lanark, 1587,
Sir William Livingstone, 1599, 1602; Linlithgowshire, 1605, 1608, 1609.
William Livingstone, of Kilsyth, Stirlingshire, 1685–6, 1702.
Cromwell Lockhart, of Lee; Lanarkshire, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.
George Lockhart, Ayr, 1605.
Sir George Lockhart, of Braidwood; Lanarkshire, 1658–9, 1681–2, 1685–6, 1686.
George Lockhart, of Carnwath; Edinburghshire, 1702–7.
Sir James Lockhart, laird of Lee; Lanarkshire, 1607.
Sir James Lockhart, laird of Lee; Lanarkshire, 1628–33, 1645–7, 1648, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669, March 20, 1672.
John Lockhart, Ayr, 1567, 1575, 1578, 1579.
John Lockhart, Ayr, 1604, 1605, 1607, 1609, 1612.
Sir John Lockhart, of Castlehill; sheriffdom of Dumbarton, Argyle, and Bute, 1656–8, 1658–9, 1693–1702.
Richard Lockhart, of Lee; Lanarkshire, 1695 until his death, Aug. 26, 1696.

Robert Lockhart, Lanark, 1612.
Stephen Lockhart, Lanark, 1485, 1491, 1492, 1493.
Sir William Lockhart, 1653, 1654–5, 1656–8, 1672–74.
George Logie, Queensferry, 1648.
James Lovell, Dundee, 1568, 1569, 1572.
William Lowis, Peebles, 1645, 1646–7, 1649.
Ninian Lowis, Peebles, 1603.
William Luck (Luik), Forfar, 1650.
Robert Lumsden, Aberdeen, 1569.
George Lundie, Dysart, 1644; Forfarshire, 1650–1.
[William] Lundie, 1590.
Walter Lyell, Montrose, 1651.
—— Lyon, laird of Troupe; Banffshire, 1648.
[Frederick] Lyon, laird of Brigton; Forfarshire, 1644, 1644–7.
James Lyon, Dundee, 1596.
James Lyon, Auldbarr; Forfarshire, 1630 until his death, Aug. 13, 1641.
John Lyon, of Forfar; Forfar, 1698–1702, 1702–7.
Patrick Lyon, Dundee, 1587, 92, 93, 98, 1602.
Patrick Lyon, of Auchterhouse; Forfarshire, 1702–7.
William Lyon, Brechin, 1645–6.
Andrew McAlexander, Tain, 1640–1.
Thomas Macalzean, Edinburgh, 1563.
—— Macaulay, laird of Ardincaple; Dumbartonshire, 1608.
William McBaith, Wick, 1661.
Thomas McBurney, Dumfries, 1648, 1649, 1650.
—— McBrair, laird of Almagill; Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1646–7, 1648, 1651.
Archibald McBrair, Dumfries, 1581.
David McBrair, of Newarke and Almagill; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1661–3.
Nicholas McBrair, Dumfries, 1504.
Patrick McBrair, Dumfries, 1579.
Robert McBrair, Dumfries, 1469.
Robert McBrair, Dumfries sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1630.
Sir Robert MacClellan, laird of Bombie, Wigtonshire, 1621.
William MacClellan, Kirkcudbright, 1617.
James McCubie, Jedburgh, 1678.
Alexander McCulloch, of Drumorell; Whithorn, 1669–74.
Andrew McCulloch, Tain, 1649.
Sir Godfrey McCulloch, of Mertoun; Wigtonshire, 1678.
James McColloch, Tain, 1648; Findhorn, 1649; Whithorn, 1649 to 1650.
John McColloch, of Myrtoune; Wigtonshire, 1640.
John McCulloch, of Stirling, 1685–6.
Thomas McColloch, Tain, 1639–41.
William McColloch, of Mertoune; Kirkcudbright, stewartry, 1612, 1617.
Uchtred McDouall, of Freugh; Wigtonshire, 1661–3.
—— MacDougall, laird of McCairston, 1597; Roxburghshire, 1625.
Henrie McDougall, of McCairston; Roxburghshire, 1665, 1667, 1678, 1681–2.
James McDowall, of Garthland; Wigtonshire, 1643, 1644–7, 1648, 1654–5, 1656–8, 1658–9.
William McDowall, of Garthland; Wigtonshire, 1689, 1689 until his death, Dec. 31, 1700.
William McFarlane, Dumbarton, 1681–2.
Sir James MacGill, laird of Cranston-Riddell; Edinburghshire, 1630.
John M'Gillichoane, Dingwall, 1587.
John McGillichrist, Rothesay, 1646–7.
Hugh McGuffock, of Rosco; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1689, 1689–1702.
Lauchlin McIntosh, of Torcastle; Inverness-shire, 1669–74, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Robert Mackay (Makke), Kirkcaldy, 1600.
Robert MacKeane, Edinburgh, 1645–6.
—— McKenzie, laird of ——, 1598, 1608.
Sir Alexander McKenzie, of Coull; Ross-shire, 1693–1702.
Colin McKenzie, of Kintail, 1608.
Colin McKenzie, of Redcastle; Inverness-shire, 1661–8.

Sir George McKenzie, of Tarbat; Ross-shire, 1661–3, 1678, 1681–2.
Sir George McKenzie, of Rosehaugh; Ross-shire, 1669–74; Forfarshire, 1689 until his death, May 8, 1691.
Hugh McKenzie, Dingwall, 1678.
Sir John McKenzie, of Tarbatt; Inverness-shire, including Caithness and Ross, 1628–33, 1639–40, 1645.
John McKenzie, of Inverlawell; Ross-shire, 1665.
John McKenzie, of Assint; Fortrose, 1702 until his death, June 26, 1705.
Kenneth McKenzie, of Kintail, 1607.
Kenneth McKenzie, Dingwall, 1689, 1689 until 1698.
Sir Kenneth McKenzie, of Cromarty; Cromartyshire, 1693–1702, 1702–7.
Kenneth McKenzie, of Gariloch; Ross-shire, 1702 until his death, Oct. 3, 1704.
Kenneth McKenzie, of Scatwell; Ross-shire, 1702–7.
Sir Roderick McKenzie, of Findon; Dingwall, 1672–4, Ross-shire, 1678, 1681–2.
Roderick McKenzie, of Preston Hall; Cromartyshire, 1700–1, Fortrose, 1705–7.
Symon McKenzie, of Lochseyne; Inverness-shire, including Ross, 1640–1.
Thomas McKenzie, of Pluscardine; Elgin and Forresshire, 1645, 1661–3.
John Mackeson, Crail, 1600, 1612, 1617, 1625, 1628–33.
Adam McKie, Wigtoun, 1645–7, 1649, 1665.
Alexander McKie, of Palgowan; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1704–7.
James McKie, Whithorn, 1667.
Sir Patrick McKie, of Larg; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1628–33, 1639–40.
Thomas McKie, Wigtown, 1628–33.
William McKie, Kirkcudbright, 1612.
William McKie, Wigtown, 1667, 1669–72.
Sir Lauchlan McLean, of Morvern; Tarbert sheriffdom, 1628–33.
Lauchlan McLean, of Brollace; Argyllshire, 1685–6.
Capt. Daniel McLeod, Tain, 1703–7.
Eneas McLeod, of Cadboll; Cromartyshire, 1703–7.
John McLeod, of Dunvegan; Inverness-shire, including Ross, 1640–1.
John McLeod, of Dunvegan; Inverness-shire, 1678, 1680.
John McNaught, Edinburgh, 1625.
Roger McNaught, Edinburgh, 1594, 1597, 1605.
John McNaughton, Inverary, 1685–6.
Alexander Maitland, Bervie, 1705–7, 1707–8.
Charles Maitland, Edinburghshire, 1669, 1672.
Charles Maitland, North Berwick, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Sir Charles Maitland, of Pittrichie; Alerdeenshire, 1685–6.
David Maitland, of Soutra; Lauder, 1689, 1689–1702.
John Maitland, Lauder, 1667, 1669.
Sir John Maitland, Edinburghshire, 1685–6, 1689, 1696.
Richard Maitland, of Gogar; Edinburghshire, 1678.
Thomas Maleson, Kintore, 1579.
Alexander Man, Bervie, 1681–2.
Archibald Manderston, Berwick, 1479.
Alexander Manson, Wick, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Alexander Manson, of Bridgend; Caithness-shire, 1693–1702.
George Manson, Cupar, 1678.
Thomas Manson, Dornoch, 1646–7.
David Mar, Aberdeen, 1567, 1568.
Johnne Mar, Aberdeen, 1456.
Thomas Marjoribanks, Edinburgh, 1540, 1546.
Col. Henry Markham, Linlithgow, 1656–8.
Andrew Martin, Anstruther Easter, 1641, 1645, 1646–7, 1665.
Henry Martin, 1469.
Robert Martin, Elgin, 1667.
Thomas Martin, Anstruther Easter, 1630.
James Mason, Montrose, 1568, 1583.
John Matheson, Crail, 1593.
John Mauchane, Edinburghshire, 1528.
—— Maule, laird of Melgum; Forfarshire, 1650–1.
Henry Maule, of Kellie; Brechin, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
James Maule, of Melgum; Forfarshire, 1667.

William Maule, Edinburgh, 1596.
Mark Mawar, Elgin, 1593.
Adam Maxwell, North Berwick, 1661–3.
Sir George Maxwell, of Nether Pollok; Renfrewshire, 1649–50.
George Maxwell, of Munches; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1665, 67.
Sir James Maxwell, laird of Calderwood; Lanarkshire, 1593, 1594, 1596, 1617, 1621.
John Maxwell, Dumfries, 1585.
Sir John Maxwell, laird of Pollok Maxwell; Renfrewshire, 1593.
Sir John Maxwell, laird of Pollok Maxwell; Renfrewshire, 1617.
Sir John Maxwell, of Pollok; Renfrewshire, 1689, 1689–93, 1695–6, 1698, 1699.
Patrick Maxwell, of Newark; Renfrewshire, 1639–41, 1645–6.
Richard Maxwell, Edinburgh, 1639–41.
[Robert] Maxwell, 4th, Edinburgh, 1524.
Sir Robert Maxwell, of Orchardtown; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1669–74, 1681–2.
William Maxwell, Glasgow, 1568.
William Maxwell, Lochmaben, 1612.
William Maxwell, of Monreith; Wigtownshire, 1667, 1669–72.
William Maxwell, of Cardoness; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1702–7.
Robert Meiklejohn, Edinburgh, 1643, 1644.
William Meiklejohn, Burntisland, 1621, 1625, 1630.
Robert Meldrum, of Tillibody; Clackmannanshire, 1648.
[Sir James] Melville, of Halhill; 1594, 1599.
James Melville, of Halhill; Fifeshire, 1690–1702; Kinghorn, 1702 until his death, June 18, 1706.
Sir Robert Melville, 1602, 1605.
Sir Robert Melville, the younger, 1605.
Robert Melville, of Carskeirdoe; Cupar, 1689, 1689 until his death, July 13, 1693.
——James Menteth, Stirling, 1504.
Menzies, (laird of Wemyss), Perthshire, 1625.
Alexander Menzies, Aberdeen, 1468, 1482, 1483.
Sir Alexander Menzies, of that ilk, Perthshire, 1693, until his death, April 16, 1695.
Andro Menzies, 1458.
Gilbert Menzies (Menyheis), Aberdeen, 1449, 1450.
Gilbert Menzies, Aberdeen, 1513, 1526, 1532, 1535.
Gilbert Menzies, Aberdeen, 1567, 1578, 1579, 1581.
Patrick Menzies, Aberdeen, 1586.
Paul Menzies, of Kynmundie; Aberdeen, 1625, 1630, 1633.
Robert Menzies, Aberdeen, 1597.
Thomas Menzies, Aberdeen, 1526.
Thomas Menzies, of Pitfoddels; Aberdeen, 1543, 44, 67, 69.
Thomas Menzies, Durne, Aberdeen, 1593.
Sir Thomas Menzies, Aberdeen, 1617.
William Menzies, Aberdeen, 1588.
William Menzies, Lochmaben, 1695–1702.
Andro Mercer, Culross, 1645.
Archibald Mercer, Culross, 1639–41, 1644–5.
[Sir James] Mercer, laird of Aldie; Perthshire, 1645–7.
John Mercer, Perth, 1357.
John Mercer, Perth, 1648.
[Sir Lawrence] Mercer, laird of Aldie, 1609.
Robert Mercer, Perth, 1456, 1458, 1462.
Robert Mercer, Perth, 1493, 1494, 1504.
Robert Mercer, Anstruther Easter, 1617, 1621.
Robert Mewo, Dysart, 1594.
James Mill, Montrose, 1615–6.
Allan Millar, Crail, 1650.
David Millar, Annan, 1612, 1621,
Alexander Milne, Linlithgow, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Andrew Milne, Linlithgow, 1617.
James Milne, Montrose, 1649.
James Milne, of Balwylloe; Forfarshire, 1693–8.
John Milne, Forfar, 1639–40, 1641, 1645–6.
John Milne, Edinburgh, 1662–3.

Robert Milne, Dundee, 1543.
Robert Milne, Linlithgow, 1667, 1669–74, 1678.
Thomas Milne, Elgin, 1622.
Charles Mitchell, Orkney and Zetland stewartry, Nov. 5, 1700.
David Mitchell, Culross, 1667.
Col. William Mitchell, sheriffdom of Inverness, 1654-5; sheriffdom of Aberdeen, 1656–8.
James Mitchellhill, Selkirk, 1612, 1617.
John Mitchellhill, Selkirk, 1579.
William Mitchellhill, Selkirk, 1640.
William Mitchellhill, Selkirk, 1665, 1667.
Gilbert Moir, Banff, 1646–7, 1648.
Henry Moir, Kirkcudbright, 1685, 1686.
James Moir, of Stoneywood; Aberdeenshire, 1689, 1689–1702, 1702–7.
William Moir, Kintore, 1667, 1669–74.
Francis Mollison, Brechin, 1685–6, 1693–1702, 1703–7.
Andrew Moncreiffe, Crail, 1645.
George Moncreiffe, Crail, 1678, 1681–2, 1687, 1689–1702, 1702–7.
George Moncreiffe, of Reidie; Fifeshire, 1690–1702.
James Moncreiffe, Crail, 1644, 1646–7, 1661–3.
James Moncreiffe, Kirkwall, 1669–74.
Sir John Moncreiffe, Perthshire, 1605, 1639–41.
Patrick Moncreiffe, of Reidie; Kinghorn, 1706–7.
[William] Moncreiffe, laird of Moncreiff, 1579.
William Monorgund (Morgan ?), Dundee, 1472, 78, 79, 88.
James Monteith, Edinburgh, 1650.
Francis Montgomerie, of Giffen; Ayrshire, 1690–1702, 1702–7, 1707–8.
Henry Montgomerie, of Giffen; Ayrshire, 1640–1.
Hugh Montgomerie, of Busbie; Glasgow, 1702–7, 1707–8.
Sir James Montgomerie, of Skelmorlie; Ayrshire, 1689, 1693.
John Montgomerie (younger), of Beoch; Irvine, 1678.
John Montgomerie, of Wrae; Linlithgowshire, 1704–7.
Sir Robert Montgomerie, of Skilmorlie; Buteshire, 1644.
Robert Montgomerie, of Hazelhead; Ayrshire, 1661.
—— Montrose, Montrose, 1568.
Thomas Monypenny, Perth, 1567, 1569.
John Moore, Ayr, 1713–7.
—— Morisaw, Roxburghshire, 1625.
—— Morison, (laird of Preston Grange), Peebles-shire, 1646–7, 1648.
William Morison, of Preston Grange; Haddington constabulary, 1690–1702; Peebles-shire, 1702–7, 1707–8, etc.
Patrick Mortimer, Cupar, 1681–2.
John Moultrie (Multrar), Ayr, 1463, 69, 71, 72, 74, 78.
George Mudie, Dundee, 1594.
James Mudie, Dunfermline, 1661–3.
James Mudie, Montrose, 1689, 1689–1702.
Thomas Mudie, Dundee, 1643.
Sir Archibald Muir, of Thornton; Cupar, 1693–1702.
John Muir, North Berwick, 1628–33.
John Muir, Ayr, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
John Muir, Peebles, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
James Muirhead, younger, of Lachop; Dumbartonshire, 1628–33.
Alexander Munro of Bearcroft; Stirlingshire, 1690–1702.
George Munro, of Tarrel; Inverness-shire, including Caithness and Ross, 1621.
Sir George Munro, of Culraine and Newmore; Ross-shire, 1661–3, 1669–74, 1685–6, 1689 until his death, July 11, 1693.
George Munro, Irvine, 1705–7.
Sir John Munro, of Foulis; Ross-shire, 1689 until his death, Sept. 29, 1697.
John Munro, of Newmore; Ross-shire, 1733–4.
Robert Munro, Tain, 1617.
Robert Munro, of Obsdaill; Inverness-shire, 1649; Ross-shire, 1649–50.
Sir Robert Munro, of Foulis; Ross-shire, 1697–1702.
Patrick Murdoch, of Camlodden; Whithorn, 1689, 1689–1702.

[James] Mure, laird of Caldwell; Renfrewshire, 1645–7.
Richard Mure, Stirling, 1468.
Rolland Mure, Lanark, 1579.
Sir William Mure, of Rowallan; Ayrshire, 1643–4.
William Mure, of Rowallan; Ayrshire, 1690 until his death, Nov. 20, 1700.
Sir Alexander Murray, of Blackbarony; Peeblesshire, 1639–41.
Alexander Murray, Cullen, 1649.
Alexander Murray, of Halmyre; Peeblesshire, 1693 until his death, Dec. 31, 1700.
Sir Alexander Murray, of Blackbarony; Peeblesshire, 1700–2.
Sir Andrew Murray, laird of Balvaird, 1599; Fifeshire, 1607, 1608, 1609.
Sir Andrew Murray, of Ettilstown; Peebles, 1605.
[Sir Archibald] Murray, laird of Blackbarony; Peeblesshire, 1617, 1625.
Sir Archibald Murray, of Blackbarony; sheriffdom of Selkirk and Peebles, 1659–60, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6, 1689 until his death, May May 28, 1700.
Charles Murray, Lauder, 1785, 1621.
Charles Murray, of Halden; Orkney and Zetland stewartry, 1685–6.
Sir David Murray, of Stanhope; Peeblesshire, 1639–41, 1644–5.
Sir David Murray, of Stanhope; Peeblesshire, 1681–2, 1689.
Sir Gideon Murray, of Elibank; Selkirkshire, 1612.
Capt. Gideon Murray, Kilrenny, 1669–70.
Homer Murray, Annan, 1643.
James Murray, fear of Philiphaugh; Selkirkshire, 1628–33.
Sir James Murray, of Skirling; Peeblesshire, 1650–1.
Sir James Murray, of Philiphaugh; Selkirkshire, 1678, 1681–2, 1702, until his death, May 11, 1703.
[Sir John] Murray, laird of Tullibardine, 1590, 1592; Perthshire, 1593, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599.
[Sir John] Murray, laird of Blackbarony, 1608; Peeblesshire, 1608, 1609.
[Sir John] Murray, laird of Polmaise, 1609; Stirlingshire, 1625.
[Sir John] Murray, of Fawlyhill; Selkirkshire, 1612.
Sir John Murray, of Eddistoun; Peeblesshire, 1612.
Sir John Murray, of Philiphaugh; Selkirkshire, 1661.
John Murray, of Touchadam and Polmaise; Stirlingshire, 1661–3.
Sir John Murray, of Drumcairne; Perthshire, 1685–6.
John Murray, Selkirk, 1689, 1689–1702, 1702–7, 1707.
John Murray, of Broughton; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1702.
John Murray, of Strowan; Perthshire, 1704–7.
Sir Mungo Murray, of Garth; Perthshire, 1661–3, and from 1669 until his death, Oct. 3, 1671.
Patrick Murray, Perth, 1567, 1569.
Sir Patrick Murray, 1602.
Sir Patrick Murray, of Lainslaw; Selkirkshire, 1617.
Sir Patrick Murray, of Elibank; Haddington constabulary, 1628–33, 1640–1.
Patrick Murray, of Deuchar; Selkirkshire, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
Patrick Murray, Selkirk, 1669–74.
Sir Patrick Murray, Dunfermline, 1685–6; Stranraer, 1689–1702.
Patrick Murray, of Livingstone; Linlithgowshire, 1685–6, 1689, 1689–1702, 1702 until his death, April 22, 1703.
Sir Patrick Murray, of Ochtertyre; Perthshire, 1702–7.
Sir Patrick Murray, of Pitdunnes; Fifeshire, 1702 until his death, April 13, 1703.
Patrick Murray, of Pennyland; Caithness-shire, 1695–1702.
Richard Murray, of Broughton; Wigtonshire, 1661–3; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1678.
Robert Murray, of Spangiedaill; Sutherlandshire, 1639–40.
Sir Robert Murray, of Cameron; Edinburgh, 1661–3.
Walter Murray, Dornoch, 1639–41.
William Murray, St. Andrews, 1594; Montrose, 1597.
Sir William Murray, of Touchadam and Polmaise; Stirlingshire, 1639–41, 1645–6, 1648.
Sir William Murray, of Stanhope; Peeblesshire, 1661–3, 1665, 1667.
William Murray, of Donypace; Stirlingshire, 1665.
Sir William Murray, of Ochtertyre; Perthshire, 1673–4.

Alexander Muschet, Stirling, 1468, 1479.
John Muschet, Stirling, 1585.
John Myrtoun, Pittenweem, 1678.
Sir Thomas Myrtoun, of Cambo; Fifeshire, 1633, 1639–41.
—— Myrtoun, laird of Cambo; Fifeshire, 1593.
Duncan Nairne, Stirling, 1661–3, 1665.
Robert Nairne, Stirling, 1456, 1458.
Thomas Nairne, Forres, 1649.
Sir Alexander Napier, of Merchistoun; Edinburgh, 1458, 1463, 1464, 1469, 1471, 1473.
Alexander Napier, of Culcreuch; Stirlingshire, 1690, 1700.
Francis Napier, of Craigannet; Stirling, 1697–1702.
John Napier, Edinburgh, 1483, 84.
John Napier, of Kilmahew; Dumbartonshire, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669–72.
James Nasmith, of Posso; Peebles-shire, 1628–33.
James Nicoll, Edinburgh, 1583.
George Nicolson, Aberdeen, 1617.
George Nicolson, Aberdeen, 1661–2.
Sir John Nicolson, of that ilk, Edinburghshire, 1672–4.
[Sir Thomas] Nicolson, Stirlingshire, 1644.
—— Nisbet (or Nesbit), laird of East Nisbet, 1609.
Sir Alexander Nesbit, Berwickshire, 1625, 1630, 1628–35.
Henry Nisbet, Edinburgh, 1579, 1585, 1597, 1598, 1604.
James Nisbet, Edinburgh, 1612, 1617.
William Nisbet, of Dirleton; Haddington constabulary, 1702–7, 1707–8.
William Noble, of Dalnotter; Dumbartonshire, 1681–2.
David Norie, Brechin, 1612.
James Norie, Brechin, 1617.
William Norwell, Stirling, 1568, 69, 85, 86.
John Ochterlony, Arbroath, 1643–4, 1644–5, 1645–7, 1648, 1661–3.
Sir Alexander Ogilvie (and Ogilvy), of Forglen, Banff, 1701–2, 1702–7.
Sir David Ogilvie, of Clova; Forfarshire, 1669–72, 1681–2.
Sir David Ogilvie, of Inverquharity; Forfarshire, 1665, 1678.
[George] Ogilvie, laird of Carnousie; Banffshire, 1621.
James Ogilvie (Ogilby), Dundee, 1471.
James Ogilvie, Cullen, 1617.
Sir James Ogilvie, of Newgrange; Forfarshire, 1661–3.
Sir James Ogilvie, Cullen, 1681–2, 1689, 1696.
James Ogilvie, younger, of Boyne; Banffshire, 1702–7.
John Ogilvie, Montrose, 1543.
[Patrick] Ogilvie, laird of Inchmartine; Perthshire, 1601.
Sir Patrick Ogilvie, of Inchmartyn; Perthshire, 1621, 1628–33, 1648.
Sir Patrick Ogilvie, of Boyne; Banffshire, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6, 1689, 1693.
Col. Patrick Ogilvie, of Loanmay; Cullen, 1702–7, 1707–8, etc.
Thomas Ogilvie, Banff, 1587.
Thomas Ogilvie, Banff, 1678.
Walter Ogilvie, Banff, 1543.
Sir Walter Ogilvie, laird of Findlater; Banffshire, 1593.
Walter Ogilvie, of Boyne; Banffshire, 1644.
William Ogilvie, Cullen, 1649.
Col. John Okey, Linlithgow; Queensferry, etc., 1654–5.
Peter Oliphant, Anstruther Wester, 1649 and 1651.
Peter Oliphant, younger, Anstruther Wester, 1665.
Thomas Oliphant, Edinburgh, 1467, 1468.
William Oliphant, of Gask; Perthshire, 1702 until his death, April 27, 1704.
John Osborne, Ayr, 1617, 1625.
John Osborne, Ayr, 1639–41, 1644, 1649–50.
James Oswald, of Dunnikier; Kirkcaldy, 1702–7.
Adam Otterburne, Edinburgh, 1524, 25, 28, 31, 35, 43, 46.
Lawrence Oxborow, Forfar, etc., 1659–60.
James Parkle, Linlithgow, 1435, 39, 40, 45, 49.
Andrew Paterson, of Kilmeny; Cupar, 1662–3, 65, 67.

David Paterson (Peterson), Cupar, 1599.
Duncan Paterson, Stirling, 1621.
James Paterson, Perth, 1596.
John Paterson, Cupar, 1575.
John Paterson, of Beuchillis, Perth, 1661–3.
Patrick Paterson, Stranraer, 1685–6.
Robert Paterson, Cupar, 1617, 1621, 1628–33.
Thomas Paterson, Edinburgh, 1644.
Alexander Pearson, Edinburgh, 1602, 1608.
David Pearson, Arbroath, 1579.
David Pearson, Forfar, 1625, 1628–33.
James Pearson, Forfar, 1644.
William Pearson, Culross, 1665.
James Pedie, Montrose, 1645–7, 1648.
Oliver Peebles, Perth, 1572, 1590, 1597.
William Peebles, Peebles, 1468.
William Peebles, Pender; Lanark, 1544.
George Petrie, Montrose, 1579.
Robert Petrie, of Portlethine; Aberdeen, 1665, 1669–74.
George Pennycuick, Edinburgh, 1466.
—— Perth, Perth, 1482.
—— Perth, Perth, 1532, 1540, 1558.
David Philip, Cupar, 1583.
Roger Phipill, Inverkeithing, 1357.
Andrew Pinkerton, Rutherglen, 1612 and 49, 1667.
John Pinkerton, Rutherglen, 1621.
Johnne Pitscottie, Perth, 1367.
Adam Pittendreighe, Kintore, 1678.
John Plenderleith, Peebles, 1669–70.
Robert Pollock, of Milburne; Renfrewshire, 1669–74.
Sir Robert Pollock, of that ilk, Renfrewshire, 1700–2, 1702–7, 1707–8, etc.
—— Polrassie, Sutherlandshire, 1641.
Andro Pomfret, Lanark, 1357.
[George ?] Porterfield, Renfrewshire, 1648.
George Porterfield, Glasgow, 1645–7, 1648–9, 1649–50, 1650.
Alexander Porterfield, of that ilk, Renfrewshire, 1700–2.
Symon Potter, Dumbarton, 1357.
John Power, Ayr, 1600.
William Prateris, Dunfermline, 1594.
Henry Preston, Edinburgh, 1488, 1493–4.
James Preston, Edinburgh, 1567, 1572.
[John] Preston, laird of Fentonbarns, 1597.
John Preston, of Pennycuik, 1608.
John Preston, eldest son of Captain Walter Preston, of Drumraik; Crail, 1685, 1686.
Sir Symon Preston, of that ilk, Edinburgh, 1540, 1543, 1544, 1567.
Adam Primrose, Culross, 1628–33.
Archibald Primrose, of Dalmeny; Edinburghshire, 1696, Oct. 1, 1700.
Sir James Primrose, of Carrington; Edinburghshire, 1702.
George Pringle, laird of Torwoodlee; Selkirkshire, 1617, 1621.
George Pringle, elder, of Torwoodlee; Selkirkshire, 1689.
Sir James Pringle, of Galashiels; Selkirkshire, 1621, 1630.
James Pringle, of Whytbank; Selkirkshire, 1628–33.
James Pringle, of Torwoodlee; Selkirkshire, 1641, 45.
James Pringle, of Torwoodlee; Selkirkshire, 1693–1702.
John Pringle, of Hayning; Selkirkshire, 1703–7, 1707–8, etc.
Robert Pringle, of Stichill; Roxburghshire, 1639–41.
Robert Pringle, of Stichill; Roxburghshire, 1678, 1681–2.
William Pringle (Hoppringill), Lauder, 1587, 1593, 1600, 1612.
George Purves, Dunbar, 1621, 1628–33, 1639–41.
James Purves, Dunbar, 1643, 1644, 1645–6.
Thomas Purves, Dunbar, 1649.
Thomas Purves, Dunbar, 1661–3, and James Lauder (conjunctly).

William Purves, Dunbar, 1644, 1649.
Arthur Rae, of Edinburgh; Bervie or Inverbervie, 1612.
William Raitt, of Hallgreen; Kincardineshire, 1649.
Adam Ramsay, Perth, 1543, 1544.
Alexander Ramsay, Dundee, 1594.
Sir Andrew Ramsay, of Abbotshall; Edinburgh, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
Sir Andrew Ramsay, eldest son of Sir Andrew, of Abbotshall; North Berwick, 1669–74.
[David] Ramsay, laird of Balmain, 1609.
[David] Ramsay, laird of Balmain; Kincardineshire, 1612, 1625, 1630.
David Ramsay, Arbroath, 1639–41, 1649.
Sir David Ramsay, of Balmain; Kincardineshire, 1705–7, 1707–8, etc.
[George] Ramsay, laird of Dalhousie; Edinburghshire, 1617.
Sir Gilbert Ramsay, of Balmain; Kincardineshire, 1639–41, 1645–6, 1661–3.
James Ramsay, younger, of Banff; Perthshire, 1689, 1693.
John Ramsay, Crail, 1585, 86.
William Ramsay, Montrose, 1617, 21.
Herbert Rany, Dumfries, 1572.
Col. Thomas Read, governor of Stirling, Linlithgow, Stirling, etc., 1654–5.
John Reddie, Dysart, 1681–2.
Richard Redheugh, 1485.
Alexander Reid, Edinburgh, 1678.
Andro Reid, Inverness, 1439.
James Reid, Dunfermline, 1639–41, 1643.
John Reid (Rid), Irvine, 1644.
Patrick Reid, Rutherglen, 1357.
Robert Reid, of Baldovie; Forfarshire, 1689–1702.
Renton, laird of Lamberton; Berwickshire, 1650–1.
Andrew Ricardson, Anstruther Wester, 1645, 49.
[James] Richardson, laird of Smeton; Edinburghshire, 1630.
James Richardson (Reidsone), Pittenweem, 1641, 1649, 1650–1.
Robert Richardson, Anstruther Wester, 1612, 1617, 1621, 1628–33.
Sir Robert Richardson, of Pencaitland; Haddington constabulary, 1630.
Robert [or John] Richardson, Burntisland, 1643, 49.
[Andrew] Riddell, laird of Riddell; Roxburghshire, 1617, 1621.
Andrew Riddell, of Hayning; Selkirkshire, 1639–41.
James Riddell, Rutherglen, 1669 until June, 1671.
John Riddell, of Hayning; Selkirkshire, 1665, 1678.
John Riddell, Rutherglen, 1593.
Sir John Riddell, of that ilk; Roxburghshire, 1690 until his death, May 13, 1700.
Sir Walter Riddell, of that ilk; Roxburghshire, 1628–33, 1646–7, 1650.
Hugh Rigg, Edinburgh, 1544, 1545, 1546.
James Rigg (Rige), Dunfermline, 1640.
William Rigg, of Athernie; Stirlingshire, 1639–41, 1643.
William Rind (Rynde), Edinburgh, 1479.
Alexander Robertson, of Craig; Perth, 1702–7.
James Robertson, Irvine, 1585.
James Robertson, St. Andrews, 1645 (?), 1646–7, 1648; Kirkcaldy, 1649.
John Robertson, Edinburgh, 1593, 1594, 1597, 1604, 1605, 1607.
John Robertson, Crail, 1649.
Thomas Robertson, St. Andrews, 1617.
Walter Robertson, Aberdeen, 1633.
William Robertson, of Inchis; Aberdeenshire, 1665.
James Robinson (Robieson), Linlithgow, 1531.
Sir Edward Rodes, Perth, 1656–8, 1659–60.
Godfrey Rodes, sheriffdom of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Clackmannan, 1656–8.
William Roger, Ayr, 1594.
William Rolland, Aberdeen, 1526.
[Sir Andrew] Rollo, laird of Duncrob; Perthshire, 1621, 1630, 1650–1.
David Rollo (Rollock), Dundee, 1479, 1535, 1540, 1543.
James Rollo (Rollock), Dundee, 1304–1524.
Robert Rollo (Rowok), 1461.
Robert Rollo, of Powhouse; Stirlingshire, 1702–7.

John Ronnald, Montrose, 1661.
Robert Ronnald (Rennald), Montrose, 1681–2.
Alexander Rose, second son of Hugh Rose, of Clava, Nairn, 1669–72.
David Rose, Nairn, 1678.
[Hugh] Rose, laird of Kilravock; Nairnshire, 1646–7, 1648, Nairn, 1649.
Hugh Rose, of Clava; Nairnshire, 1665.
Hugh Rose, younger, of Brodley; Nairn, 1681–2.
Hugh Rose, elder, of Kilravock Nairnshire, 1685–6.
Hugh Rose, of Kilravock Nairnshire, 1700–2, 1702–7, 1707–8.
John Rose, Nairn, 1648, —— 1661.
John Rose, Nairn, 1689, 1689–1702, 1703–7.
William Rose, Nairn, 1665, 1667.
Alexander Ross, Dornoch, 1670–4.
Andrew Ross, Tain, 1628–33, 1661–63.
Archibald Ross, Tain, 1612.
David Ross, of Balnagowan; Ross-shire, 1669–74.
Harie Ross, Forres, 1667.
James Ross, of Merkinsche; Inverness, 1641.
John Ross, Glasgow, 1598.
John Ross, Tain, 1650.
John Ross, Inverness, 1621.
Patrick Ross, Perth, 1649, 1650.
Walter Ross, Tain, 1669–70.
William Ross, eldest son of Alexander Ross, elder, of East Ferne; Tain, 1685.
William Ross, younger, of East Ferne; Tain, 1689–1702.
Robert Rowan, Glasgow, 1594.
Robert Rowett or Rowatt, Glasgow, 1585.
John Rule, Queensferry, 1685–6.
David Russell, St. Andrews, 1579, 1590.
George Russell, Pittenweem, 1665, 1681–2.
Robert Russell, Stirling, 1678, 1681–2.
William Russell, St. Andrews, 1586, 1596, 1602, 1604, 1605, 1607, 1608.
—— Rutherford (and Rutherfurd), laird of Hunthill; Roxburghshire, 1630.
Alexander Rutherford, Aberdeen, 1583, 1585, 1587, 1597, 1600, 1604, 1605, 1608, 1612.
David Rutherford, Aberdeen, 1621.
James Rutherford, Elgin, 1617.
John Rutherford, Jedburgh, 1617, 1621.
John Rutherford, Jedburgh, 1639–41, 1643, 1646–7, 1649–50.
John Rutherford, Jedburgh, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
Richard Rutherford, Jedburgh, 1568.
Robert Rutherford, Jedburgh, 1648.
William Rutherford, Jedburgh, 1583, ——, 1612.
Sir Thomas Ruthven, of Frieland; Perthshire, 1639–41, 1645–7, 1649–51.
William Ruthven, Perth, 1567, 1575, 1578.
—— St. Andrews, St. Andrews, 1525–26, 40, 60, 68.
Col. —— Salmon, Dumfries, etc., 1656–8.
William Saltoun, Linlithgow, 1357 (? Sir William Abernethy).
[Sir William] Sandilands, laird of St. Monanis; Fifeshire, 1617.
William Sandilands, of Hilderstoun; Linlithgowshire, 1649.
William Sauser, Stirling, 1357.
—— Scot (or Scott), laird of Abbotshall, 1593.
—— Scot, laird of Hartwoodmyres; Selkirkshire, 1644–5.
Alexander Scot, 1473, 1482.
Alexander Scot, Forfar, 1649, 1650.
Sir Francis Scot, of Thirlestane; Selkirkshire, 1669–74, 1685–6, 1693–1702.
Gideon Scot, Irvine, 1571–93, 1617.
Gideon Scot, of Highchester; Roxburghshire, 1650.
Hugh Scott, Irvine, 1571–93, 1617.
Hugh Scott, of Galashiels; Selkirk, 1681–2.
[Sir James] Scott, laird of Balwery, 1593, 1594.
James Scott, Selkirk, 1593.
James Scott, Irvine, 1630.

James Scott, of Logie; Montrose, 1640–1.
James Scott, of Logie; Forfarshire, 1693–1702.
James Scott, of Gala; Roxburghshire, (or sheriffdom of Teviotdale), 1698–1702.
James Scott, of Logie; Montrose, 1702–7, 1707–8, etc.
John Scott, Rutherglen, 1628–33, 1644.
John Scott, of Langschaw; Roxburghshire, 1665.
John Scott, Rutherglen, 1689, 1689 to 1702.
John Scott, of Woold; Roxburghshire (or sheriffdom of Teviotdale), 1693–1702.
Patrick Scott, of Thirlestane; Selkirkshire, 1648–9.
Sir Patrick Scott, of Ancrum; Roxburghshire, 1685–6, 1689 until April 28, 1693.
Robert Scott, Irvine, 1543.
Sir Robert Scott, of Thirlestane; Selkirkshire, 1607.
Robert Scott, of Whitslaid; Selkirkshire, 1639–41, 1643.
Robert Scott, Selkirk, 1702–7.
Thomas Scott, Selkirk, 1568.
Thomas Scott, Selkirk, Sep. 10, to Nov. 17, 1641, 1643–4, 1645–7, 1649.
Thomas Scott, of Whitslaid; Selkirkshire, 1661–3.
Sir Walter Scott, laird of Buccleuch, 1597.
Col. Walter Scott, of Hartwoodburn; Selkirkshire, 1646–7, 1648–9.
Sir Walter Scott, of Whitslaid; Selkirkshire, 1645–6, 1650, 1651.
Walter Scott, Jedburgh, 1700–2, 1702–7.
William Scott, Irvine, 1540–1583.
William Scott, Selkirk, 1639, 1641.
Sir William Scott, of Harden; Selkirkshire, 1641, 1643–4, 1644–6.
Sir Willliam Scott, younger, of Harden; Selkirkshire, 1650.
Sir William Scott, younger, of Harden; Selkirkshire, 1689, 1689 until April 28, 1693.
William Scott, of Ardross; Fifeshire, 1648, 1661–3.
Sir William Scott, laird of Clerkingtoun; Haddington constabulary, 1644–7, 1648; Edinburghshire, 1650–1.
William Scott, of Hartwoodmyres; Selkirkshire, 1667.
James Scougall, Kintore, 1693–1702.
Richard Scroger, Crail, 1357.
Johnne Scrogs, Aberdeen, 1445.
Col. Adrian Scrope, sheriffdom of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Clackmannan, 1659–60.
—— Scrymgeour, constable of St. Andrews, Forfarshire, 1594, 1608.
Alexander Scrymgeour, Dundee, 1579, 1583, 85, 86.
James Scrymgeour, Dundee, 1491, 1492.
[James] Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, 1543, 1544.
James Scrymgeour, of Balbewchy; Dundee, 1569.
Sir James Scrymgeour, of Dudhope, 1594, 1597, 1598, 1604; Dundee, 1600, 1605; Forfarshire, 1605, 1607.
Sir John Scrymgeour, of Dudhope; constable of Dundee; Forfarshire, 1612, 1617, 1621; Argyllshire, 1628–33.
John Scrymgeour, of Kirktoune; Dundee, 1681–2, 1702, 1702–7.
Andrew Sempill, Renfrew, 1640, 1644.
Andrew Sempill, Renfrew, 1661.
John Sempill, Dumbarton, 1628–33, 1639–41, 1643–4, 1646–7, 1649–50.
William Sempill, of Fowlewood; Dumbartonshire, 1617; Renfrewshire, 1621.
William Sempill, of Foulwood; Dumbartonshire, 1643, 1645–7, 1648–9.
Alexander Sempill, of Gargunnock; Stirlingshire, 1612.
Sir Alexander Sempill, of Pitmedden; Aberdeenshire, 1681–2, 1685–6.
David Sempill, Burntisland, 1665, 1667, 1669, until his death, July 25, 1670.
Lord [George] Sempill, Edinburgh, 1558.
James Seton, elder, of Touch; Stirlingshire, 1665, 67, 69, until his death, Nov. 15, 1673.
James Seton, of Touch; Stirlingshire, 1673–4, 1678, 1681–2, 1685–6.
Sir John Seton, Haddington constabulary, 1625.
[John?] Seton, laird of Touch; Dumbartonshire, 1593, 1596.
Michael Seton, Burntisland, 1685–6.
Sir Walter Seton, of Abercorn; Linlithgowshire, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
Sir William Seton, Haddington, 1577, 1598, 1605; Haddington constabulary, 1617.
William Seton, Haddington, 1661–3, 1665, 1667.
William Seton, younger, of Pitmedden; Aberdeenshire, 1702–7, 1707–8.

Henry Shank, Kinghorn, 1643.
Sir Alexander Sharp, of Sauchie; Clackmannanshire, 1639–40, 1643, 1644–7.
James Sharp, of Sauchie; Stirling, 1474.
James Sharp, Stirling, 1572.
John Sharp, of Collistoun; Dumfries, 1686.
John Sharp, of Greenock; Renfrewshire, 1643–4, 1644, 1649, 1667.
John Sharp, of Hoddom; Dumfries (or Nithsdale) sheriffdom and stewartry of Annandale, 1702, 1702–7.
Thomas Sharp, of Houston; Linlithgow, 1699–1702, 1703–7.
William Sharp, of Houston; Linlithgowshire, 1678.
Sir William Sharp, of Tullibodie; Clackmannanshire, 1681–2.
Sir John Shaw, of Greenock; Renfrewshire, 1669–74, 1678, 1681–2.
Archibald Sheills, Peebles, 1702–7.
John Sherar, Stirling, 1612.
Walter Sheroun, Banff, 1667.
Thomas Sheves, of Muretoun; Inverness, 1643.
John Shorte, Stirling, 1646–7, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651.
Alexander Sibbald, St. Andrews, 1571,
Alexander Simpson, Dysart, 1628–33.
David Simpson, Dysart, 1612, 1617, 1621.
David Simpson, Dysart, 1639, 1643, 1645, 1645–7, 1650, 1665.
Donald (or Daniel) Simpson, younger, Fortrose, 1692–1702.
George Simpson, Anstruther Wester, 1617.
George Simpson, Dysart, 1678.
James Simpson, Dundee, 1640, 1645.
Thomas Simpson, Kilrenny, 1628–33; Anstruther Easter, 1639–41.
Willliam Simpson, Pittenweem, 1594.
William Simpson, Dysart, 1640–1, 1644, 1645, 1648–9, 1650–1, 1661–3, 1667.
Sir Archibald Sinclair, Wick, 1690–1702.
Edward Sinclair, of Essintoy; Orkney and Zetlandshire, 1617.
Sir George Sinclair, of Clyth; Caithness-shire, 1681–2, 1685–6, 1702 until his death, Oct. 1, 1706.
Hew Sinclair, of Inglistoune; Annan, 1661–3, 1665, 667.
Sir James Sinclair, of Murkhill; Caithness-shire, probably from 1689 until his death, April 17, 1693.
Sir James Sinclair, of Murkhill; Caithness-shire, 1641, 1646–7, 1661.
James Sinclair, of Freswick; Caithness-shire, probably from 1689 until his death, April 17, 1693.
James Sinclair, of Stempster; Caithness-shire, 1703–7.
John Sinclair, Edinburgh, 1633.
[Sir John St. Clair], laird of Hermestoun or Hirdingstoun; Haddington constabulary, 1644–5.
Sir John Sinclair, of Dumbeath; Caithness-shire, 1649.
John Sinclair, of Ulbeter; Caithness-shire, 1678.
John Sinclair, younger, of Stevinston; Lanarkshire, 1702–7.
Sir Robert Sinclair, of Longformacus; Berwickshire, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
Sir Robert Sinclair, of Stevenston; Haddington constabulary, 1689, 1689–1702.
Sir Robert Sinclair, of Longformacus; Berwickshire, 1702–7.
[Sir William] Sinclair, laird of Rosslyn, 1598.
William Sinclair, of Dunbeath; Caithness-shire, 1661–3.
Sir George Skene, of Fintray; Aberdeen, 1678, 1681–2–1685–6.
[James] Skene, laird of Skene; Aberdeenshire, 1646–7.
John Skynner, Brechin City, 1633, 1643, 1649.
—— Slamannan, Mure, 1596.
John Sleigh, Haddington, 1644, 45, 49, 50.
John Sleigh, younger, Haddington, 1685–6, 1689 until his death, March 15, 1690.
George Smith, sheriffdom of Midlothian, 1654–5; sheriffdom of Dumfries, 1656–8.
George Smith, fear of Giblistoune, Pittenweem, 1702–7.
James Smith, Forres, 1685–6.
James Smith, Dunbar, 1685–6, 1689, 1689 to April 28, 1693.
James Smith, St. Andrews, 1689, 1689–1702.
Sir John Smith (Smythe), of Grottell; Edinburgh, 1639–40, 1643–4, 1644–6, 1650–1.
Robert Smith, Perth, 1689, 1689–1702.

James Smollett, Dumbarton, 1645.
Sir James Smollett, Dumbarton, 1685–6, 1689, 1689–1702, 1702–7, 1707–8.
Johnne Somerville, Dundee, 1357.
John Somerville, Renfrew, 1643, 1644.
John Somerville, Edinburgh, 1665, 1667.
John Somerville, Renfrew, 1665, 1678.
William Somerville, Renfrew, 1612, 1617, 1621.
David Spalding, Dundee, 1456, 1458.
William Spalding, Dundee, 1543.
William Spalding, (Auchterarder ?), 1583.
David Spens, Rutherglen, 1587.
David Spens, Rutherglen, 1639–41, 1643, 1645, 1646–7, 1648.
David Spens, Rutherglen, 1661, 65, 1672–4, 1678.
David Spens (Spence), of Edinburgh; Anstruther Easter, 1689 until April 28, 1693.
George Spens, Rutherglen, 1702–7.
Johnne Spens, Perth, 1435.
Johnne Spens, Edinburgh, 1558.
John Spens (Spence), Forres, 1643.
Matthew Spens, Rothesay, 1628–33, 1639–41.
Alexander Spittle, of Lewquhat, Inverkeithing, 1689, 1689 until death, March 30, 1696.
Edward Spittle (Spittale), Stirling, 1504, 24, 25.
James Spittle, of Lewquhat; son of Alexander, Inverkeithing, 1696–1702, 1702–7.
John Spreull, Renfrew, 1579.
John Spreull, Renfrew, 1639–41, 1645–7, 1649.
George Steill, Brechin, 1646–7, 1648–61.
Patrick Steven, Arbroath, 1689, 1689–1702.
Alexander Stevenson, Kilrenny, 1693–1702..
James Stevenson, Peebles, 1593.
James Stevenson, Pittenweem, 1628–33.
James Stevenson, Stirling, 1667, 169–74.
William Stevenson, Pittenweem, 1612, 1617–43, 1645.
William Stevenson (Stevenston), Inverurie, 1612.
—— Stewart, laird of Rossyth; Clackmannanshire, 1644.
—— Stewart, laird of Kilchattan; Buteshire, 1648.
Adam Stewart, Rothesay, 1661.
[Sir Alexander] Stewart, laird of Garlies; Wigtonshire, 1594, 1596.
Archibald Stewart, 1458.
Archibald Stewart, Edinburgh, 1578.
[Sir Archibald] Stewart, laird of Castlemilk; Renfrewshire, 1617.
Sir Archibald Stewart, of Blackhall; Renfrewshire, 1628–33.
Archibald Stewart, of Blackhall; Renfrewshire, 1667.
Sir Archibald Stewart, of Castlemilk; Renfrewshire, 1669–70.
Sir Archibald Stewart, of Burray; Orkney and Zetland stewartry, 1702, 1702–7.
Cuthbert Stewart, Rothesay, 1681–2, 1685–6.
David Stewart, Elgin, 1678, 1685–6.
Sir Dougall Stewart, of Kirktone; Buteshire, 1661–3, 1665, 1669–70.
Dugald Stewart, of Blairhall; Rothesay, 1702–7, etc.
Sir Gilbert Stewart, of Tullinedes and Pollalk; Perthshire, 1671 until his death, Sept. 30, 1673.
James Stewart, Glasgow, 1593——, 1673.
Sir James Stewart, of Kirktoune; Buteshire, 1644–5.
Sir James Stewart, of Kirkfield; Edinburgh, 1649–50.
Sir James Stewart, Buteshire, 1685–6, 1689 until April 25, 1693, 1702 until April 14, 1703.
James Stewart, Elgin, 1689, 1689–1702.
Sir James Stewart, of Goodtrees; Queensferry, 1705–7, etc.
John Stewart, 1469, ——, 1493.
John Stewart, of Minto; Glasgow, 1569.
John Stewart, Stirling, 1581.
[Sir John] Stewart, laird of Traquair; Peeblesshire, 1621, 1625.
John Stewart, of Ethok; Buteshire, 1628–33.
John Stewart, of Ascoge; Buteshire, 1651, Rothesay, 1669–72.

John Stewart, younger, of Blackhill; Renfrewshire, 1700–2, 1702–4.
John Stewart, of Sorbie; Wigtonshire, 1702, 1702–7, 1707–8, etc.
John Stewart, of Kinwhinlick; Buteshire, 1704–7.
Josias Stewart, of Bonytown; Ayrshire, 1617.
Matthew Stewart, laird of Minto; Glasgow, 1571, 1572, 1581, 1594.
Patrick Stewart, Banff, 1661, 1663.
Patrick Stewart, Wigtown, 1678.
Robert Stewart, Linlithgow, 1602.
Sir Robert Stewart, of Schillinglaw; Peeblesshire, 1612, 1617, 1621.
Robert Stewart, Linlithgow, 1665.
Robert Stewart, Rothesay, 1678.
Robert Stewart, of Tillicoultrie; Rothesay, 1689, 1689 until April 25, 1693; Dingwall, 1698–1702; Buteshire, 1702–7.
Robert Stewart, of Lochlie; Rothesay, 1693–1702.
Sir Robert Stewart, of Allanbank; North Berwick, 1698–1702.
Thomas Stewart, Wigtown, 1648–1661.
Sir Thomas Stewart, of Grandtully; Perthshire, 1665, 1667.
Sir Thomas Stewart, of Balcaskie; Fifeshire, 1685–6.
Sir Thomas Stewart, of Coltness; North Berwick, 1689, 1689 until his death, May 7, 1698.
Walter Stewart, Stirling, 1469, 1471, 1472.
Sir Walter Stewart, of Minto; Lanarkshire, 1639–41.
Walter Stewart, Banff, 1685–6, 1689, 1689 until his death, Nov. 1, 1710.
Walter Stewart, of Pardovin; Linlithgow, 1700–2, 1702–7.
Walter Stewart, Ayr, 1586.
Sir Walter Stewart, laird of Traquair; Peeblesshire, 1593, 1594, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1602, 1604.
Sir William Stewart, of Grandtully; Perthshire, 1612, 1617.
William Stewart, of Kilchattan; Buteshire, 1621–1648.
Col. William Stewart, of Castle Stewart; Wigtownshire, 1650.
William Stewart, of Castle Stewart; Wigtownshire, 1685, 1700–2, 1702–7.
William Stewart, of Ambrismore; Buteshire, 1693–1702.
Sir William Stewart, of Kilchattan; Buteshire, 1621–1648.
Sir William Stewart, of Castlemilk; Lanarkshire, 1696–1702.
—— Stirling, Stirling, 1524, ——, 1531 —— 1532, —— 43, —— 67.
[Sir Archibald] Stirling, laird of Keir, 1609; Stirlingshire, 1617, 1621, 1625.
Sir Archibald Stirling, of Garden; Linlithgowshire, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1661, 1663, 1667.
George Stirling, Montrose, 1504.
Sir George Stirling, of Keir; Stirlingshire, 1639–41.
George Stirling, Edinburgh, 1689, 1689 until his death, May 8, 1695.
[Henry] Stirling, of Ardoch; Dumbartonshire, 1621.
[Sir John] Stirling, laird of Keir; Stirling, 1524.
Sir John Stirling, of Garden; Linlithgowshire, 1640–1.
Sir John Stirling, of Keir; Stirlingshire, 1669–72, 1674, 1678.
Thomas Stoddart, Lanark, 1678.
William Stone (Stane), sheriffdom of Dumbarton, Argylle and Bute, 1659–6 .
[Sir Alexander] Strachan, laird of Thornton; Kincardineshire, 1617, 1630.
[Sir Alexander] Strachan, laird of Thornton; Kincardineshire, 1650.
[Alexander ?] Strachan, laird of Glenkindie; Aberdeenshire, 1650, 1651.
James Strachan, Brechin, 1669–72.
William Strachan, 1450.
—— Straiton, laird of Lauriston, 1604, 1605.
Alexander Straiton (Stratoune), of that ilk, and of Lowriestoun; Kincardineshire, 1661–3.
Nicholas Strange, Pittenweem, 1593.
Alexander Strong (Strang), Forfar, 1645, 1645–6, 1648.
[Alexander] Sutherland, laird of Duffus; Sutherlandshire, 1646–7; Elign, and Forresshire, 1650.
David Sutherland, younger, of Kianauld; Sutherlandshire, 1702–4.
William Sutherland, son of James, Lord Duffus; Elgin, 1702–7.
George Suttie, Edinburgh, 1641.
James Suttie, Forfar, 1617.

[Sir Alexander] Swinton, laird of Swinton; Berwickshire, 1644–5.
Archibald Swinton, Dysart, 1695–1702.
John Swinton, of that ilk, Berwickshire, 1649, 1650, 1653, 1654–5, 1656–8, 1659–60.
Sir John Swinton, of that ilk, Berwickshire, 1690–1702, 1702–7, 1707–8.
Mark Swinton, Inverkeithing, 1540.
Robert Swinton, of that ilk, Berwickshire, 1612, 1621.
Thomas Swinton, Pittenweem, 1662–3.
Walter Swinton, Dornoch, 1650.
James Sword, St. Andrews, 1641, 1640–51. (St. Andrews, Dysart, etc., 1654–5).
Archibald Sydserf, Edinburgh, 1648, 1651.
George Symour, of Balzeordie; Forfarshire, 1649.
Robert Tailyour, St. Andrews, 1617, 1625, 1628–33, 1643–4; Montrose, 1645.
Robert Tailyour, Montrose, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1678.
Arthur Temple, of Ravelrig; Edinburgh, 1669.
Alexander Tenent, Lanark, 1644; Lanarkshire, 1649.
George Terbrax, Lanark; Glasgow, &c., 1656–8.
—— Teviotdale, Roxburghshire, 1645.
James Thane, Brechin, 1585.
Alexander Thomson, Edinburgh, 1695–1702.
Gawen Thomson, Peebles, 1678.
John Thomson, Peeblesshire and Selkirk sheriffdom, 1654–5; Edinburgh, 1656–8, 1659–60.
Patrick Thompson, Peebles, 1640.
Patrick Thomson, Stirling, 1696 until his death, Dec. 7, 1697.
Peter Thomson, Anstruther Wester, 1649.
Thomas Thomson, Inverkeithing, 1661–3.
Walter Thomson, Inverness, 1458.
William Thomson, Forfar, 1583.
William Thompson, of Haddigton; Haddington burghs, 1654–5.
Patrick Threipland, Perth, 1665, 67, 69–74.
Robert Tod, 1479.
Thomas Tod, Edinburgh, 1485.
Jeremy Tolhurst, burgess of Dumfries; Dumfries, &c., 1654–5, 1659–6 .
Adam Tore, Edinburgh, 1357.
—— Touris, Edinburgh, 1605.
George Touris, Edinburgh, 1504.
John Touris, of Inverleith, 1597.
George Traill, of Queendall; Kirkwall, 1689, 1689–98.
John Traill, Forfar, 1579, 1587, 1597.
John Traill, Forfar, 1612.
Patrick Tran, Irvine, 1594.
William Tranent, Haddington, 1367.
George Trotter, North Berwick, 1665.
John Tulloch, Nairn, 1639–41, 1649.
Patrick Tulloch, of Boigtoun; Forres, 1669–72, 1678.
Thomas Tulloch (younger), of Taunachies; Forres, 1689, 1689 until April 25, 1693.
John Tullonis, Anstruther Wester, 1639–40.
Alexander Turing, Edinburgh, 1479.
George Turnbull, Cupar, 1661 until his death, April 23, 1662.
John Turnoure, Wigtown, 1612, 1617, 1621.
John Turnoure, Tweeddale, sheriffdom of East Lothian, 1656–8, 1659–60.
Gilbert Tweedie, Peebles, 1579.
[James] Tweedie, laird of Drummelzier, 1605; Peeblesshire, 1608.
John Udny (Brechin, 1625 ?), Aberdeenshire, 1645, 1648.
John Udney, Kintore, 1681–2, 1685–6.
John Udney, of that ilk, Aberdeenshire, 1702–7.
Nicholas Udwart, Edinburgh, 1585.
Adam Urquhart, of Meldrum; Aberdeenshire, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1678.
Sir Alexander Urquhart, of Cromartie; Banffshire, 1667.
Sir John Urquhart, of Cromartie; Inverness-shire, 1661–3.
John Urquhart, of Craighouse; Cromartyshire, 1693.
John Urquhart, of Meldrum; Dornoch, 1703–7.

[Sir Thomas] Urquhart, of Cromartie; Cromartyshire, 1600, 1605, 1608, 1617; Inverness-shire, 1625; Cromartyshire, 1628–33.
Thomas Urquhart, Forres, 1681–2.
Thomas Urquhart, Cromarty, 1669–70.
Walter Urquhart, of Crombie; Banffshire, 1639–40.
[Sir John] Vans (or Vaus), laird of Barnbarroch; Wigtownshire, 1617.
[Sir Patrick] Vans, laird of Barnbarroch; Wigtownshire, 1590, 92, 93, 94.
Sir John Veitch, of Dawick; Peeblesshire, 1630, 1643–4, 1644–5, 1648.
John Veitch, of Dawick; Peeblesshire, 1669–74, 1678.
Col. Stephen Vinthropegesse, of Aberdeen; Banff, and Aberdeen, 1656–8.
David Wade (Wald), Anstruther Easter, 1593, 94.
Peter Waghorn, Dumbarton, 1357.
Peter Walker, Dunfermline, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
William Walker, Dunfermline, 1644, 1644–5, 1645–7, 1649, 1650–1.
—— Wallace, laird of Carnell, 1604; Ayrshire, 1605, 1609, 1621.
Adam Wallace, Ayr, 1526.
Edward Wallace, Ayr, 1579.
Hugh Wallace, of Inglistoun; Kirkcudbright stewartry, 1685–6; Kintore, 1689 until April 28, 1693.
Matthew Wallace, 1494.
Partick Wallace, Kinghorn, 1689, 1689–1702.
Sir Thomas Wallace, of Craigie; Ayrshire, 1665, 1667.
Thomas Wallch, St. Andrews, 1572.
Thomas Waller, of Gray's Inn; Linlithgow, Queensferry, Perth, Culross, and Stirling, 1659–60.
Sir Henry Wardlow, of Pitreavie; Fifeshire, 1661–3.
Patrick Wardlow, of Torry; Fifeshire, 1625; Kinghorn, 1630.
Thomas Wardlow, Dunfermline, 1612, 1617, 1621.
Thomas Warrand, Forres, 1649.
Alexander Watson, of Aethernie; St. Andrews, 1702–7.
Andrew Watson, Burntisland, 1628–33.
David Watson, St. Andrews, 1593, 97, 98.
James Watson, St. Andrews, 1630.
John Watson, Selkirk, 1587.
Robert Watson, Dumbarton, 1672, 1678.
Thomas Watson, Anstruther Wester, 1661.
Walter Watson, Dumbarton, 1661–3, 1669–70.
William Watson, Pittenweem, 1640, 1645, 1648.
William Watson, Edinburgh, 1597.
William Watson, Edinburgh, 1685–6.
John Watt, Edinburgh, 1597.
John Watt, Inverness, 1651.
Sir John Wauchope, of Niddrie; Edinburghshire, 1639–41, 1644, 1649–50, 1650–1.
William Waugh, Forres, 1579.
William Waugh, Selkirk, 1678, 1685–6.
Alexander Wedderburn, Dundee, 1585, 1594, 1597, 1604, 1605, 1607, 1608, 1609.
Alexander Wedderburn, Dundee, 1612, 1618, 1621, 1628–33.
Sir Alexander Wedderburn, Dundee, 1645–7, 1646–7, 1648, 1651, 1654–5, 1656–8, 1661–3.
Alexander Wedderburn, of Kingany; Dundee, 1661–3, 1678.
James Wedderburn, Dundee, 1549.
John Wedderburn, of Gosford; Haddington constabulary, 1663–6
Sir Peter Wedderburn, of Gosford; Haddington constabulary, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669–74.
James Weir, Lanark, 1685, 1686.
Thomas Weir, Edinburgh, 1625.
David Welands, Cupar, 1693, 1694.
William Welands, Edinburgh, 1609.
—— Welch, Dumfries, 1472.
Thomas Welwood, St. Andrews, 1578.
David Wemyss, of Fingask; Fifeshire, 1650.
Sir James Wemyss, of Bogie; 1605, 1608, 1609, 1617
[Sir John ?] Wemyss, the laird of Wester Wemyss, 1596.

[Sir John] Wemyss, laird of Wemyss; Fifeshire, 1617.
Sir John Wemyss, of Bogie; Fifeshire, 1644, 1645–7, 1656–8.
Sir John Wemyss, of Bogie; Fifeshire, 1669–74.
William Wemyss, 1597.
Henry Whalley, sheriffdom of Selkirk and Peebles, 1656–8.
Col. Nathan Whethan, St. Andrews, Dysart, Kirkcaldy, Cupar, Anstruther Easter, &c., 1656–8, 1659–60.
John White, of Collistoun; Kirkcaldy, 1669–74.
Robert White, of Purim; Kirkcaldy, 1645–7, 1650, 1665.
John Whitefoord (Quhytefurde), Irvine, 1586.
Patrick Whitelaw, Perth, 1581, 1586.
John Wilk, of Bromhouse; Lanark, Glasgow, &c., 1654–5.
Gawin Wilkie, Selkirk, 1583.
Harie Wilkie, Pittenweem, 1669–74.
John Wilkie, Haddington, 1587–1602.
William Wilkie, Lanark, 1593.
William Wilkie, Lanark, 1681–2.
William Wilkin, Lanark, 1587.
Alexander Wilkinson, Lauder, 1628–33.
Alexander Wilkinson, Lauder, 1639–40, 1643–4, 1644–6, 1648.
Alexander Williamson, Peebles, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1672–4.
James Williamson, of Aikerfield; Peebles, 1621, 1628–33, 1630, 1639–41, 1643 1646–7, 1649.
Johnne Williamson, Peebles, 1357.
John Williamson, Stirling, 1600, 1604, 1605, 1612, 1617.
John Williamson, Kirkcaldy, 1628–33, 1630, 1639–41, 1643–4, 1648–9, 1661–3.
John Williamson, Sanquhar, 1661–3; Kirkcaldy, 1681–2.
Leonard Williamson, St. Andrews, 1568.
Thomas Williamson, Cupar, 1586.
William Williamson, Peebles, 1681–2.
Andrew Wilson, Burntisland, 1593, 1594.
Archibald Wilson, Queensferry, 1661–3, 1665, 1667, 1669–74, 1678.
David Wilson, Anstruther Wester, 1645, 1650.
George Wilson, Culross, 1681–2.
Samuel Wilson, Queensferry, 1650.
George Winrahame, of Libbertoun; Edinburghshire, 1643–4, 1645, 1649.
James Winrahame, of Wistone; Lanarkshire, 1640–1.
—— Wishart, laird of Pitarrow; 1592, 1596, 1597.
James Wishart, Montrose, 1593.
—— Wood, laird of Largo; 1590, 1594, 1596, 1599.
George Wood, Forfar, 1651.
Harie Wood, of Bonytoun; Forfarshire, 1628–33.
James Wood, of Balbigno; Kincardineshire, 1649.
James Wood, Kinghorn, 1667, 1669–70.
Ninian Wood, Crail, 1583.
Thomas Wood, Lauder, 1661, 1665, 1670–2.
Robert Wooseley, commissary of Ayrshire; Dornoch, Tain, Inverness, &c., 1656–8.
Robert (or William) Wotherspoon (Wedderspune), Linlithgow, 1543, 1546.
Andrew Young, Elgin, 1665.
Oliver Young, Perth, 1593, 1594.
Patrick Young, Haddington, 1644, 1646–7.
Walter Young, Edinburgh, 1468, 1471, 1472.
John Yuill, Inverary, 1661.

APPENDIX Z

LOCATIONS OF SCOTTISH FAMILIES IN IRELAND

The following list shows the surnames in Ulster having four entries and upwards in the Birth Indexes of 1890, together with the number and the registration counties in which these names are principally found. The first figure after a name

gives the number of entries for 1890 in the whole of Ireland, and the second figure the number for the Province of Ulster. The estimated number of persons of each surname in the population can be ascertained by multiplying the number of entries in the list by the average birth-rate, which, for the year 1890, was 1 to 44.8 persons. The estimated number of persons bearing the name of "Abernethy," for example, on this basis would be 6 x 44.8, or 268.

Abernethy, 6—6; Abraham, 9—4, principally in Armagh; Acheson, 27—23, Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Adair, 29—27, 19 in Antrim, 6 in Down, and 2 in Londonderry; Adams, 77—62, Antrim and Londonderry; Adamson, 9—9, Armagh and Down; Agnew, 39—37, 25 in Antrim, 6 in Armagh, and 4 in Down; Aiken, 19—18, Antrim; Alcorn, 6—6, Donegal and Londonderry; Alderdice, 6—6, Antrim and Armagh; Alexander, 53—49, Antrim and Down; Allen, 163—102, Antrim and Armagh; Allison, 5—4, Antrim; Anderson, 175—120, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Andrews, 42—29, Antrim and Down; Angus, 10—9, Down and Antrim; Annett, 8—8, 7 in Down and 1 in Antrim; Archer, 15—10, Armagh and Antrim; Archibald, 8—7, Londonderry; Armour, 10—9, Antrim; Armstrong, 140—110, Antrim, Fermanagh, Cavan and Tyrone; Arnold, 22—11, Antrim; Arthurs, 11—9, Antrim and Tyrone; Ashe, 22—6, Antrim; Atkinson, 37—28, Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Auld, 6—6, 3 in Antrim and 2 in Monaghan; Austin, 20—9, Antrim.

Bailey, 80—44, Antrim and Down; Baird, 39—34, Antrim and Down; Baker, 30—8, Antrim; Balfour, 5—5, Antrim; Ball, 16—5, Antrim; Ballantine, 19—17, Antrim; Balmer, 8—7, Down; Bamford, 9—8, 7 in Antrim; Bannon, 23—5; Barber, 18—11, Antrim; Barclay, 6—4, Antrim; Barkely, 9—8, 8 in Antrim; Barnes, 26—14, Antrim; Barnett, 15—9; Barr, 60—57, Antrim, Londonderry, and Down; Barrett, 146—11; Barron, 43—20, Antrim, Donegal; Barry, 217—12; Barton, 20—10, Fermanagh; Bassett, 9—4; Bateman, 19—4; Bates, 22—9; Baxter, 31—26, Antrim; Beattie, 101—80, Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Tyrone; Beck, 7—6, Antrim and Down; Beckett, 6—5, Antrim; Beggan, 7—5, Monaghan; Beggs, 30—24, 17 in Antrim; Begley, 39—12, Donegal; Bell, 197—169, Antrim, Down, Tyrone, and Armagh; Bennett, 81—34, Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Benson, 16—7; Berry, 30—12, Antrim; Best, 21—19, Armagh and Tyrone; Bickerstaff, 5—5, 3 in Down and 2 in Antrim; Bill, 5—4, 4 in Antrim; Bingham, 30—27, 12 in Down, and 11 in Antrim; Bird, 22—5; Birney, 7—5; Black, 116—96, Antrim, Armagh, Tyrone, and Down; Blackstock, 5—5, Antrim and Armagh; Blackwood, 7—7, Antrim; Blain, 8—8, 5 in Antrim and 3 in Down; Blair, 78—74, 47 in Antrim, 12 in Londonderry, and 8 in Tyrone; Blake, 58—8, Antrim; Blaney, 9—6, Antrim; Bleakley, 11—9, Antrim; Blooma, 6—5, 3 in Antrim and 2 in Tyrone; Boal, 17—17, 12 in Antrim, and 4 in Down; Bogue, 9—7, Fermanagh; Bohan, 30—4; Bolton, 22—5; Bonar, 38—38, 29 in Donegal; Bond, 18—5; Booth, 17—7, Antrim; Bothwell, 7—6; Bourke, 140—4; Bowden, 8—4; Bowman, 11—8, Antrim and Down; Boyce, 40,—31, Donegal, Down and Londonderry; Boyd, 155—141, Antrim, Down and Londonderry; Boylan, 49—16, Monaghan and Cavan; Boyle, 273—189, Donegal, Antrim, Tyrone, and Armagh; Bracken, 26—4; Bradley, 135—89, Londonderry, Antrim, Tyrone, and Donegal; Bradshaw, 25—11, Antrim; Brady, 261—125, Cavan and Antrim; Brandon, 8—6; Brannan, 18—14, Donegal; Brannigan, 38—20, Armagh and Monaghan; Bray, 14—4, Cavan; Breadon, 13—11, Fermanagh and Tyrone; Breen, 112—23; Brennan, 358—36; Breslin, 43—29, Donegal; Bridget, 7—5; Brien, 246—5; Briggs, 17—15, Antrim and Down; Briody, 13—4, 4 in Cavan; Britton, 13—4; Brogan, 33—16, Donegal; Brolly, 8—8, 7 in Londonderry, and 1 in Tyrone; Brooks, 25—6; Brown, 327—214, Antrim, Londonderry, and Down; Browne, 146—30; Brownlee, 19—18, Antrim and Armagh; Bruce, 7—5; Bryan, 47—4, Down; Bryans, 16—15, Antrim and Down; Bryson, 9—9, Londonderry; Buchanan, 24—21, Tyrone; Buckley, 184—5; Bwick, 7—7, all in Antrim; Bunting, 17—16, 11 in Antrim and 4 in Armagh; Burgess, 19—7; Burke, 357—32; Burnett, 8—5; Burns, 219—140, Antrim, Down, and Armagh; Burnside, 8—6, Londonderry and Antrim; Burrell, 5—4, Armagh; Burrows, 19—10, Down; Burton, 10—4, Antrim; Bustard, 7—7 Donegal; Butler, 172—9; Byers, 10—9, Cavan; Byrne, 734—53, Donegal; Byron, 10—4, Antrim.

Cadden, 5—5; Cafferty, 6—4, Cavan; Caffrey, 35—6, Cavan; Cahill, 147—8;

Cairns, 44—39, Antrim, Down, and Armagh; Calderwood, 12—12, 10 in Antrim; Caldwell, 42—37, Antrim, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Callaghan, 250—48; Callan, 33—15, Monaghan; Calvert, 15—15, Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Cameron, 30—28, 17 in Antrim, and 7 in Londonderry; Campbell, 349—279, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Donegal; Canavan, 26—13; Canning, 25—15, Londonderry; Cannon, 49—21, Donegal; Carberry, 26—10, Antrim; Cardwell, 9—9, Antrim; Carey, 118—10; Carleton, 15—11, Antrim; Carlin, 20—15, Tyrone, and Londonderry; Carlisle, 24—24, 16 in Antrim, and 5 in Down; Carmichael, 19—17, Antrim; Carney, 49—8; Carolan, 47—13, Cavan; Carr, 90—35, Donegal; Carrigan, 9—4, Fermanagh; Carroll, 386—26; Carruthers, 11—10; Carson, 77—71, Antrim, Down, and Tyrone; Carter, 38—7; Cartmill, 5—5, all in Armagh; Carton, 32—7, Londonderry; Carvill, 14—12, Armagh and Down; Casey 254—17; Caskey, 6—6, Antrim; Cassells, 17—11, Armagh; Cassidy, 141—96, Donegal, Antrim, and Fermanagh; Cathcart, 16—13, Antrim; Catherwood, 9—9, Antrim; Caughey, 13—13, 7 in Down, and 6 in Antrim; Caulfield, 59—21, Antrim and Monaghan; Chambers, 69—39, Antrim, Down, and Armagh; Chapman, 19—10, Down and Antrim; Charles, 8—5; Charleton, 14—10, Tyrone and Antrim; Charters, 10—8; Cherry, 10—9, Down; Christian, 12—6; Christy, 33—26, Antrim; Church, 7—4; Clancy, 100—11; Clark, 345—176, Antrim and Cavan; Clayton, 12—5; Cleary, 127—12; Clegg, 12—11, Down and Antrim; Cleland, 14—13, Down and Antrim; Clements, 25—23, 17 in Antrim; Clenaghan, 5—5; Clendinning, 10—9, Antrim; Clerkin, 15—4; Clifford, 83—9; Clinton, 18—5; Close, 16—13, Antrim; Clyde, 7—7; Antrim and Londonderry; Coates, 15—9, Antrim; Coburn, 10—8, Down and Armagh; Cochrane, 42—37, Antrim, Londonderry, Down, and Tyrone; Coey, 6—6, 3 in Antrim and 3 in Down; Coffey, 98—5; Cole, 37—13, Londonderry, Armagh, and Down; Coleman, 138—14; Colgan, 32—11, Antrim; Colhoun, 22—20, 8 in Londonderry, and 8 in Tyrone; Coll, 28—21, 17 in Donegal; Collins, 352—49, Antrim; Colvin, 6—4; Conaghan, 7—6, Donegal and Londonderry; Conaty, 14—12, 10 in Cavan; Condy, 5—5, 4 in Tyrone, and 1 in Fermanagh; Conlon, 107—25; Conn, 9—8, Down and Armagh; Connell, 242—23; Connolly, 381—146, Antrim and Monaghan; Connor, 432—68, Antrim and Londonderry; Connors, 142—5; Conry, 52—5; Convery, 11—11, 10 in Londonderry; Conway, 169—29, Tyrone; Coogan, 23—7, Monaghan; Cooke, 89—33, Antrim; Cooley, 9—5, Antrim; Cooney, 76—9; Cooper, 36—15, Antrim; Copeland, 17—15, Armagh and Antrim; Corbett, 64—19; Cordner, 5—4, Armagh; Corkin, 5—5, 4 in Down; Corr, 55—31, Tyrone; Corrigan, 74—26, Fermanagh; Corry, 44—23, 17 in Antrim; Cosgrove, 40—16; Cotter, 64—6; Coughlan, 125—5; Coulter, 45—42, Antrim, Down, and Fermanagh; Courtney, 59—10, Antrim; Cousins, 18—8; Cowan, 33—30, Antrim, Down, and Armagh; Cox, 75—15; Coyle, 90—52, Donegal, Cavan, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Craig, 120—111, Antrim, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Crampsy, 9—9, Donegal; Crane, 8—4; Cranston, 9—8, Armagh and Antrim; Crawford, 96—79, Antrim, Down, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Creaney, 5—5, 4 in Armagh, and 1 in Down; Cregan, 33—4; Creighton, 23—15, Antrim; Crilly, 23—18, Antrim, Londonderry; Cromie, 21—21, Armagh and Down; Crooks, 15—15, Antrim and Londonderry; Cross, 19—8, Armagh; Crossan, 17—16, Londonderry; Crothers, 17—16, 10 in Antrim and 5 in Down; Crowe, 68—20, Antrim; Crozier, 22—20, Armagh; Crymble, 6—5, Antrim; Culbert, 8—7, Antrim; Cull, 10—4; Cullen, 203—34; Cully, 22—11, Armagh and Antrim; Cumiskey, 11—6, Cavan; Cummings, 20—12, Antrim; Cummins, 77—11; Cuningham, 215—89, Down and Antrim; Cupples, 7—7, 6 in Antrim, and 1 in Armagh; Curran, 169—67, Donegal; Curry, 75—48, 29 in Antrim; Cusack, 46—11, Cavan.

Dallas, 6—5, Antrim; Daly, 381—49; Dalzell, 12—12, Down; Darby, 11—4; Darcy, 86—11; Darragh, 18—18, Antrim; Davey, 31—10, 6 in Antrim; Davidson, 58—52, Antrim and Down; Davis, 104—34, Antrim; Davison, 45—42, Antrim; Dawson, 55—28, Antrim; Deane, 45—19, Donegal; Dechan, 6—4, Londonderry; Deeney, 15—15, Donegal and Londonderry; Deery, 14—14, Tyrone and Monaghan; Delaney, 158—10; Dempsey, 117—22, Antrim; Dempster, 13—12, 8 in Antrim and 4 in Down; Dennison, 6—6, Armagh; Derby, 6—5, Antrim; Devany, 44—13; Devine, 81—35, Tyrone; Devlin, 112—88, Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh, and Londonderry; Diamond, 16—11, Londonderry and Antrim; Dick, 13—11, 8 in Antrim, and 2 in Down; Dickey, 13—13, Antrim; Dillon, 117—19, Antrim; Dinsmore, 6—6, Londonderry; Diver, 29—27, 26 in Donegal; Dixon, 100—68, Down and Antrim; Dobbin, 21—15, Antrim; Dobson, 14—9; Dodds, 31—18,

Down and Armagh; Doherty, 457—318, Donegal, Londonderry; Dolan, 142—50, Fermanagh, Cavan; Donaghy, 49—48, Antrim, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Donald, 6—6, Antrim; Donaldson, 33—31, Antrim and Armagh; Donegan, 31—5; Donnan, 11—10, 9 in Down; Donnell, 18—13, Londonderry and Tyrone; Donnallan, 76—4; Donnelly, 240—135, Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh; Donohoe, 162—28, Cavan; Doogan, 53—41, Donegal, Antrim, and Armagh; Doohan, 11—7, 7 in Donegal; Dooley, 60—5; Doonan, 15—5; Doran, 97—20, Down and Armagh; Dorman, 14—11, 7 in Down; Dornan, 11—11, all except 1 in Antrim and Down; Dorrian, 7—7; Douglas, 54—41, Antrim and Londonderry; Dowd, 84—16; Dowling, 109—6; Downes, 47—8; Downey, 91—22, Antrim; Doyle, 514—37; Drain, 5—5, all in Antrim; Drake, 6—5, Down and Monaghan; Drennan, 20—11, Antrim; Drum, 13—8, Fermanagh; Drummond, 6—4, Antrim; Duddy, 13—11, Londonderry; Dudgeon, 6—5; Duff, 45—21, Antrim; Duffin, 17—10, Antrim; Duffy, 305—126, Monaghan and Donegal; Dugan, 20—16, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Duggan, 89—5; Duke, 12—6, Armagh; Dunbar, 26—13, Antrim, Down, and Tyrone; Duncan, 41—25, Antrim and Tyrone; Dunleavy, 40—6; Dunlop, 35—33, 21 in Antrim; Dunne, 364—47, Cavan, Antrim, Down, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Dunwoody, 11—11, Antrim.

Eakins, 14—10; Early, 42—10; Eaton, 8—4, Londonderry; Eccles, 15—11, Tyrone and Antrim; Edgar, 17—17, Antrim and Down; Edwards, 36—13, Antrim; Elder, 16—11, 7 in Antrim, and 4 in Londonderry; Elliott, 76—59, Fermanagh, Antrim, Donegal; Ellis, 38—21, Antrim; Ellison, 13—12, 8 in Antrim and 3 in Down; Elwood, 11—4; Emerson, 18—13, 7 in Down and 4 in Antrim; English, 53—17, Antrim; Ennis, 44—4; Erskine, 12—11, Antrim; Ervine, 19—18, 10 in Antrim and 7 in Down; Erwin, 19—18, 15 in Antrim; Esler, 8—8, all in Antrim; Evans, 55—19, Londonderry and Antrim; Ewart, 14—14, Antrim; Ewing, 24—23, Londonderry, Tyrone, and Antrim.

Fagan, 48—4; Falloon, 12—12, Armagh; Fanning, 45—4; Farnan, 10—5; Farr, 5—5, Antrim; Farrell, 311—36; Farrelly, 69—36, 29 in Cavan; Farren, 13—11, 7 in Donegal and 4 in Londonderry; Faulkner, 35—21, Antrim; Fay, 27—5; Fearon, 21—16, Armagh and Down; Fee, 23—21, Antrim, Cavan, and Fermanagh; Feely, 41—16, Donegal; Feeney, 73—11; Fegan, 26—14, Armagh; Fenton, 19—6, Antrim; Ferguson, 133—107, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Ferris, 33—26, Antrim; Ferry, 27—26, 22 in Donegal; Field, 29—6; Finegan, 115—38, Monaghan, Armagh, and Cavan; Finlay, 76—54, Antrim and Down; Finn, 111—7; Finney, 8—5; Fisher, 29—16, Antrim; Fitzgerald, 330—7; Fitzpatrick, 249—64, Cavan, Antrim, and Down; Fitzsimons, 80—38, Down and Cavan; Flack, 8—7; Flanagan, 219—52, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Monaghan; Flavell, 5—5; Fleming, 170—63, Antrim and Londonderry; Fletcher, 22—10, Antrim; Flood, 64—15; Flynn, 319—23, Cavan; Foley, 250—7; Forbes, 22—14, Antrim and Tyrone; Forde, 154—22; Foreman, 5—4; Forsythe, 33—30, Antrim and Down; Foster, 57—37, Antrim; Fowler, 17—10; Fox, 125—34, Tyrone; Foy, 38—14, Cavan; Francey, 10—9, 7 in Antrim; Francis, 13—7; Frazer, 41—21, Antrim and Down; Freeburn, 9—9, Antrim; Freeman, 20—4; French, 24—8, Antrim; Friel, 43—38, 27 in Donegal, 6 in Tyrone, and 5 in Londonderry; Frizell, 12—11; Fullerton, 25—22, Antrim and Down; Fulton, 32—32, Antrim

Gabbey, 5—5, 3 in Down and 2 in Antrim; Gaffney, 68—20, Cavan; Galbraith, 15—13, Antrim; Gallagher, 488—295, Donegal, Tyrone, and Londonderry; Gallen, 13—13, 7 in Donegal, and 4 in Tyrone; Galligan, 26—21, 20 in Cavan; Galloway, 9—8, Antrim; Galway, 13—11, 8 in Antrim; Gamble, 40—29, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Gara, 20—10, 9 in Donegal, and 1 in Down; Gardiner, 26—14, Antrim; Gardner, 23—20, Antrim; Garland, 24—12, Monaghan; Garrett, 24—13, Down and Antrim; Garvey, 64—10; Gaston, 13—13, all in Antrim; Gault, 16—15, 13 in Antrim; Gavaghan, 23—5; Gaw, 6—6, 4 in Down and 2 in Antrim; Geddis, 13—13, Antrim and Down; George, 12—9; Getty, 8—8, 6 in Antrim and 2 in Londonderry; Gibb, 8—4; Gibbons, 78—10; Gibney, 26—11, Cavan; Gibson, 96—77, Down and Antrim; Giffen, 10—8, Antrim; Gilbert, 16—5, Antrim; Gilchrist, 18—12; Gildea, 18—7, Donegal; Gill, 62—10; Gillan, 40—23, Antrim Donegal, and Tyrone; Gilleece, 14—13; Gillespie, 86—76, Antrim, Donegal, Armagh, and Tyrone; Gillick, 9—8, 8 in Cavan; Gilligann, 32—5; Gilliland, 11—11, Antrim; Gilmore, 79—60, Antrim; Gilpin, 9—9, 7 in Armagh, and 2 in Cavan; Gilroy, 16—7; Gilseman, 12—5; Ginn, 6—4; Girvin, 15—15, 11 in Antrim; Glasgow, 7—7, 4 in Tyrone, 2 in Antrim, and 1 in Armagh; Glass, 17—17,

Antrim and Londonderry; Glenn, 12—12, Antrim and Londonderry; Glover, 20—16, Antrim; Godfrey, 18—4; Goodman, 9—7, Armagh and Monaghan; Goodwin, 26—13, Monaghan; Gordon, 122—82, Antrim and Down, more than half in Antrim; Gorman, 140—33, Antrim; Gormley, 44—25, Antrim and Tyrone; Gough, 30—4; Gould, 12—8; Gourley, 23—20, Antrim; Gracey, 9—8, Down and Armagh; Graham, 204—166, Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Armagh, and Monaghan; Grainger, 11—4; Grant, 77—42, Antrim and Donegal; Grattan, 5—5; Gray, 117—70, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Green, 152—54, Antrim; Greenan, 8—5, Cavan; Greenaway, 7—6, Down and Antrim; Greer, 63—58, Antrim, Armagh, and Down, more than half in Antrim; Gregg, 29—21, 10 in Antrim and 9 in Down; Gregory, 14—5; Gribben, 28—27, all except 3 in Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Griffen, 216—16; Griffith, 22—8; Grimason, 5—5, Armagh; Grimes, 39—13, Tyrone; Grimley, 7—5, Armagh; Grogan, 44—5; Groves, 8—4, Antrim; Guiney, 17—4; Gunn, 9—5; Gunning, 12—7, Antrim; Guthrie, 11—4; Guy, 11—8, Armagh and Londonderry.

Hackett, 34—11, Tyrone; Haddock, 12—10, Armagh; Haddon, 14—10; Hagan, 63—49, Antrim, Tyrone, and Armagh; Hale, 13—6, Antrim; Halfpenny, 12—5; Hall, 120—69, Antrim and Armagh; Halliday, 19—16, Antrim; Halligan, 27—8, Armagh; Hamill, 77—56, Antrim and Armagh; Hamilton, 167—143, Antrim, Down, Tyrone, and Londonderry; Hammond, 13—9, Donegal; Hampton, 5—4; Hand, 28—6; Hanlon, 95—20; Hanna, 86—84, 34 in Antrim; 26 in Down and 10 in Armagh; Hannigan, 30—12, Tyrone; Hannon, 92—10; Hanratty, 30—16, 9 in Armagh, 7 in Monaghan; Hanvey, 5—4; Haran, 37—11; Harbison, 11—10, Antrim; Hardy, 19—8, Tyrone; Hare, 22—13, Antrim; Hargan, 6—4; Harkin, 56—45, 32 in Donegal, and 8 in Londonderry; Harkness, 13—10, Antrim; Harper, 51—34, Antrim; Harris, 59—15, Antrim; Harrison, 48—27, Antrim and Down; Hart, 122,—28, Antrim; Hartin, 10—5, Antrim; Harvey, 54—35, Antrim, Down, and Donegal; Hassard, 7—6; Haughey, 14—14, 5 in Armagh, and 5 in Donegal; Hawkins, 18—6, Antrim; Hawthorne, 27—23, Antrim, Down, and Armagh; Hay, 6—5; Hayes, 275—27, Antrim; Hazlett, 19—15, Antrim and Londonderry; Healy, 291—6; Heaney, 56—32, Antrim and Armagh; Heanue, 14—5, 5 in Donegal; Hegan, 5—4, Armagh; Hegarty, 100—27, Donegal and Londonderry; Hemphill, 7—6, Londonderry and Tyrone; Henderson, 72—57, Antrim and Tyrone; Henry, 132—73, Antrim and Tyrone; Heaghty, 16—6, Donegal; Herbert, 25—4; Herdmann, 6—6, Antrim; Herron, 45—38, 13 in Antrim and 10 each in Donegal and Down; Hetherington, 8—7, Tyrone; Hewitt, 40—31, Antrim and Armagh; Hickey, 139—7; Hicks, 10—5; Higgins, 205—23, Antrim; Higginson, 8—8, Antrim; Hill, 118—7, Antrim and Down; Hilland, 7—7, 6 in Antrim and 1 in Down; Hillis, 12—6, Antrim; Hinds, 20—13, Down; Hobson, 11—7, Antrim; Hodges, 12—5; Hodgins, 19—8, Down; Hoey, 33—6; Hogan, 193—5; Hogg, 18—14, Antrim and Londonderry; Holden, 20—5, Antrim; Holland, 52—12; Holly, 8—4, Londonderry; Hollywood, 9—4; Holmes, 84—38, Antrim; Hood, 9—5, Antrim; Hopkins, 44—6; Hopper, 8—4, Tyrone; Horner, 6—5, Antrim; Houston, 76—68, Antrim, Londonderry, Armagh, and Down; Howard, 61—8; Howe, 16—6; Hoy, 15—13, 9 in Antrim and 2 in Down; Hughes, 334—180, Armagh, Antrim, Tyrone, and Monaghan; Hughey, 6—6, Tyrone; Hull, 10—9, Antrim and Armagh; Hume, 10—9, Antrim; Humphries, 32—18, Armagh; Hunt, 76—4; Hunter, 95—80, Antrim, Londonderry, and Down; Hurst, 10—5; Hutchinson, 64—45, Londonderry, Antrim, and Down; Hutton, 15—11, Antrim and Londonderry; Hyde, 15—7, Antrim; Hyland, 55—5; Hyndman, 14—14, 8 in Antrim and 5 in Londonderry; Hynes, 83—6.

Ingram, 13—11, 9 in Antrim; Ireland, 21—17, Antrim and Armagh; Irvine, 68—62, Antrim and Fermanagh; Irwin, 118—96, Armagh, Antrim, Tyrone, and Londonderry;

Jack, 8—5; Jackson, 101—60, Antrim, Armagh; Jamison, 52—41, 16 in Antrim and 9 in Down; Jenkins, 29—19, Antrim; Jennings, 63—12, Armagh; Jess, 7—7, Down; Johnson, 58—16, Antrim; Johnston, 341—281, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Londonderry; Jones, 152—45, Antrim and Armagh; Jordan, 98—21, Antrim; Judge, 30—6, Tyrone.

Kane, 190—96, Antrim and Londonderry; Kavanagh, 274—22; Keane, 202—6; Keany, 33—8, Donegal; Kearney, 147—45; Antrim; Kearns, 87—16; Keating, 130—10; Kee, 6—6; Keegan, 95—8; Keenan, 103—57, Antrim, Monaghan and Down; Keith, 7—6, Antrim and Down; Kell, 6—5, 5 in Antrim; Kel-

leher, 148—5; Kellett, 8—4, Cavan; Kells, 10—5; Kelly, 1242—267; Kelso, 7—5, Antrim; Kemp, 6—4; Kempton, 5—5, Antrim; Kennedy, 446—112, Antrim; Kenny, 216—19; Keogh, 163—4; Keon, 18—14, Donegal, Down, and Fermanagh; Kernaghan, 26—20, Armagh and Antrim; Kerr, 142—123, Antrim, Down, and Tyrone, half in Antrim; Kerrigan, 41—11, Donegal; Keys, 32—15, Fermanagh and Antrim; Kidd, 28—18, Antrim and Armagh; Kiernan, 70—14, Cavan; Killen, 14—8, 6 in Antrim; Kilpatrick, 24—24, 16 in Antrim; King, 203—51, Antrim; Kinghan, 5—4, 4 in Down; Kirk, 38—19, Antrim; Kirkland, 6—5; Kirkpatrick, 25—22, 16 in Antrim; Kirkwood, 8—7, 7 in Antrim; Knowles, 13—5, Antrim; Knox, 45—32, Antrim; Kyle, 26—23, Antrim and Londonderry.

Lafferty, 17—17, 10 in Donegal, 5 in Londonderry, and 2 in Tyrone; Lagan, 8—7, Londonderry; Laird, 17—16, Antrim; Lamb, 50—13; Lambert, 22—4; Lamont, 18—16, 11 in Antrim; Lang, 15—10, Cavan; Lappin, 26—24, Armagh, Tyrone, and Antrim; Larkin, 85—20, Armagh; Larmour, 17—17, 9 in Antrim and 6 in Down; Latimer, 8—4; Lavelle, 38—4; Laverty, 26—26, Antrim; Lavery, 51—51, Armagh, Antrim, and Down; Law, 19—16, Antrim; Lawless, 42—4; Lawn, 7—7, 5 in Donegal and 2 in Tyrone; Lawson, 15—10, Armagh and Down; Leahy, 105—7; Leatham, 11—9, Armagh; Lecky, 10—9; Leddy, 15—9, 9 in Cavan; Lee, 120—43, Antrim; Leech, 35—9; Legge, 8—5; Lemon, 15—12, Antrim; Lennon, 103—36, Armagh; Lennox, 18—13, Antrim and Londonderry; Leonard, 99—18; Leslie, 15—9, Londonderry; Lewis, 51—18, Antrim; Liggett, 6—5, 3 in Armagh and 2 in Antrim; Lightbody, 6—6, all in Down; Lilly, 14—13, Antrim and Down; Lindsay, 38—31, 50 per cent in Antrim; Linehan, 104—7, Antrim; Linton, 13—11, Antrim; Lipsett, 7—4; Little, 59—42; Antrim and Fermanagh; Livingston, 43—37, Armagh, Antrim, and Down; Lockhart, 21—17; Armagh and Antrim; Logan, 55—39, Antrim; Logue, 31—31, 17 in Londonderry and 9 in Donegal; Long, 91—21, Donegal; Lorimer, 8—7, 6 in Antrim; Loughlin, 57—22, Tyrone and Antrim; Loughran, 41—35, Tyrone, Antrim, and Armagh; Loughrey, 13—8; Love, 22—15, Londonderry; Lowe, 21—9; Lowry, 71—37, Antrim and Down; Loy, 5—4; Lucas, 22—12, Tyrone and Cavan; Luke, 9—6, 6 in Antrim; Lundy, 12—7; Lunn, 9—6, Armagh; Lunney, 24—20, Fermanagh; Lyle, 5—5, 4 in Antrim; Lynas, 23—23, Antrim and Down; Lynch, 444—94, Cavan, Londonderry; Lynn, 24—15, Antrim; Lyons, 210—20.

Mack, 20—7, Antrim; Macken, 38—8, Monaghan; Mackey, 38—10, Antrim; Mackle, 8—8, Armagh; Madden, 107—16, Antrim; Madill, 5—4; Magauran, 10—10, 8 in Cavan; Magee, 193—150, Antrim, Armagh, Down, Donegal, and Tyrone; Magill, 84—69, Antrim, Armagh, Down, Donegal, and Tyrone; Maguire, 322—156, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal; Mahon, 87—16; Mahood, 8—8, Antrim and Down; Mailey, 6—6, Antrim; Mairs, 12—10, Antrim; Maitland, 7—7; Major, 12—12, Antrim and Down; Malcolm, 10—8, Antrim; Malcomson, 14—11, Armagh; Mallon, 48—38, Armagh, Antrim, and Tyrone; Malone, 100—11; Malseed, 5—5, 3 in Donegal, and 2 in Londonderry; Mann, 19—16, 12 in Antrim; Mannion, 91—5; Markey, 16—9, Monaghan; Marks, 19—17, 12 in Antrim; Marley, 14—9, Donegal; Marlow, 7—4, Tyrone; Marron, 31—21, Monaghan; Marshall, 59—42, Antrim, Londonderry, and Down; Martin, 326—186, Antrim, Down, and Monaghan; Mason, 32—10; Massey, 11—6, Down; Masterson, 47—12, Cavan; Matchett, 14—14, Armagh, Antrim, and Down; Mateer, 9—8, 7 in Antrim; Mathers, 9—7, Armagh; Mathews, 78—32, Antrim and Down; Mawhinney, 18—18, Antrim; Maxwell, 68—46, Antrim and Down; May, 28—6; Mayberry, 12—4, Antrim; Mayes, 7—7, Antrim and Armagh: Mayne, 16—14, Antrim; McAdam, 25—23, Monaghan; McAfee, 11—11, Antrim; McAleavey, 10—10, Down and Armagh; McAleer, 17—16, 13 in Tyrone; McAleese, 12—12, Antrim and Londonderry; McAlinden, 24—24, 17 in Armagh; McAllen, 13—10, Antrim; McAllister, 87—78, Antrim; McAloney, 5—5, 4 in Antrim and 1 in Down; McAnenny, 32—25, Tyrone and Monaghan; McArdle, 55—31, Monaghan and Armagh; McAree, 6—6, 3 in Antrim and 3 in Monaghan; McAtamney, 6—6, Londonderry; McAteer, 36—34, Armagh, Antrim, and Donegal; McAuley, 107—90, Antrim and Donegal; McBarron, 5—5, 4 in Fermanagh, and 1 in Donegal; McBratney, 5—5, 3 in Antrim and 2 in Down; McBrearty, 8—8, Tyrone, and Donegal; McBride, 118—105, Antrim, Donegal, and Down; McBrien, 16—12, Fermanagh and Cavan; McBurney 19—18, Down and Antrim; McCabe, 145—84, Cavan, Monaghan; McCafferty, 25—25, 14 in Donegal, 7 in Londonderry, and 4 in Antrim; McCaffrey, 61—56, Fer-

managh, and Tyrone; McCahon, 6—6, Antrim; McCallion, 24—24, Londonderry and Donegal; McCambridge, 9—9, 8 in Antrim and 1 in Donegal; McCamley, 5—4; McCandless, 7—7; McCann, 177—105, Antrim, Armagh, and Tyrone; Carroll, 13—13, Londonderry; McCarron, 33—32, Donegal and Londonderry; McCarry, 5—5, Donegal; McCart, 6—6, Antrim; McCartan, 35—29, Down and Armagh; McCarter, 9—9, Antrim and Londonderry; McCarthy, 498—19, Antrim; McCartney, 53—46, 29 in Antrim; McCaughan, 10—10, Antrim; McCaughey, 24—23, Antrim and Tyrone; McCaul, 24—20, Armagh and Cavan; McCausland, 16—13, Antrim; McCaw, 9—7, Antrim; McClafferty, 11—11, 10 in Donegal, and 1 in Tyrone; McClatchey, 8—7, Antrim and Armagh; McClay, 7—7, Londonderry and Donegal; McClean, 106—81, Antrim; McCleery, 19—19, Antrim and Londonderry; McClelland, 66—57, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Londonderry, and Monaghan; McClenaghan, 19—18, Antrim; McClintoch, 25—23, Antrim and Londonderry; McClory, 11—10, Down; McCloskey, 79—67, Londonderry and Antrim; McCloy, 14—14, Antrim; McClughan, 5—5, 3 in Antrim and 2 in Down; McClung, 7—7; McClure, 35—31, Antrim and Down; McClurg, 10—10, 5 in Antrim, and 5 in Down; McCole, 12—11, 11 in Donegal; McColgan, 16—16, Donegal and Londonderry; McCollum, 19—19, Antrim, Tyrone, and Donegal; McComb, 26—22, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; McConaghy, 16—16, Antrim; McConkey, 17—13, Antrim; McConnell, 101—89, Antrim, Down, and Tyrone; McConville, 29—26, Armagh and Antrim; McCoo, 10—10, 7 in Armagh and 3 in Antrim; McCool, 22—22, Donegal and Tyrone; McCord, 15—12, Antrim; McCormack, 118—20; McCormick, 165—107, Antrim and Down; McCorry, 16—16, Armagh and Down; McCoubrey, 11—11, 7 in Down and 4 in Antrim; McCourt, 44—29, Armagh and Antrim; McCoy, 41—30, Antrim, Armagh, and Monaghan; McCracken, 33—31, 15 in Antrim and 8 in Down; McCrea, 33—30, Antrim and Tyrone; McCready, 39—32, Down, Antrim, and Londonderry; McCreesh, 6—6, Monaghan; McCrory, 34—33, 17 in Tyrone and 10 in Antrim; McCrossan, 14—14, 11 in Tyrone; McCrudden, 8—7, Antrim; McCrum, 8—6; McCullough, 130—106, Antrim, Tyrone, and Down; McCully, 5—4; McCune, 8—8, 6 in Antrim and 2 in Armagh; McCurdy, 19—19, 17 in Antrim and 2 in Londonderry; McCurry, 12—12, Antrim; McCusker, 19—17, Tyrone; McCutcheon, 27—24, Tyrone, Antrim, and Down; McDaid, 48—45, 26 in Donegal, 8 in Londonderry, and 7 in Tyrone; McDaniel, 9—5; McDermott, 189—55, Donegal and Tyrone; McDevitt, 15—14, Donegal, Londonderry and Tyrone; McDonagh, 174—9; McDonald, 191—88, Antrim and Cavan; McDonnell, 247—58, Antrim; McDowell, 91—80, Antrim and Down; McEldowney, 6—6, all in Londonderry; McElhinney, 26—24, Donegal, Tyrone, and Londonderry; McElmeel, 6—6, Monaghan; McElwee, 7—7, 5 in Donegal, and 2 in Londonderry; McEnroe, 9—6, 6 in Cavan; McEntee, 13—11, Monaghan and Cavan; McErlain, 21—21, 13 in Antrim and 8 in Londonderry; McEvoy, 99—36, Armagh; McFadden, 79—73, Donegal, Antrim, and Londonderry; McFall, 24—23, 16 in Antrim and 7 in Londonderry; McFarland, 46—44, Tyrone and Armagh; McFarlane, 12—8; McFeeters, 7—7, Londonderry; McFerran, 7—6, 6 in Antrim; McFetridge, 9—9, 6 in Antrim and 3 in Londonderry; McGahan, 13—6; McGahey, 13—13, Antrim and Monaghan; McGarry, 79—29, Antrim; McGarvey, 30—29, 18 in Donegal, and 5 in Londonderry; McGaughey, 7—7, 3 in Antrim and 3 in Armagh; McGeady, 5—5, all in Donegal; McGeary, 8—7, Tyrone; McGeehan, 11—11, 9 in Donegal; McGeough, 11—8, Monaghan; McGeown, 19—17, 12 in Armagh; McGettigan, 10—10, all in Donegal; McGilloway, 10—10, 5 in Londonderry and 5 in Donegal; McGimpsey, 8—8, 7 in Down and 1 in Antrim; McGinley, 47—46, 37 in Donegal; McGinn, 31—25; McGinty, 12—9, Donegal; McGirr, 12—9, Tyrone; McGivern, 18—18, 7 in Armagh, 7 in Down, and 4 in Antrim; McGivney, 6—6, all in Cavan; McGlade, 8—7, Antrim and Londonderry; McGlinchey, 22—22, Tyrone and Donegal; McGloin, 16—7, Donegal; McGlone, 12—11, Tyrone; McGlynn, 39—16; McGoldrick, 41—26, Tyrone, Fermanagh; McGonigle, 38—38, Donegal and Londonderry; McGookin, 7—7, 5 in Antrim and 2 in Armagh; McGovern, 102—65, Fermanagh, and Cavan; McGowan, 152—91, Donegal; McGrady, 6—6, 3 in Antrim and 3 in Down; McGrath, 266—60, Antrim and Tyrone; McGraw, 5—5; McGreevy, 18—11, Down and Antrim; McGregor, 16—11, Londonderry; McGrory, 12—11, Donegal and Londonderry; McGuckin, 11—10, Londonderry; McGuigan, 43—40, Antrim and Tyrone; McGuinness, 128—69, Monaghan; McGurk, 51—30, Tyrone and Antrim; McHenry, 27—13, Antrim and Londonderry; McHugh, 176—73, Donegal, and Fermanagh; McIlroy, 79—69,

Antrim, Down, Fermanagh, and Londonderry; McIlveen, 16—15, 9 in Antrim and 5 in Down; McIlwaine, 29—29, Antrim, Down, and Armagh; McIntosh, 7—6, Antrim; McIntyre, 58—34, Londonderry and Antrim; McIvor, 24—23, Tyrone and Londonderry; McKane, 8—5; McKay, 64—56, Antrim; McKeag, 16—16; McKee, 96—93, Antrim, Down, and Armagh; McKeever, 34—26, Londonderry and Antrim; McKelvey, 24—23; McKendry, 19—19, 17 in Antrim; McKenna, 201—134, Antrim, Monaghan, Tyrone, and Armagh; McKenzie, 22—13, Antrim; McKeown, 175—115, Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Londonderry; McKernan, 18—18; McKibbin, 20—20, 13 in Down and 7 in Antrim; McKiernan, 9—6; McKillen, 9—9, all in Antrim; McKinley, 35—32, Antrim and Donegal; McKinney, 42—42, Antrim and Tyrone; McKinstry, 11—11, 9 in Antrim and 2 in Down; McKitterick, 9—7; McKnight, 39—31, Antrim and Down; McLarnon, 13—13, 9 in Antrim; McLaughlin, 391—228, Tyrone, about 75 per cent in Antrim, Donegal, and Londonderry; McLernon, 8—8; McLoone, 10—10, 8 in Donegal; McMahon, 241—86, Monaghan; McManus, 138—89, Fermanagh; McMaster, 38—37, Antrim and Down; McMeekin, 7—6, Antrim; McMenamin, 36—34, 22 in Donegal and 10 in Tyrone; McMichael, 5—5; McMillen, 25—25, Antrim and Down; McMinn, 13—13, 8 in Antrim; McMonagle, 12—12, Donegal; McMullan, 108—99, Antrim and Down; McMurray, 19—18, Antrim and Armagh; McMurty, 7—7, all in Antrim; McNabb, 10—7; McNair, 5—4, Antrim; McNally, 101—59, Antrim, Armagh, and Monaghan; McNamara, 192—12; McNamee, 40—26, Londonderry; McNeice, 16—15, Antrim; McNeill, 58—46, Antrim and Londonderry; McNeilly, 7—7, 6 in Antrim and 1 in Down; McNelis, 8—8, all in Donegal; McNickle, 13—11, Tyrone; McNinch, 5—5, all in Antrim; McNulty, 69—43, Donegal; McParland, 55—36, Armagh; McPhillips, 17—14, Cavan and Monaghan; McPolin, 5—5, all in Armagh; McQuaid, 55—49, Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Antrim; McQuillan, 33—25, Antrim and Monaghan; McQuiston, 5—5, Antrim; McReynolds, 9—8; Antrim; McRoberts, 9—9, Down and Antrim; McShane, 34—25, Donegal; McSharry, 29—9, 9 in Donegal; McSherry, 10—8, Armagh; McSorley, 15—14, Tyrone and Fermanagh; McStay, 10—10, Armagh; McStravick, 6—6, 4 in Armagh and 2 in Antrim; McTigue, 19—7, Cavan and Donegal; McVeigh, 68—57, Antrim and Down; McVicker, 13—12, 9 in Antrim and 3 in Londonderry; McWatters, 6—6, Antrim; McWhinney, 7—7, Down and Antrim; McWhirter, 5—5, 3 in Antrim and 2 in Armagh; McWilliams, 43—38, Antrim and Londonderry; Mee, 15—4, Meegan, 12—6, Monaghan; Meehan, 121—32, Donegal; Meek, 7—5, Antrim; Meenan, 14—9, Donegal and Tyrone; Meharg, 5—5, all in Antrim; Mellon, 12—9, Tyrone; Melville, 6—5, Antrim and Down; Mercer, 22—20, 9 in Antrim and 7 in Down; Metcalf, 9—5, 5 in Armagh; Millar, 166—133, Antrim and Londonderry, 50 per cent being found in Antrim alone; Millen, 10—9, 7 in Antrim; Milligan, 40—37, half in Antrim, remainder chiefly in Down and Londonderry; Mills, 59—34, Antrim; Minnis, 6—6, Antrim; Miskelly, 5—5, all in Antrim; Mitchell, 128—63, Antrim; Moffat, 68—45, Antrim and Tyrone; Mohan, 25—21, Monaghan; Molloy, 153—37, Donegal; Monaghan, 140—44, Permanagh; Montague, 9—8, Tyrone; Montgomery, 111—97, more than half are in Antrim and Down; Moody, 13—9, Antrim and Down; Moon, 8—4; Mooney, 136—38, Antrim; Moore, 396—185, Antrim, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Moorhead, 25—18, Antrim; Moran, 265—15; Moreland, 11—11, Antrim and Down; Morgan, 132—67, Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Morrin, 8—4; Morris, 115—32, Tyrone and Monaghan; Morrison, 111—66, Antrim and Down; Morrow, 91—83, Antrim, Donegal, Armagh, and Down; Morton, 32—24, one-half in Antrim; Moss, 6—4, Tyrone; Muldoon, 26—14, Fermanagh; Mulgrew, 7—6, 5 in Tyrone; Mulhern, 21—13; Mulholland, 73—65, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Mullan, 218—128, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Antrim; Mulligan, 105—34, Monaghan; Mulvenna, 5—5, all in Antrim; Murdock, 30—27, Antrim; Murphy, 1386—189, Tyrone; Murray, 438—161, Antrim and Down; Murtagh, 66—17.

Napier, 8—8, Antrim and Down; Neely, 12—11; Neeson, 17—17, Antrim; Neill, 244—63, Antrim; Nelson, 72—59, Antrim, Down, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Nesbitt, 30—23, Antrim and Armagh; Neville, 39—4; Nevin, 23—5; Newell, 34—27, Down and Antrim; Niblock, 6—6, Antrim; Nicholl, 49—40, Antrim and Londonderry; Nicholson, 44—16, Antrim; Nixon, 47—37, Antrim, Cavan, and Fermanagh; Noble, 25—15, Antrim; Nolan, 321—13; Norris, 22—7; North, 9—4; Nugent, 75—30, Armagh and Tyrone.

Ogle, 6—6; Oliver, 16—10; O'Neill, 407—145, Antrim and Tyrone; Orr, 73—

65, Antrim, Down, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Osborne, 23—12; Oswald, 5—5; Owens, 89—33.

Page, 15—7, Antrim; Paisley, 12—4, Antrim; Palmer, 32—18, Antrim; Park, 21—18, Antrim and Tyrone; Parker, 40—24, Antrim; Parkhill, 8—7, Londonderry; Parkinson, 14—7, Antrim and Down; Parks, 23—16, Antrim and Armagh; Patterson, 153—130, Down, Antrim, Armagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Patton, 60—48, Antrim and Down; Paul, 14—10, Londonderry and Antrim; Payne, 26—9, Antrim; Peacock, 9—4; Pearson, 31—16, Antrim; Peel, 12—8, Antrim; Penny, 5—4, 4 in Antrim; Pentland, 7—6, Down and Armagh; Peoples, 10—10, Donegal; Pepper, 10—5, Antrim; Perry, 23—10, Down; Peters, 12—4; Petticrew, 12—9, Antrim; Phillips, 77—21, Antrim; Picken, 6—6, all in Antrim; Pierce, 38—6; Pinkerton, 7—6, Antrim; Platt, 8—7, Londonderry; Plunkett, 28—6; Pollock, 41—36, Antrim and Tyrone; Poots, 5—5, 3 in Down and 2 in Antrim; Porter, 73—64, Antrim, Down, Londonderry, and Armagh; Potter, 14—5; Powell, 23—7; Power, 272—6; Pratt, 10—4; Prentice, 8—7; Preston, 17—10; Price, 47—12, Antrim, Prior, 15—10, 10 in Cavan; Pritchard, 11—9, Antrim; Proctor, 15—12, Antrim; Purdy, 16—15, Antrim; Purvis, 8—4.

Quail, 14—9, Antrim and Down; Quee, 5—5, all in Antrim; Quigg, 6—6; Quigley, 89—39, Londonderry and Donegal; Quinlivan, 13—11; Quinn, 408—155, Tyrone, Antrim, and Cavan.

Rafferty, 55—34, Antrim and Tyrone; Rainey, 39—36, 22 in Antrim and 10 in Down; Ramsay, 28—22, Antrim; Rankin, 36—29, Londonderry and Donegal; Rea, 49—42, 31 in Antrim and 7 in Down; Redmond, 79—5; Redpath, 9—9, Antrim; Regan, 219—9; Reid, 206—137, Antrim, Down, Tyrone, and Armagh; Reilly, 586—199, Cavan; Reynolds, 113—22, Antrim; Rice, 99—48, Antrim and Armagh; Richardson, 54—32, Antrim; Richmond, 9—9, all in Antrim; Riddell, 12—11, Antrim; Ringland, 7—7, 6 in Down and 1 in Antrim; Ritchie, 24—22, Antrim; Roarty, 5—5, 4 in Donegal and 1 in Tyrone; Robb, 21—19, Antrim; Roberts, 40—15; Robertson, 18—9; Robinson, 217—168, Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Tyrone; Robson, 5—5, Down; Rock, 23—8; Rodden, 11—9, Donegal; Roddy 17—6; Rogan, 24—13, Antrim and Down; Rogers, 170—98, Antrim and Down; Rollins, 7—6, 4 in Antrim and 2 in Down; Rooney, 119—43, Down and Antrim; Ross, 73—54, Antrim, Londonderry, and Down; Roulston, 25—20, Tyrone and Antrim; Rountree, 9—7, Armagh; Rourke, 136—15; Rowan, 27—11; Rowland, 12—4; Rowe, 21—4; Rowley, 11—4; Roy, 16—14, Antrim and Down; Rudden, 9—8, Cavan; Ruddle, 9—5, 4 in Armagh; Ruddock, 6—5, Down and Armagh; Ruddy, 23—9, 5 in Donegal and 4 in Armagh; Rush, 22—8; Russell, 101—57, Antrim and Down; Rutherford, 26—21, Antrim, Londonderry, and Down; Rutledge, 23—15, Tyrone; Ryan, 715—13.

Salmon, 24—6; Sands, 18—15, 6 in Antrim and 6 in Armagh; Sargent, 11—5; Saunders, 29—8, Antrim; Savage, 61—38, Antrim and Down; Sayers, 8—4; Scott, 196—147, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Scullion, 17—17, 10 in Antrim and 5 in Londonderry; Seaton, 6—5; Seeds, 7—7, 4 in Antrim and 3 in Down; Semple, 19—18, Antrim; Sexton, 43—6, 5 in Cavan; Seymour, 15—4; Shanks, 21—21, 10 in Antrim and 7 in Down; Shannon, 72—29, Antrim; Sharkey, 58—26, Donegal and Tyrone; Sharpe, 17—12, Antrim; Shaw, 80—51, Antrim and Down; Shearer, 5—4; Sheppard, 22—9; Sheridan, 145—45, Cavan, Sherlock, 23—5; Sherrard, 7—7, 4 in Londonderry and 3 in Antrim; Sherry, 25—15, 9 in Monaghan; Sherwood, 8—4; Shevlin, 11—7; Shields, 55—45, Antrim and Down; Shiels, 88—45, Donegal and Londonderry; Shilliday, 6—6, 4 in Antrim and 2 in Down; Short, 30—12; Simmons, 11—5; Simms, 24—16, Antrim; Simpson, 75—59, Antrim; Sinclair, 18—15, Armagh and Londonderry; Singleton, 17—8, Down; Skeffington, 8—4; Skelly, 18—6, Down; Skelton, 8—4; Skillen, 6—6, 3 in Down and 2 in Antrim; Slavin, 14—11; Slevin, 13—4; Sloan, 61—55, 34 in Antrim; Small, 30—19, Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Smiley, 13—11, Antrim; Smith, 753—412, Antrim and Cavan; Snoddy, 7—7, all in Antrim; Somers, 38—7; Somerville, 24—17; Speers, 38—32, Antrim; Spence, 58—52, 33 in Antrim and 11 in Down; Spratt, 14—13, Antrim; Sproule, 17—11, 10 in Tyrone; Stafford, 33—9; Stanley, 21—4; Starrett, 10—10, 6 in Antrim and 3 in Londonderry; Steele, 54—47, 33 in Antrim and 8 in Londonderry; Steen, 6—6; Steenson, 19—19, Antrim and Armagh; Stephens, 36—8; Stevenson, 106—92, Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Stewart, 255—228, Antrim, Down, Londonderry, Donegal, and Tyrone; Stinson, 12—11; Stirling, 16—15, 14 in Antrim; Stitt, 12—11, 9 in Antrim; Stockman, 7—

6; Storey, 13—10, 8 in Antrim; Strahan, 11—6; Strain, 14—14, Down; Strange, 6—5, 5 in Antrim; Strong, 15—6; Sturgeon, 8—8; Sullivan, 839—15, Antrim; Surgeoner, 10—9, 9 in Antrim; Swan, 23—14, Antrim; Sweeney, 254—70, Donegal.

Taggart, 42—39, Antrim; Tanner, 7—4; Tate, 36—26, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Taylor, 151—97, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Teague, 6—6; Telford, 14—12, 10 in Antrim; Templeton, 18—15, 13 in Antrim; Thomas, 28—14, Antrim; Thompson, 317—239, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, and Londonderry; Thornton, 54—6; Tierney, 78—11; Tighe, 33—5; Timony, 14—4; Toal, 20—17, 8 in Armagh and 6 in Antrim; Todd, 38—34, 20 in Antrim and 8 in Down; Tolan, 19—6; Toland, 9—9, Antrim; Toman, 5—5, 3 in Down and 2 in Antrim; Toner, 42—35, Armagh, Londonderry, and Antrim; Topping, 10—9, Antrim and Armagh; Torrens, 9—9, Antrim; Totten, 17—17, Antrim and Armagh; Townsend, 11—4; Travers, 38—14, Donegal; Traynor, 77—48, Antrim, Armagh, Monaghan, and Tyrone; Treacy, 84—10; Trimble, 13—10; Trotter, 12—11; Trueman, 5—4; Tully, 45—14, Cavan; Tumelty, 10—7; Turkington, 12—12, 9 in Armagh; Turley, 9—4; Turner, 67—30, Antrim; Turtle, 9—9, 7 in Antrim and 2 in Armagh; Tweedie, 15—14.

Uprichard, 10—10, 6 in Armagh and 4 in Antrim.

Vallely, 9—8, Armagh; Vance, 19—17, Antrim; Vaughan, 35—9, Antrim and Down; Vogan, 5—5.

Waddell, 12—12; Wade, 30—7; Walker, 123—84, Antrim and Down; Wallace, 144—80, Antrim, Down, and Londonderry; Walls, 11—7; Walsh, 932—58; Walters, 7—4; Ward, 213—87, Donegal; Wardlow, 5—5, 4 in Antrim and 1 in Armagh; Waring, 7—6; Warnock, 15—15, Tyrone and Down; Warwick, 7—7, all in Antrim; Wasson, 8—8; Waters, 47—8, Monaghan; Watson, 120—104, Antrim, Armagh, and Down; Watt, 33—31, Antrim; Watters, 22—17, Tyrone and Antrim; Watterson, 14—12, Antrim; Waugh, 5—5; Weatherup, 6—6, all in Antrim; Webb, 33—13, Antrim; Webster, 21—7, Antrim; Weir, 56—50, 31 in Antrim and 10 in Armagh; Wells, 9—6, Armagh; Welsh, 32—25, Antrim; West, 26—9; Wharry, 5—5, all in Antrim; White, 291—94, Antrim; Whiteside, 18—16, Antrim and Armagh; Wightman, 6—6, Down; Wilkinson, 33—21, Antrim and Armagh; Williams, 90—14, Antrim; Williamson, 57—54, Antrim, Armagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone; Willis, 33—22, Antrim and Down; Wills, 9—4; Wilson, 366—287, Antrim, Armagh, Down, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Fermanagh; Winters, 18—5; Withers, 5—4; Wood, 14—4; Woodhouse, 6—4; Woods, 137—84, Antrim, Armagh, Down, Monaghan, and Tyrone; Woodside, 9—8, 8 in Antrim; Workman, 5—5, 4 in Antrim; Wray, 15—14, 6 in Donegal and 5 in Londonderry; Wright, 103—72, Antrim, Down, and Armagh; Wylie, 51—49, Antrim.

Yeates, 18—9, 8 in Antrim; Young, 132—87, Antrim, Tyrone, Down, and Londonderry.

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INDEX

NOTE.—For additional names see alphabetical and other lists on the following pages:

The Philadelphia Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1777, i., 28;
Scotch-Irish Soldiers in George Rogers Clark's Regiment in 1778, i., 53, 54;
Some Seventeenth Century Scottish Settlers in Ulster, i., 488–491;
Allotments to Native Irish in the Plantation of Ulster, i., 512–518;
Some Residents of Londonderry and Enniskillen in 1689, i., 612, 613;
The Ragman Roll of Scottish Nobles and Gentry, 1291 and 1296, ii., 214–236;
Presbyterian Congregations in Ireland before 1800, ii., 371–384;
Some Scotch Surnames, ii., 398–401;
Families of Scotland, ii., 422–436;
Ancient Clan Appellatives, ii., 439;
Galloway Names and Families, ii., 439, 440;
Ayrshire Families, ii., 440;
Scottish Peers, ii., 440–451; Bishops, ii., 451–461; Baronets, ii., 461–466; Chancellors, ii., 466–468; Officials, Judges, Admirals, etc., ii., 468–480;
Members of the Scottish Parliaments, ii., 480–518;
Scottish Families in Ireland, and their locations, ii., 518–527;
Scotch-Irish Bibliography, ii., 531–551;
Presbyterian Ministers in Ireland before 1800, ii., 582–584;
Scotch-Irish and other Presbyterian Settlements in Colonial America, ii., 587–595.

Abbey, ii., 418
Abercorn, i., 52c
Abercrombie, i., 50, 136, 285, 375; ii., 98
Aberdeen, ii., 418
Abernethy, i., 137, 344, 356, 496, 605, 606; ii., 16, 176
Acarson, i., 376. *See also* Carson
Acheson, i., 506, 508, 521, 532, 536. *See also* Atchison
Achmouty, Achmutie, etc., i., 508, 521, 536, 605
Act against Schism, i., 619; of Indemnity, i., 615, 621; of Indulgence, i., 456; of Supremacy, i., 109; of Toleration, i., 109, 616, 621; ii., 151; of Uniformity, i., 152, 453. *See also* Test Act
Acton, ii., 408
Adair, i., 552, 573, 604–606, 611; ii., 306, 307, 346, 347, 364 365, 367, 368.
Adair Manuscript, the, ii., 345
Adam, ii., 256
Adam, Earl of Carrick, i., 355
Adamnan, i., 218, 226
Adams, i., 31, 33, 36, 37, 47, 55–57, 68, 70, 74, 77, 84, 86, 87, 94, 97, 98, 100, 180, 537; ii., 90, 185, 391, 405
Adams, ancestry of John, ii., 186
Adams, ancestry of John Quincy, ii., 186
Adamson, i., 607; ii., 391
Adderton, i., 511
Addie, ii., 253
Adie, ii., 391, 406
Adolphus, i., 69, 154; ii., 3
Adwick, i., 535
Ædan, i., 203, 213, 278; ii., 194
Aedh, i., 207, 208, 227, 236
Aedh MacKenneth, i., 227
Ædwine, i., 205
Ælfred, i., 219, 220
Æthelbert, i., 277
Æthelfrid, i., 198, 203, 205, 214, 278
Æthelred, i., 42, 223, 321
Æthelric, i., 225
Æthelstan, i., 209, 220, 237, 260, 298
Ætius, i., 202
Affleck, ii., 438
Agnew, i., 52, 137, 496, 604, 605; ii., 407
Agricola, i., 186
Aikenhead, i., 110, 118; ii., 408
Aikman, ii., 408
Ailred of Rivaulx, i., 323, 335
Ainfrait, i., 198, 205, 214, 217
Ainsworth, i., 7
Aird, i., 567; ii., 360
Airth, i., 374
Aitkin, ii., 252, 306
Aiton, ii., 252, 412
Akroyd, ii., 408

Alabama, Governors of, i., 50
Alan Fitz-Walter, i., 351
Alan, Lord of Galloway, i., 340, 352, 693
Alanson, ii., 391
Alanus Dapifer, ii., 385
Albanic Duan, i., 316
Alcluyd, i., 232
Alcluyd Britons, i., 244
Alcock, ii., 406
Alden, i., 20
Aldferth, i., 287
Alexander, i., 9, 10, 17, 24, 51, 54, 70, 71, 73, 74, 138, 140, 243, 321, 534; ii., 11, 39, 43, 57, 60, 122, 254, 273, 292, 295, 306, 307
Alexander I., i., 322, 332, 333, 342, 351
Alexander II., i., 352
Alexander III., i., 353, 357, 364
Alexander, Earl of Buchan, i., 356
Alexander, the Steward, i., 354
Allan, Allen, i., 11, 12, 17, 20, 90, 137, 455, 532, 534, 539, 606; ii., 5, 11, 95, 127, 253, 415, 418–420
Alleyne, i., 546
Allingham, i., 145
Allison, Alison, i., 35, 51, 136, 143; ii., 5, 39, 95, 96, 129, 189, 245, 252, 259
Alpin, i., 190, 205–207, 226, 240, 243, 257, 258
Alpin's Grave, i., 258
Alston, i., 137
Alva, i., 152
Alves, ii., 418
Ambrosius Aurelianus, i., 268, 276
Ameas, i., 540
America, Presbyterian congregations in Colonial, ii., 2, 94–100, 102–130; religious liberty in, ii., 150
American animosity to England, i., 146; artists, i., 51; Colonial history, i., 78–81; Constitution, amendments to, i., 41–43; editors, i., 52; heroes, i., 50; ideals, i., 90; inventors, i., 52; judges, i., 52; liberty, i., 149; millionaires, i., 52; people, i., 78; race, i., 82; Revolution a Scotch-Irish rebellion, i., 155; scientists, i., 52; statesmen, i., 50; Union, ii., 1; writers, i., 51
Amherst, i., 56
Ammianus Marcellinus, i., 199
Anarawa, i., 232
Anderson, i., 15, 18, 19, 137, 457, 533; ii., 15, 39, 47–49, 93, 99, 102, 129, 186, 253, 259, 391, 401, 406, 419, 421
Anderson, martyrdom of William, i., 410
Anderton, i., 527
Andrews, i., 51, 137, 243; ii., 14, 15, 39, 391, 405
Andros, i., 98
Angell, i., 11, 12, 17; ii., 395
Angles, the, i., 265
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, i., 289–315; Church, i., 246
Angus, i., 164, 231, 259, 288, 322, 332, 333, 347, 353, 374, 403
Angus mac Erc, i., 199
Angus MacFergus, i., 190, 206, 207, 215, 216, 226, 240, 282; ii., 199
Anislie, Annesley, Ansley, i., 529, 542, 611; ii., 368, 438
Annales Cambriæ, i., 317
Annan, i., 441; ii., 99, 101, 130
Annandale, i., 240
Antrim in 1586, i., 480; the Macdonnells in, i., 492–495; the Scottish plantation of, i., 486
Appleton, i., 496
Apprentice Boys of Derry, i., 583
Arbuthnot, i., 345
Archdale, i., 508, 510, 524, 536, 539
Archer, ii., 397
Archibald, ii., 128
Archives, Force's, i., 79
Ardach, i, 227, 232
Arde Savage, i., 473
Arkles, i., 532
Armagh, i., 472, 506, 509, 510, 521; in 1586, i., 478; in 1611, i., 521, 529; in 1619, i., 532, 537, 541
Armistead, i., 19; ii., 187
Armour, ii., 403
Armstrong, i., 10, 11, 14, 15, 18, 24, 51, 167, 328; ii., 26, 89, 128, 388, 417, 438
Army, American Revolutionary, i., 7, 8; in 1775, i., 9; in 1776, i., 9, 13; ii., 154; in 1777, i., 11; in 1778, i., 11, 15–22; in 1779, i., 12, 22, 23; Greene's, i., 30; desertions from, i., 8; number of troops in the, i., 3; officers of, i., 25; Southern, in 1781, i., 30
Arndt, i., 35
Arnold, i., 10, 25, 117, 141, 350
Arnott, i., 136, 534; ii., 101
Arrow, ii., 403
Artgha, i., 226, 227, 232
Arthur, i., 33, 139
Arthur, ancestry of Chester Alan, ii., 188
Arthurian Romances, i., 225, 229
Arthur, King, i., 169, 224
Arthur's twelve battles, ii., 166
Ashe, i., 15, 512, 530, 543, 594, 611
Asher, i., 53
Ashmead, i., 17, 35
Ashurst, i., 75
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church established, ii., 100, 102
Assonet, Mass., ii., 16
Atchison, Atcheson, i., 612; ii., 254, 367. *See also* Acheson

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Athanasius, ii., 162
Atkins, ii., 143
Atkinson, i., 511, 512, 530, 538, 543; ii., 98
Attecotti, i., 184, 193
Atwood, ii., 407
Avenel, ii., 386, 387
Averell, i., 532
Avery, ii., 129
Auchinleck, i., 328; ii., 256
Auchinleck Chronicle, i., 373
Auchinlose, ii., 253
Audley, i., 480, 525
Audubon, i., 180
Augustine, i., 132, 277
Augustine's mission to Britain, i., 121
Aula, i., 519
Aulaf, i., 209
Auld, i., 606; ii., 252
Austin, ii., 128, 188
Ayala, i., 403
Aylmer, i., 589
Ayres, ii., 95
Ayrshire, divisions of, i., 259; families of, ii., 440
Aytoun, i., 133; ii., 387

Babington, i., 538
Bacon, i., 16, 70; ii., 127
Baddesdown-hill, siege of, i., 276
Baddington, i., 334
Badulf, Badwulf, i., 260, 262
Bagnal, i., 476, 479, 492
Baillie, Bailey, i., 9, 12, 14, 18, 20, 51, 53, 133, 136–138, 447, 450, 508, 522, 536, 538, 551, 552, 567, 606; ii., 189, 255, 266, 318, 327, 329, 332–335, 396, 438
Bain, ii., 389, 402
Baird, i., 36, 136, 567; ii., 158, 254, 360, 363, 394. *See also* Bard *and* Beard
Baker, i., 35, 588–590, 593, 611, 612; ii., 38, 393, 419, 420
Balcanquhal, i., 431
Balch, ii., 43, 98, 126–128, 154
Baldwin, i., 9, 14, 17, 31; ii., 40, 96, 98
Balfour, i., 117, 136, 345, 419, 420, 422, 437, 458, 507, 519, 535, 550; ii., 257, 259
Baliol, Balliol, i., 335, 347–349, 352, 354, 357, 358, 366, 369, 380, 397, 398; ii., 385, 387
Ball, i., 19; ii., 56, 96, 185
Ballard, i., 18
Balliet, i., 35
Ballinacarrig castle captured, i., 598
Ballou, ii., 188
Ballymoney, i., 493
Ballyshannon, siege of, i., 598
Balmanno, ii., 391
Balmerino, i., 444
Baltzell, i., 18
Bancroft, i., 20, 78, 81, 83, 155, 437; ii., 133
Banister, i., 527
Banks, ii., 102
Bankson, i., 17
Banquo, i., 283, 341
Barber, Barbour, i., 24, 26, 51, 52, 78, 133, 136, 318, 536, 537; ii., 393
Barbour's "Brus," i., 373
Barclay, Barkley, i., 35, 49, 54, 74, 133, 137, 168, 328, 392, 393, 396, 510, 524, 551, 606; ii., 7, 306, 307, 387, 408. *See also* Berkeley
Bard, i., 36; ii., 127, 394. *See also* Baird *and* Beard
Barebone, i., 452
Bargany, ii., 325–327, 331
Barker, ii., 7, 88, 129, 393
Barnard, i., 19
Barnardiston, ii., 143
Barnes, i., 510, 524, 539; ii., 259
Barnhill, ii., 189
Barr, i., 133, 136, 496; ii., 93, 128, 438
Barrie, i., 133, 136; ii., 264
Barron, i., 50; ii., 396
Barry, i., 27, 28, 612
Bartholomew, i., 17
Barthwick, ii., 253
Bartlett, i., 20, 31; ii., 406
Barton, i., 18, 510, 540
Bassett, i., 31, 540; ii., 186
Bass Rock, i., 457
Bathgate, ii., 418
Battison, ii., 438
Battle of Ædwine's Cliff, i., 296; Ægelsthrep, i., 292; Agned, i., 224; Alamance, ii., 43; Andredesceaster, i., 293; Arddyred, i., 226, 230; ii., 166, Arkinholm, i., 402; Baddesdown-hill, i., 276; Badon, i., 224; Ballymoney, i., 493; Bannockburn, i., 371, 373, 390; Bassas, the, i., 224; Belleek, i., 597; Benburb, i., 572; ii., 369; Bennington, i., 154; Black Ironside Forest, i., 369; Blackstock, i., 29; Bothwell Bridge, i., 459; Brunanburgh, i., 209, 237; Bunker Hill, ii., 183; Cair Lion, i., 224; Calathros, i., 203; ii., 196; Camlan, i., 225; Carham, i., 210, 221, 227, 232; Carriber, i., 206; Carrum, i., 298; Catscaul, i., 270; Celidon, i., 224; Cerdicesora, i., 293; Chester, i., 213, 294; Clontarf, i., 239, 262; ii., 202, 210; Cocboy, i., 270; Conway, i., 233; Corbridge Moor, i., 231; Corrichie, i., 417; Cowpens, the, i., 29; Creganford, i., 292; Crom Castle, i., 597; Culin, i., 241; Cullen, i. 209; Culloden, ii., 34; Cymenesora, i., 292; Cymrid, i., 232; Dalry, i., 387, 455;

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Battle of (*continued*):
Degsastan, i., 203, 204, 278, 280, 293; Donemuth, i., 297; Drum Cathmail, i., 258; Drumclog, i., 458; Dubglas, i., 224; Duin Nechtan, i., 204; Dunbar, i., 451; ii., 6; Dundee, i., 207; Dunkeld, i., 464; Dunotter, i., 209; Durham, i., 398; Dyrnes, ii., 211; Eglish, i., 476; Ellendun, i., 297, Enniskillen, i., 598; Falkirk, i., 369, 379; Fedhaeoin, i., 203; ii., 195; Flodden, i., 407; Fodresach, i., 209; Fort Moosa, ii., 31; Fortrenn, i., 262; ii., 199; Frederica, ii., 31; Gafulford, i., 297; Germantown, ii., 157; Gleni, i., 224; Glenlivet, i., 429; Glinniemairison, i., 203; ii., 195; Guilford Court House, i., 30; Guinnion, i., 224; Hastings, i., 304; Heathfield, i., 294; Inverdufatha, i., 208; Inverurie, i., 388; Killiecrankie, i., 464, 580, 597; King's Mountain, i., 29; Langside, i., 422; Largs i., 355; Letterkenny, i., 576; Lisburn, i., 576; Lisnaskea, i., 599; Loch Inch, i., 206; Long Island, ii., 155; Lumphanan, i., 266; Magedauc, i., 206; Mag Rath, i., 203; Marston Moor, i., 450; Maserfield, i., 294; Methven, i., 387; Mocetauc, i., 233; Monaigh Craebi, i., 206; ii., 198; Naseby, i., 450, 571; Nechtansmere, i., 204, 231, 295; Newtown-Butler, i., 600; Pentland Firth, i. 239; Philiphaugh, i., 571; Pinkie, i., 411; Put-in-Bay, i., 54; Roslin, i., 381; Rullion Green, i., 456; Saratoga ii., 16, 56; Sauchie Burn, i., 403; Scone, i., 206; Sedgemoor, i., 461; Sheriffmuir, i., 620; Solway Moss, i., 409; Standard, the, i., 234, 242, 319, 323–326, 335; Stirling, i., 368, 378; Strathcawin, i., 204; ii., 195; Strathern, i., 210; Stuartstown, ii., 12; Thurso, i., 239; ii., 212; Torfness, i., 239; ii., 212; Tubucantee, ii., 12; Vacornar, i., 232; Whalley, i., 297; Windmill Hill, i., 589, 591; Wippedesfleot, i., 292; Worcester, i., 603; Yellow Ford, the, i., 476
Bauld, ii., 419
Bauman, i., 20
Baxter, i., 136; ii., 7, 96, 186, 393, 419
Bay, ii., 83, 85, 95
Bayard, i., 74; ii., 5
Baylop, i., 20
Baylor, i., 19
Beall, i., 18; ii., 7, 253, 368
Bealls, i., 16
Beane, i., 533
Beard, ii., 129, 370. *See also* Baird *and* Bard
Beardsley, i., 16
Beaton, Cardinal, i., 108, 147, 408; persecutes the Reformers, i., 410; slain, i., 410
Beattie, Beatty, Baty, i., 18, 133, 136, 140, 570; ii., 50, 73, 76, 79, 96, 130, 360, 362, 438
Beatty's Journal, ii., 73
Beck, i., 51, 379; ii., 254
Bede, Beda, i., 187, 189, 192, 198, 204, 205, 346
Bedford, i., 31; ii., 133
Beebe, i., 16
Beecher, i., 180
Beekman, i., 74
Begg, ii., 401
Belfield, i., 20
Belknap, i., 27
Bell, i., 50, 52, 135, 137, 166, 493, 532, 605; ii., 253, 258, 267, 394, 438
Bellenden, i., 259
Bellinger, ii., 189
Belsches, ii., 387
Bennet, i., 52, 395, 607; ii., 420, 438
Bennoch, ii, 256, 266
Benson, i., 480, 538
Benton, i., 50
Beresford, i., 611
Bergenroth, i., 403
Berkeley, Berkley, i., 70, 348, 349, 539; ii., 408. *See also* Barclay
Bernaeth, i., 215
Berry, i., 599, 605
Berwick, ii., 418
Betham, i., 188
Bethoc, i., 210, 265
Beton, i., 286. *Same as* Beaton
Betts, Captain, i., 16
Bevan, ii., 404
Beveridge, i., 51; ii., 102
Beverley Manor, Va., ii., 45
Beverly, ii., 44, 45
Bicker, i., 11, 12, 19
Bickham, i., 17
Bigelow, i., 11; ii., 188
Biggar, ii., 403, 418
Bile, i., 16
Bili, i., 198, 205, 215, 217, 226, 288
Bill of Rights, i., 42, 43
Bingley, i., 511, 539, 542
Binney, i., 137
Birchard, ii., 188
Birney, i., 50
Bishop, i., 36; ii., 253, 393, 395
Bishops's Curates, i., 456; Drag Net, i., 455; War, i., 448
Bisset, Byset, i., 286, 330, 348, 349, 353, 374, 380, 481; ii., 254
Bisset–Murray feud, i., 353
Bitchet, ii., 253

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Black, i., 35, 51, 133, 134, 430, 435, 496, 534; ii., 11, 49, 94, 127, 254, 363, 389, 419
Black Acts, the, i., 428
Blackadder, Blackater, i., 405; ii., 408
Blackburn, i., 51; ii., 409
Blackie, i., 133, 136; ii., 389, 406
Blackmantle, ii., 386
Black Oath, the, i., 563
Blackstock, ii., 408
Blackwell, i., 19
Blackwood, ii., 269, 408
Blaikie, ii., 406
Blaine, i., 50, 51
Blair, i., 32, 35, 49–52, 140, 328, 345, 375, 552, 554, 556, 559, 561, 562, 567, 578, 603–605; ii., 50, 75, 87, 95, 127, 128, 306, 346–353, 361, 362, 412
Blake, ii., 406
Blakely, i., 496
Blanchard, i., 20
Bland, i., 20
Blaney, i., 611, 612
Blantyne, i., 342
Blathmhaic, i., 235
Blaylor, i., 20
Bleecker, i., 74
Blennerhassett, i., 510, 530, 539; ii., 293
Blind Harry, i., 136, 373, 374, 377
Blodgett, i., 16
Blois, i., 333
Bloody Assizes, i., 461
Bloody Mary, i., 147, 152
Blount, i., 25, 31, 509, 528, 538
Blydenburgh, ii., 129
Blyth, ii., 397
Boden, i., 497
Bodley, i., 546
Boece, i., 283, 317, 330; ii., 386, 408
Boete MacKenneth, i., 210, 238, 265, 282
Bog, ii., 253
Bogart, ii., 189
Bogas, i., 510, 524, 539
Boggs, ii., 78
Bohn, i., 17
Bohun, i., 396
Boig, ii., 244
Boiss. *See* Boyse
Bold, ii., 419
Boleyn, ii., 167–169
Bommel, i., 15
Bonar, Bonner, i., 471; ii., 402
Bond, i., 9, 14, 17
Bondington, i., 354
Bone, i., 243
Bonshaw, ii., 259
Bonytoun, ii., 259
Boone, ii., 38
Borden's Grant, ii., 46
Border Clans, 1547–1597, ii., 438, 439
Borland, ii., 12, 13
Borlase, i., 564
Borthwick, i., 286, 330
Boston Port Bill, i., 69
Bostwick, ii., 95
Boswell, i., 133; ii., 397
Bothwell, i., 286; ii., 130
Bothwell Bridge, i., 114, 459, 461, 519
Bothwell, Earl of, i., 419–423, 425
Boulter, i., 609, 621, 622
Boulter's Letters, ii., 177
Bourchier, i., 510, 529, 541
Bouston, ii., 253
Bowe, i., 434
Bowen, i., 17; ii., 392, 404
Bower, Bowyer, Boyer, i., 17–19, 373; ii., 394
Bowmaker, i., 373; ii., 394
Bowman, i., 11, 15, ii., 396
Boyd, i., 35, 186, 327, 328, 396, 414, 426, 490, 496, 500, 507, 520, 533, 550, 605, 606; ii., 16, 17, 95, 98, 127, 128, 250, 285, 288, 306, 307, 402.
Boyds, rise and fall of the, i., 403
Boyle, i., 534, 605, 606
Boyles, i., 328
Boylston, ii., 186
Boyse, Boys, Boice, i., 348, 349, 602; ii., 130, 408
Brabazon, Brabson, i., 611, 612; ii., 313
Braddock, i., 66; ii., 30
Bradford, i., 11, 15, 20, 104; ii., 128
Bradley, i., 11, 16, 525
Bradner, ii., 15
Brady, i., 50
Braine, ii., 7
Brainerd, ii., 95
Braizier, Brashear, i., 53, 611, 612
Bramhall, i., 561, 562
Brand, ii., 393
Brander, ii., 393
Brandon, ii., 39
Brant, i., 137
Brantome, i., 417
Braosa, i., 351
Bratton, i., 17, 29
Braxton, i., 31
Breading, i., 36
Brearley, i., 10, 31
Brechin, i., 274, 344, 354, 374, 391
Breckenridge, i., 51; ii., 129, 252
Bred, i., 190, 245
Breed, i., 47
Breidei II., i., 190
Brereton, i., 472, 555
Bretagne, i., 30
Brewer, i., 9, 20; ii., 393
Brewster, ii., 393

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Brian, ii., 5
Brice, i., 18, 51, 286, 562, 578; ii., 88, 93, 253, 350. *See also* Bryce
Bridge, i., 537; ii., 188
Bridius, i., 121, 189
Brienne, i., 354
Brigantes, i., 185
Briggs, i., 48
Brigham, i., 16
Brisbane, i., 328
Briscoe, i., 19
Britain, Christianity in early, ii., 162
British Constitution, i., 130; Solomon, i., 559
Britons, the, i., 224; of Strathclyde, i., 234, 260
Broadhurst, i., 540
Broadstreet, i., 98
Brock, ii., 395
Broderick, i., 15, 618
Brodhead, i., 11
Brodie, Broady, i., 328; ii., 411
Bromfield, ii., 438
Brooke, i., 511, 524, 542, 611, 612
Brooks, i., 18; ii., 128
Broom, i., 32
Brotherton, ii., 79
Brown, i., 16, 19, 20, 36, 143, 145, 166, 391, 469, 508, 511, 522, 524, 532, 534, 536, 542, 605, 607; ii., 40, 72, 78, 87, 91, 94, 96, 98, 253–255, 257, 264, 389, 419, 420, 438, 439
Brown, martyrdom of John, i., 462
Browning, i., 596
Brownlee, ii., 252
Brownlow, i., 51, 132, 509, 526, 537
Bruce, i., 18, 134, 137–139, 141, 169, 257, 319, 327, 328, 335, 346, 348, 349, 351, 352, 354, 358, 368, 370–372, 374–377, 379, 386, 387, 389, 391, 393, 394, 396, 398, 428, 606; ii., 186, 256, 265, 267, 268, 385, 387, 398, 415
Bruce, Robert, birth of, i., 356; his league with Comyn, i., 384; his rise, i., 384; his title to the crown, i., 352; his trials, i., 387
Brude, Brudei, Bruidi, i., 197, 198, 205–207, 215–217, 287
Brum, i., 533
Brunning, ii., 269
Brus II., Robert, i., 355, 357
Brush, ii., 95
Brusi, i., 239, 248, 249
Brut y Tywysogion, i., 317
Bryan, i., 138
Bryant, i., 98, 180
Bryce, i., 134, 140, 534; ii., 11, 254, 255, 269. *See also* Brice
Bryson, i., 496
Brythons, i., 185, 194
Buchan, ii., 253, 257, 259, 387, 411
Buchanan, i., 17, 33, 50, 51, 133, 139, 143, 242, 259, 317, 424, 605; ii., 11, 71, 72, 169–171, 190, 253, 254, 411, 436
Buchanan, ancestry of James, ii., 187
Buckland, i., 535
Buckle, i., 105–107, 109, 110, 117; ii., 253
Buckle, Henry Thomas, and the Scottish Kirk, i., 105
Buckner, i., 10, 11, 14
Buel, ii., 96
Buellan, Annals of, ii., 193
Buford, i., 12, 13
Buiening, ii., 255
Bull, i., 9, 11, 35; ii., 419
Bullied, i., 191
Bulloch, i., 33, 49, 54; ii., 189, 419
Buncombe, i., 10, 11, 14
Bunner, i., 18
Bunton, ii., 262
Burbank, i., 20
Burbeck, i., 20
Burd, i., 17
Burden, i., 135; ii., 153
Burgess, i., 18, 496; ii., 306
Burgoyne, ii., 157
Burke, i., 27, 102
Burleigh, Burley, i., 519, 531; ii., 307
Burn, ii., 271
Burnam, i., 20
Burnet, i., 49, 119, 139; ii., 10, 128, 190, 387, 416, 438, 439
Burneville, i., 351
Burnhead, ii., 438
Burns, i., 102, 103, 133, 136, 137, 169, 497; ii., 98, 398, 403, 438
Burnside, i., 51
Burr, i., 15; ii., 20
Burret, ii., 127
Burrie, ii., 257
Burroughs, Burrows, i., 15; ii., 99
Burton, i., 133, 188, 196; ii., 99, 128
Burwell, ii., 186
Busby, i., 496
Bushel, ii., 146
Busse, i., 19
Butchard, ii., 393
Butcher, ii., 393
Butler, i., 11, 12, 17, 30, 32, 51, 54, 495, 508, 510, 528, 535, 540, 571, 791; ii., 56, 133, 185, 385, 392
Butt, i., 144
Buttle, i., 570, 605, 606; ii., 368, 369
Byas, i., 540
Byers, i., 164
Byllinge, ii., 7
Byrd, i., 103
Byron, i., 133
Bywood, ii., 407

Cadroe, i., 234
Cadwallader, i., 10, 11, 14, 25, 49

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Caffery, i., 51
Caine, i., 133
Cairbre Riadhi, i., 202
Caird, i., 135
Cairncross, Carncross, ii., 414, 438
Cairnduff, ii., 252
Cairnie, ii., 413. *See also* Carnie
Cairns, i., 134, 144, 583, 585, 603, 618; ii., 254, 413
Calder, i., 285
Calderwood, i., 550, 555; ii., 408
Caldow, ii., 254
Caldwell, i., 51, 54, 102, 328, 534, 607; ii., 43, 47, 48, 61, 97, 127, 253, 397
Caledonians, i., 186
Calhoun, i., 17, 50, 51, 54, 102, 143, 180, 611; ii., 30, 48. *See also* Colquhoun
Call, i., 20, 51
Callender, Callander, Callendar, ii., 9, 418
Calvert, i., 510, 524, 531, 539, 562. *See also* Colwort
Cally, i., 496
Calpurnius, ii., 164
Calvin, i., 166
Camden, ii., 384, 385, 392
Cameron, i., 51, 84, 102, 113, 114, 460; ii., 58, 59, 237, 248, 253, 263, 392, 417–419, 421, 437
Cammynge, i., 541
Campbell, i., 24, 29, 35, 44, 49–52, 80, 84, 86, 94, 133, 135–139, 166, 243, 286, 345, 396, 405, 412, 443, 492, 496, 555, 556, 599, 604–606; ii., 8, 9, 12, 34, 37, 51, 53, 55, 58, 79, 95, 97, 189, 190, 253, 274, 387, 392, 400, 417, 419, 420, 437, 438
Campian, i., 151
Campsie, i., 583, 611; ii., 418
Canada, Scots in, ii., 57
Canadian Regiments, i., 14
Candida Casa, i., 120, 192, 231, 240, 258, 260, 262
Canning, i., 134, 144, 611
Cannon, i., 51, 464
Capel, i., 616
Cardross, ii., 9
Carey, Cary, i., 46, 611, 612; ii., 314
Carew, i., 522, 530
Cargill, i., 113–115, 285, 457, 460; ii., 237, 244, 248
Carleton, i., 11, 12, 145
Carlyle, Carlisle, i., 51, 102, 103, 133, 136 ii., 438
Carmichael, i., 437, 458; ii., 95, 312
Carnahan, ii., 81, 91
Carncross, *See* Cairncross
Carnegie, i., 52, 135; ii., 414
Carnie, Carney, ii., 413. *See also* Cairnie
Carnwath, ii., 253, 414
Carolina, Pennsylvania emigrants in, ii., 29; Scots in, ii., 9
Carpenter, ii., 393
Carr, i., 16, 496, 605, 606; ii., 402. *See also* Kerr
Carragh, i., 480
Carrick, i., 240, 344; ii., 127
Carriston, ii., 396
Carroll, i., 27, 31, 32
Carruth, ii., 39
Carruthers, i., 532; ii., 260, 438, 439
Carse, ii., 439
Carson, i., 50, 144, 496. *See also* Acarson
Carte, i., 607
Carter, i., 20; ii., 45, 186, 396, 420
Carth, i., 530
Cartwright, ii., 393
Carvewood, ii., 407
Carwood, ii., 408
Case, ii., 23, 127
Cashan, ii., 285
Casket Letters, the, i., 422
Cassatt, i., 135
Cassils, ii., 255
Castledine, i., 540
Castlereagh, i., 134, 144
Caswell, i., 32
Cathasao, i., 241
Cathcart, i., 328, 536, 605, 606
Cather, ii., 402
Catherall i., 538
Catherine, i., 146, 151
Catherwood, i., 496, 604, 605; ii., 288, 306
Cathey, ii., 40
Catlett, ii., 186
Catlin, i., 16
Catron, i., 52
Cattenach, ii., 58
Caulfield, i., 511, 527, 529, 541, 565, 611
Cavaliers, ii., 1
Cavan, i., 508, 510, 512, 521; in 1611, i, 521, 528, 529; in 1619, i., 536, 540, 543
Cavendish, i., 152
Cavett, ii., 83
Ceawlin, i., 213
Celts, Prehistoric, i., 182, 183, 191
Chadwick, i., 20
Chalmers, i., 50, 136, 188, 196, 241, 244, 405, 412, 414, 496; ii., 252, 385, 391, 396, 403
Chamberlain, Chamberlayne, Chamberlyn, i., 69; ii., 396, 403
Chambers, i., 11, 17, 35, 401, 536; ii., 396, 403
Chancellor, ii., 396
Chandler, i., 11, 12; ii., 4, 188
Channing, i., 180
Chapin, ii., 186

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Chaplin, i., 53
Chapman, i., 16, 53; ii., 128, 189, 393
Chapuys, ii., 167
Charles I., i., 42, 118, 150, 439; execution of, i., 450
Charles II., i., 111–113, 117, 118, 417, 461
Charles the Martyr, i., 450
Charleton, i., 597
Charter, ii., 259
Charteris, ii., 438
Chase, i., 31, 51, 52, 77, 93, 138; ii., 18
Chastelard, i., 418
Chaucer, ii., 403
Cheape, ii., 393
Cherry, i., 53
Cherry Valley destroyed by the Indians, ii., 56
Chesman, i., 540
Chesney, i., 143
Chestnut, ii., 96
Chevalier, ii., 5
Cheyne, ii., 402
Cheyney, Chiney, i., 35, 524
Chichester, i., 153, 484–486, 491, 492, 503, 505, 511, 518, 522, 529, 530, 541, 542, 546, 550, 557, 607; ii., 182, 295, 363
Chien, ii., 402
Childs, Chiles, i., 16, 20; ii., 187
Chirnside, ii., 438
Chisholm, ii., 58, 59, 387, 437, 438
Choate, i., 180
Christie, Christy, i., 17; ii., 406
Christison, ii., 253
Church, i., 9, 611; ii., 393
Churchill, i., 598; ii., 186, 386
Cilley, i., 11, 16
Cinel Gabhran, i., 204
Cinel Loarne, i., 204, 217
Cinioch, i., 189
Ciniod, i., 207
Ciric, i., 208, 219, 227
Clachan of Dalry, i., 455, 559
Claggett, i., 18
Clan Appellatives, ii., 439
Clanbrassill, ii., 318–339
Clancarty, i., 592
Clannaboy, Claneboy, i., 134; ii., 310–314
Clans, Border and Lowland, in 1547–1597, ii., 438, 439; in 1587 and 1594, Highland, ii., 436–438; rising of the, ii., 34
Clapen, i., 533
Clapham, i., 394
Clare, i., 509
Clarendon, ii., 389
Clark, Clerk, Clarke, i., 11, 15, 19, 20, 24, 30, 31, 50, 51, 53, 102, 138, 144, 496, 533, 540, 604; ii., 30, 33, 38, 51, 52, 54, 55, 92, 95, 97, 101, 127, 129, 130, 251, 252, 254, 393, 404, 418–420
Clarkson, ii., 101
Claverhouse, Graham of, i., 458, 464. *See also* Graham
Clay, i., 16, 54, 99, 180
Clegge, i., 525
Cleland, i., 458, 464, 496
Clement, i., 354; ii., 15, 258, 268
Clendennin, *See* Glendenning
Cleveland, i., 20, 29, 33
Cleveland, ancestry of Stephen Grover, ii., 188
Clifford, ii., 385
Clinton, i., 9, 10, 14, 24, 32, 332; ii., 50
Close, ii., 127
Clotworthy, i., 452, 550, 554, 565, 567, 568, 577, 604
Cluxton, i., 604
Clyde, ii., 72, 271, 409
Clydesdale, ii., 409
Clymer, i., 31, 32
Cnut, i., 221, 223, 302
Coach, i., 510, 524
Coates, i., 539; ii., 67
Cobb, i., 51
Cochran, Cochrane, i., 328; ii., 9, 71, 250, 252, 416
Cockburn, i., 285; ii., 9, 403, 438
Cockins, i., 512, 611
Cockrell, Cockerill, i., 51, 52
Cody, ii., 398
Coel Hen, i., 228–230
Cofyn, i., 536
Coghill, i., 609
Cogswell, i., 20, 535
Coilus, i., 259
Coke, i., 563; ii., 145
Colban, i., 332
Colby, ii., 100
Colden, ii., 184
Cole, i., 508, 511, 524, 536, 543, 612; ii, 367
Coleman, i., 15, 35, 75, 124–126
Coleraine, in 1586, i., 478; in 1611, i., 522
Coleville, i., 349
Colewell, i., 534. *See* Caldwell
Colin MacIndulf, i., 210
Coline, ii., 254
Collie, ii., 419
Collis, i., 532
Collison, i., 137
Collock, i., 605
Colme, Culme, i., 512, 530, 543
Colquhoun, i., 328, 507, 512, 533, 534; ii., 437. *See also* Calhoun
Colston, i., 19
Colt, i., 437, 532
Coltart, ii., 402
Coltherd, ii., 402

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Coltman, ii., 402
Colton, i., 9
Coltran, ii., 402
Columba, i., 121, 175, 192, 205, 218, 226, 240, 319; ii., 194
Columba's mission to Scotland, i., 120
Colville, i., 327, 349; ii., 254, 307
Colwort, i., 578; ii., 350. *See also* Calvert
Combs, i., 15
Comgall, i., 203
Commander, ii., 26
COMPROMISES, Connecticut, i., 34; English, i., 130; New England, i., 44
Comstock, i., 16
Comyn, i., 328, 354, 356, 369, 370, 374, 376, 379, 381–386, 388, 396
Comyn, John, Guardian of Scotland, i. 374, 375, 380, 396
Comyns, rise of the, i., 354
Conadh Cerr, i., 203
Conall, i., 190, 203
Conal MacTeige, i., 216
Conant, ii., 99
Condict, ii., 127
Condon, i., 27
CONESTOGA Indians, i., 26, 61; Manor, ii., 63; murder of, i., 60
Confession of Faith ratified, i., 426
Congress, Continental, composition of, i., 31
Conkey, ii., 54
Conn, ii., 15, 47
CONNECTICUT, i, 3, 9, 11, 12,, 16, 21, 23, 26; Compromise, i., 34; Presbyterians imprisoned in, i., 93; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 22
Connell, i., 534
Connelly, i., 17, 84
Connor, i., 12
Constable, ii., 396
Constantine, i., 188, 190, 207–210, 220, 226, 232, 233, 237, 260, 262, 272; ii., 162, 163
Constantine II., i., 227
Constantine MacFergus, i., 216
CONSTITUTION, American, i., 37, 40, 43; Dutch influences in the, i., 44; evolution of, i., 45
Constitution, British, i., 37
CONSTITUTIONAL Convention of 1787, ii., 133; membership of, i., 31
CONTINENTAL enlistments, i., 6; line Regiments in 1776, i., 13
Conventicles, i., 454
Converse, i., 16
Conway, i., 19, 25, 492, 550; ii., 186, 293
Cook, i., 10, 11, 17, 144, 510, 529; ii., 90, 254, 257, 263, 391, 393, 420
Cookson, ii., 42
Cooper, i., 20, 52, 79, 84, 135, 180, 606; ii., 81, 86, 127, 253, 393, 418, 420
Coote, i., 452, 575, 611
Cope, i., 509, 525, 526, 537, 538
Copeland, ii., 6
Copp, i., 16
Corbett, Corbet, i., 51, 351, 374, 496; ii., 403
Corboil, i., 333
Cormick, i., 604
Cornbury, i., 75, 76; ii., 150
Cornwall, i., 510, 524, 528, 539, 606; ii., 57, 129, 362, 389
Cornwallis, i., 89, 155
Corry, Cory, i., 582, 601. *See also* Curry
Corsan, ii., 254
Corston, i., 604
Cortland, i., 16
Corwin, i., 51; ii., 190. *See also* Curwin
Cosby, i., 71; ii., 51
Cospatric, i., 330
Cossan, ii., 128
Costello, ii., 397
Cotton, i., 97, 98, 104, 110, 290
Coulson, i., 533
Coulter, Colter, i., 496; ii., 402
Coulthart, Coulthard, Coltart, ii., 402
Coulthurst, Colthurst, ii., 402
Coultram, Coultran, ii., 402
Countess of Drogheda, ii., 326
Court of High Commission, i., 455
Courtiouse, i., 532
Couston, ii., 254
COVENANT, burned, ii., 243; of the Scotch nobles, i., 108; renewal of the, i., 445; ii., 40; renounced, i., 152; Solemn League and, i., 449; taken in Ulster, i., 569;
Covenanter Church, ii., 101
Covenanters at Dunse Law, i., 447
Cowan, i., 51, 135, 605, 611, 612; ii., 394
Cowell, ii., 95, 137
Cowie, ii., 389, 390
Cowman, ii., 65
Cowsingham, i., 612
Cowtard, i., 521
Cowties, i., 605
Cox, i., 18, 452
Craig, i., 11, 17, 426, 496, 506, 508, 521, 532, 536; ii., 49, 70, 85, 94, 252, 256, 257, 395, 397
Craighead, i., 89, 103, 155, 607; ii., 16, 40, 42, 43, 86, 94, 128
Craighead's views on civil government, ii., 41
Craigie, ii., 259
Cramer, i., 18
Crampton, ii., 188
Crane, i., 20

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Cranmer, i., 147, 151, 168; ii., 403
Cranstoun, i., 328, 536; ii., 403, 438, 439
Craw, ii., 395, 419, 438
Crawford, i., 10, 11, 14, 50, 51, 137, 138, 145, 167, 328, 497, 500, 511, 519, 533, 536, 542, 549, 604, 606; ii., 82, 83, 127, 307, 387, 410
Cree, ii., 102
Creighton, i., 496, 522. *See also* Crichton
Crerar, i., 52
Cressingham, i., 368, 378
Creswell, ii., 127
Crichton, i., 330, 402, 508, 535, 597; ii., 438, 439. *See also* Creighton
Crinan, i., 210, 265, 284
Crocker, i., 610
Crockett, i., 50, 53, 86, 133
Crofton, i., 590, 602, 612
Croghan, i., 19
Croke, i., 151
Crom Castle, siege of, i., 597
Cromer, i., 469
Cromie, i., 592, 605
Crommelin, ii., 273
Cromwell, i., 111, 153, 451, 452, 568, 574, 577, 579; ii., 6
Cromwell in Ireland, i., 576
Crooks, i., 606
Crookshank, Crookshanks, Cruikshank, i., 134, 456, 583, 607, 610–612; ii., 271, 386
Cropper, i., 19
Crosby, i., 533; ii., 438
Croser, ii., 438
Croskery, i., 153
Cross, ii., 15, 47, 96
Crow, ii., 403, 419
Crownover, ii., 77
Crozier, i., 143
Cruger, i., 74
Crump, i., 19
Cruise, i., 17
Cruithne, Cruithnigh, i., 197, 241
Crymble, ii., 307
Cuilean, Culen, i., 209, 227, 232
Cuilra, i., 285
Culberson, i., 51. *See also* Cuthbertson
Culdees, the, i., 132, 344
Cullen, i., 89
Culloden, i., 27
Cullom, i., 51. *See also* Colme
Culpeper, ii., 44
CUMBERLAND, i., 231, 314; ceded to Malcolm, i., 300
Cumberland Valley, ii., 64
Cumbri, the term, i., 231
Cumbria, extent of, i., 234. *See also* Cymri
Cumming, i., 496, 581, 606; ii., 95, 127, 128, 161, 408
Cummings, i., 18
Cunedda, i., 200, 228, 270
Cuninghame, i., 240, 243
Cunningham, i., 18, 84, 102, 118, 327, 328, 346, 412, 413, 500, 504, 507, 519, 534–536, 554, 562, 567, 574, 578, 583, 586, 589, 595, 603, 605–607, 610; ii., 11, 253, 254, 274–279, 306, 307, 349, 350, 360, 366, 369, 370, 387, 439
Currier, ii., 393
Curry, i., 612; ii., 253, 261, 393. *See also* Corry
Curwin, i., 470, 471. *See also* Corwin
Cuthbert, i., 254, 604
Cuthbertson, i., 536; ii., 55, 70, 100, 253. *See also* Culberson
Cuthil, ii., 246
Cymri, i., 246
Cymri, country of the, i., 212. *See also* Cumbria

Dadrest, i., 189
D'Ailly, ii., 171
Dale, i., 50
Dalgleish, i., 422; ii., 12, 438
Dallas, i., 51; ii., 409
Dalreudins, i., 272
Dalrymple, ii., 97, 408
Dalziel, Dalzell, Dalyell, i., 114, 455, 569; ii., 256, 259, 266, 272, 364, 386, 410
Damnonii, i., 185
Dandridge, i., 20
Dangerfield, i., 10
Daniel, i., 52
Danielson, i., 9
Darby, i., 20; ii., 95
Darien Enterprise, the, ii., 12
Daring, i., 53
DARNLEY, i., 417, 419; murder of, i., 420
Darrow, i., 16
Dartmouth, i., 83
Dasent, i., 248
Davenport, ii., 129
David I., i., 132, 234, 246, 316, 318, 319, 321, 322, 324, 326, 327, 332–336, 339, 342, 344, 345, 347, 351
David II., i., 398
David, Earl of Huntingdon, i., 340, 352, 355
Davidson, Davison, i., 18, 24, 145, 496, 532, 537; ii., 39, 97, 128, 391, 419, 438
Davie, Davy, i., 32; ii., 391
Davis, Davies, Davys, i., 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 25, 50–52, 139, 509, 511, 525, 528, 538, 539, 541, 542, 589; ii., 14, 15, 94, 129, 420
Dawson, i., 612
Day, i., 78, 539
Dayton, i., 10, 11, 14, 18, 24, 32
Deans, i., 532, 537; ii., 254

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Deaver, i., 18
DeBarre, i., 25
DeBarres, i., 380
DeBelassize, ii., 387
DeBerkelai, ii., 385
DeBois, ii., 397
DeBow, ii., 39, 127
Declaration of Indulgence, i., 462
DeComines, i., 68
DeCoucy, De Couci, i., 335, 352
DeCoudray, i., 25
Deeming, ii., 128
DeFermoy, i., 25
DeGray, ii., 154
DeHaas, i., 10, 11, 14, 25
Deinbane, i., 536
DeKalb, i., 24
Delacherois, ii., 273
DeLancey, i., 73, 74; ii., 54
Delano, ii., 188
Delaroche, ii., 397
DELAWARE, i., 4, 10–12, 15, 21, 23, 26; Colonial Governors of, i., 49; line, i., 14
DeMeyners, i., 354
DeMontealto, ii., 387
DeMontefixo, ii., 387
DeMoravia, ii., 387
DeMorville, i., 243, 346, 347, 351; ii., 385, 387
DeMoubray, i., 335
DeMuncy, i., 380
Dempster, i., 139; ii., 396
Dennis, i., 19
Dennistoun, i., 328
Denny, ii., 39
DeNormanville, ii., 387
Dent, i., 18
DePercy, i., 326, 335, 351
Depew, i., 51
DeQuinci, ii., 385
Derili, i., 205
DERRY, i., 474, 523; in 1611, i., 523; siege of, i., 583–596; sufferings of the garrison, i., 594; relieved, i., 596. *See also* Londonderry
Derupe, ii., 397
Dervergoyll, i., 352
Deshler, i., 35
Despenser, i., 393
DeSulis, ii., 387
DeUmphraville, i., 347, 351; ii., 385
DeVallibus, ii., 387
DeVaus, DeVaux, ii., 385, 387. *See* Vaus and Vans
DeVeaux, i., 54; ii., 189
DeVere, ii., 385, 387
DeVesci, ii., 387
DeVipont, ii., 385, 387
Dewar, ii., 393
DeWarrenne, ii., 396
Dewart, i., 606
DeWoedtke, i., 25
Dexter, i., 17
Dibble, ii., 188
Dicalidones, i., 187
Dick, ii., 10; ii., 238, 263, 370, 391
Dickens, ii., 40, 391, 406
Dickie, ii., 391, 406
Dickinson, i., 25, 32–34, 68, 539; ii., 15, 47, 391
Dickson, i., 29, 445, 497; ii., 40, 391, 416, 438, 439. *See also* Dixon
Diet of Spires, i., 109
Dillon, i., 509, 527, 537
Dinwiddie, Dunwoody, i., 49, 496, 497; ii., 71, 438
Diodorus Siculus, i., 193
Dion Cassius, i., 186, 189
Diviciacos, i., 194
Divine right of kings, ii., 169
Dix, i., 20
Dixie, i., 597
Dixon, i., 15, 51. *See also* Dickson
Doak, Doke, i., 604; ii., 127
Dobbin, i., 51, 603–605; ii., 100, 282
Dobbs, i., 609
Dobery, i., 394
Dobson, i., 18
Dodd, ii., 92, 128
Doddington, i., 523, 541
Doewra, i., 523
Doig, ii., 395, 402
Domangart, i., 203
Domnaldus, i., 221
Domnall, Domhnaill, i., 207, 215, 227
Domnall Brecc, i., 198, 203–205, 213, 215, 226
Domnall MacAed, i., 203
Domnall MacAvin, i., 226
Don, ii., 409
Donald, i., 208, 209, 222, 227, 233, 234
Donald Bane, i., 321, 322, 339
Donald of the Isles, i., 389
Donaldson, Donelson, i., 138, 457, 604, 605; ii., 39, 253, 254
Doncorcin, i., 216
DONEGAL, i., 475, 507, 509, 511, 518, 519; in 1586, i., 477; in 1611, i., 518, 524; in 1619, i., 533, 535, 538, 542
Donegal, Marquis of, i., 153
Donnel, i., 20; ii., 128
Doolittle, i., 9
Dormont, ii., 307
Dorrance, ii., 22, 23, 97
Dorsey, i., 18
Dougal, Dugal, ii., 128, 255
Dougherty, ii., 75
Doughty, i., 20
Douglas, Douglass, i., 11, 24, 51, 108, 136, 319, 328, 367, 374, 390, 393, 395–397, 402, 408, 412, 418, 421, 424, 506,

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Douglas (*continued*):
521, 522, 532, 606; ii., 9, 83, 189, 249, 253–257, 259, 266–268, 271, 274, 386, 400, 409, 411, 414, 418, 438, 439
Douglasses, power of the, i., 402
Dove, i., 15; ii., 419
Dow, ii., 389, 402, 419
Dowart, ii., 11
Dowglesson, i., 604
Down in 1586, i., 479; Scottish Plantation of, i., 486
Downing, i., 35, 611
Doyle, i., 17, 51, 96
Draffin, ii., 253
Drew, i., 16, 20
Drips, ii., 253
Druids, i., 120
Drummond, i., 49, 70, 133, 328, 374, 507, 520, 533, 607; ii., 7, 8, 257, 269, 272, 369, 437
Drust, Druxst, Drost, Drest, i., 189, 190, 197, 205–207, 216
Drysdale, i., 570, 606; ii., 360, 362
Duan, i., 244
Duane, i., 77
Dubhgaill, i., 235
Dubois, i., 10, 11, 12, 14, 103; ii., 54
Dubourdieu, i., 482
Duddingston, i., 346; ii., 396
Dudley, i., 19, 103
Duer, i., 77
Dufenal, i., 331
Duff, i., 209; ii., 49, 389, 402
Dufferin, i., 134, 143
Duffield, ii., 73, 94
Duffy, i., 144
Dumbarton, i., 230
Dunbar, i., 133, 136, 242, 328, 357, 496, 500, 507–509, 519, 520, 522, 531, 535, 536, 553, 554, 561, 578, 605, 606; ii., 24, 31, 253, 350, 387
Duncan, i., 210, 211, 227, 239, 255, 262, 265, 283, 284, 286, 317, 318, 322, 331, 339, 340, 347, 351; ii., 418, 419
Duncan II., i., 342
Duncan, Earl of Fife, i., 356
Duncan mac Crinain, ii., 203
Dundas, i., 285, 328, 605; ii., 387
Dunfranville, i., 347
Dungal, i., 205
Dungadr, i., 237
Dunham, i., 20; ii., 127
Dunlop, Dunlap, Delap, i., 77, 84, 143, 328, 496, 605, 607; ii., 9, 11, 49, 56, 92, 97, 127, 408
Dunmore, i., 49
Dunn, i., 534; ii., 256, 258
Duns, ii., 438
Dunsayer, i., 534
Dunwallawn, i., 221, 232
Dunwoodie, Dunwoody, Dinwiddie, etc. i., 49, 496, 497; ii., 71, 438
DuPortail, i., 24
Durkee, i., 10, 11, 14, 16
Durnam, i., 481
Durward, i., 344, 354; ii., 396
Dutch, the, in Colonial America, i., 81; ii., 2
Dutton, i., 535
Duval, i., 52

Eachaidh, i., 205, 206
Eadberht, i., 206, 226, 231, 240, 259, 260, 288
Eadfered Flesaurs, i., 226
Eadgar, i., 223, 351
Eadmund, i., 210, 220, 221, 232–234, 260, 262, 300
Eadred, i., 220, 223
Eads, i., 180
Eadulf Cudel, i., 221, 222, 363
Eadward the Elder, i., 223, 260, 298, 359
Eadwulf, i., 220, 223
Eagle, ii., 263, 395
Eagle's Wing, the, i., 102, 563
Eakin, ii., 127
Ealdred, i., 209, 237
Eanfred. *See* Ainfrait Eardulf, i., 231
Easton, ii., 253
Eaton, i., 30
Ebusa, i., 224
Eccles, i., 604; ii., 253
Eccleston, i., 18
Ecgbryht, i., 226, 236
Ecgfrith, i., 204, 215, 220, 226, 231, 233; ii., 196
Echlin, i., 166, 552, 561, 562; ii., 307, 351
Eddens, i., 20
Eddleston, Edilston, i., 346; ii., 396
Edgar, i., 36, 318, 321; ii., 254, 256, 266, 322, 438
Edgar Ætheling, i., 266, 320, 322
Edie, ii., 406
Edison, i., 52, 135
Edmonds, ii., 128
Edmonstone, Edmeston, Edminston, Edmundson, etc., i., 168, 346, 533, 604, 620; ii., 127, 306, 307, 397, 414, 438
Edmund, i., 321
Edney, i., 509, 525, 537
Edsell, i., 15
Edward, i., 332
Edward I., i., 245, 265, 319, 328, 355, 356, 358, 359, 366–370, 385, 388, 395; claims sovereignty over Scotland, i., 357; subdues Scotland, i., 367
Edward II., i., 357, 383, 388, 391, 392, 396
Edward III., i., 393, 399

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Edward VI., i., 411, 470
Edwards, i., 35, 180; ii., 30, 254, 405, 420
Edwin, i., 213
Eells, ii., 24
Egerston, ii., 438
Egle, i., 79, 80, 155
Eglintoun, i., 328; ii., 274
Eglisham, i., 380
Egmont, i., 103
Einar, i., 239, 248
Ekkielsbakkie, i., 248
Ekyn, i., 534
Elbert, i., 11, 14, 25
Elder, i., 26, 61; ii., 94
Elizabeth, i., 147, 152; ii., 168, 170; Catholics persecuted by, i., 151
Elkins, i., 51
Ellam, ii., 438
Ellery, i., 31
Elliott, Eliot, i., 10, 11, 14, 36, 52, 85, 135, 512, 532, 536, 543; ii., 75, 77, 84, 98, 254, 388, 417, 438
Ellis, i., 16, 97, 511, 542, 550, 605; ii., 185
Ellsworth, i., 16, 32; ii., 134
Ellyson, ii., 187
Elmer, ii., 95
Elphinstone, i., 346; ii., 403, 438, 439
Elton, i., 193
Eltonhead, ii., 186
Elwood, ii., 438
Ely, i., 16
Embree, i., 99
Emerson, i., 16, 174, 180
Emigration from Scotland and Ulster, ii., 6. *See also* Ireland *and* Ulster
Emory, i., 18
Endicott, i., 103
Engaine, i., 351
England, class distinctions in, i., 91; the Reformation in, i., 109
Englis, i., 15. *See also* Inglis
English Chronicle, i., 289–315; Church, i., 148; Church in Ireland, i., 562; claims, i., 359; compromises, i., 130; conquest of Britain, i., 275, 286, 309–311
Enniskillen, i., 524, 579; in 1611, i., 524; list of citizens in 1689, i., 613; men of, i., 141, 597
Eocha, i., 208, 227, 232, 233
Eocha Buidhe, i., 203
Eochaidh, i., 205, 206
Eogan, i., 222, 248
Eoganan, i., 190, 207, 216, 236
Eoppa, i. 225
Episcopacy and the Revolution, i., 77
Epple, i., 17
Erasmus, ii., 397
Erc, the sons of, i., 199, 202
Ergaedia, i., 344
Eric, i., 237
Eric of Norway, i., 355–357
Ericsson, i., 52, 135
Erskine, i., 108, 139, 328, 411, 412, 424, 425, 457, 496; ii., 9, 54, 274, 275, 307
Erwin, i., 49, 605; ii., 82–84. *See also* Irwin, Irvine, Irving
Eugein, i., 198, 215
Eugenius, i., 221
Eumenius, i., 187, 188, 199
Eustace, i., 20, 322
Evans, ii., 15, 40, 61, 129, 420
Everett, i., 99
Ewart, i., 538, 605
Ewell, i., 19
Ewer, ii., 98
Ewing, i., 18, 24, 51; ii., 95
Executions of Protestants in Bloody Mary's reign, i., 152; of Catholics in Elizabeth's reign, i., 151

Fairbairn, ii., 306, 402
Fairborn, i., 605
Fairchild, ii., 189
Fairfax, i., 525; ii., 44, 45
Fairfax Grant, the, ii., 44
Fairfowl, Fairfoul, i., 454; ii., 403
Fairgrieve, ii., 396
Fairlie, i., 328
Fair Maid of Galloway, i., 402
Faitoute, ii., 127
Falconer, ii., 396
Falley, ii., 189
Family feuds, i., 61
Farchar Fata, i., 205
Farie, Farrie, ii., 247, 404. *See also* Ferrie
Farlie, ii., 334
Farmer, ii., 396
Farnadis, i., 18
Farnum, i., 20
Farquhar, i., 133, 145; ii., 390
Farquharson, ii., 437
Farr, ii., 418
Farragut, i., 180
Fauntleroy, i., 19
Febiger, i., 12, 18
Federalist, i., 40, 43
Felix, i., 124
Fellows, i., 9, 25
Fenton, i., 605
Fergus, i., 206; ii., 73
Fergus, Lord of Galloway, i., 169, 250, 258, 263, 329, 337, 339, 349, 350, 351
Fergus Mor Mac Erc, i., 202, 203, 212, 213, 243, 261; ii., 194
Fergushill, i., 328; ii., 270
Ferguson, i., 84, 136, 145, 496, 532, 570, 577, 604; ii., 9, 254–257, 268, 334, 368, 369, 419, 437, 439

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Fermanagh, i., 475, 507, 510, 511, 519, 524; in 1586, i., 477; in 1611, i., 520, 524, 529; in 1619, i., 535, 539, 542, 543
Ferrer, i., 335
Ferrie, Ferrey, ii., 404. *See also* Farie
Fettiplace, i., 512, 530, 543
Few, i., 32
Fiddison, ii., 255, 269
Field, i., 471
Fields, i., 53
Fife, ii., 418
Fillmore, i., 33
Fillmore, ancestry of Millard, ii., 187
Finch, i., 16; ii., 419
Findlaec mac Ruaidhri, i., 203, 222, 238
Findlater, ii., 390
Fingall, i., 235
Finlayson, ii., 253
Finley, Finlay, Findley, i., 35, 36, 50, 93, 140, 143, 211, 239, 537; ii., 24, 38, 79, 80, 86, 95, 128, 237, 247, 253, 334
Fish, i., 510, 528, 540; ii., 128, 419
Fishburn, i., 17
Fisher, Fischer, i., 45, 604, 611, ii., 168, 396, 403
Fiske, i., 37, 40, 44, 117
Fitch, i., 16
Fithian, ii., 76, 129
Fithian's Journal, ii., 77
Fitton, ii., 339
Fitz-Alan, i., 343, 346; ii., 385, 396
Fitzgerald, ii., 20, 97, 385
Fitz-Gilbert, ii., 386, 397, 405, 413
Fitz-Hamon, ii., 385, 405
Fitz-John, i., 334
Fitzsimmons, i., 32, 480
Fitz-Walter, i., 343, 351; ii., 385, 386, 396
Fitzwarin, i., 376
Five Articles of Perth, i., 438
Flagg, ii., 23
Flann Mainistrech, i., 316
Fleck, i., 532
Fleming, i., 10, 328, 396, 421, 534, 543, 606, 607; ii., 72, 78, 389, 409
Flemings in Scotland, the, i., 337
Fletcher, ii., 394
Florida, Colonial Governors of, i., 49
Flower, i., 540
Flowerdewe, i., 510, 524, 531, 539
Floyd, i., 31
Folliott, i., 511, 543, 597
Foote, i., 78
Forbes, i., 133, 138, 139, 328, 417, 437, 550; ii., 90, 386
Ford, ii., 90, 190
Fordham, ii., 128
Fordun, ii., 394
Fordun's Chronicle, i., 170, 318, 372
Fordyce, ii., 418
Foreman, i., 15, 18; ii., 246
Fork, ii., 254
Forrer, i., 138
Forrest, i., 50; ii., 254, 395, 396
Forrester, ii., 396
Forret, ii., 396
Forster, i., 612; ii., 396
Forsyth, i., 51; ii., 255
Fortescue, i., 611, 612
Fort Washington, i., 15
Forts, i., 352
Forward, i., 611, 612
Foster, i., 51, 93; ii., 128, 396
Fotheringham, i., 286, 330
Foulis, i., 286; ii., 407
Four Masters, Annals of the, i., 317
Four Tables, i., 443
Fowler, i., 19, 508, 520, 536; ii., 396
Fowley, ii., 79
Fox, i., 168; ii., 397, 419
Fram, ii., 252
Frame, i., 496
Francis, i., 11, 72
Franklin, i., 31, 32, 57, 66–68, 77, 143, 180, 611; ii., 133, 136
Fraser, Frazer, Fraizer, etc., i., 84, 286, 349, 356, 381, 396, 417, 457; ii., 58, 128, 387, 392, 408, 418, 419, 421, 437, 438
Freeland, ii., 77
Freeman, i., 18, 107, 131, 185, 358, 359, 540; ii., 81
French, i., 16; ii., 389, 438
French in Colonial America, i., 81
Freothwulf, i., 225
Freshwell, ii., 397
Friar, ii., 393
Frisbie, ii., 80, 81, 86, 127
Froissart, ii., 398
Frost, i., 25
Froude, i., 109, 142; ii., 438, 439
Froude on the Scotch-Irish, ii., 181
Frye, i., 9, 16, 25
Fullarton, Fullerton, i., 328, 522, 534; ii., 71, 283–288, 291, 294, 368, 396
Fuller, i., 434, 485; ii., 263, 393
Fulton, i., 52, 135, 143, 180, 606; ii., 190
Funston, i., 50
Fyeff, i., 534

Gabhran, i., 203, 204
Gaddgedlar, i., 249, 256
Gadsden, i., 9, 10, 14
Gaine, ii., 4
Gainsford, i., 485
Gaither, i., 18
Galam, i., 189
Galanau, i., 189
Galbraith, Gilbreth, i., 534; ii., 253, 365, 366, 437

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Gale, i., 511, 542
Gall, i., 137
Gallgaidhel, i., 236–263
Galloglass, the, i., 484
Galloway, i., 84, 89, 344
Galloway, Parliamentary examination of Joseph, ii., 154
GALLOWAY, i., 69, 155, 240, 263; ii., 185; early history of, i., 319; families of, ii., 439, 440; Picts of, i., 184, 240; population of, i., 251; revolt in, i., 339
Galt, i., 133, 534; ii., 11, 254
Galwedia, i., 263
Galwegian atrocities, i., 347, 349
Gamble, i., 496, 532, 540; ii., 369
Gamelin, i., 354
Gansevoort, i., 10, 11
Gardner, Gardiner, i., 9, 107; ii., 252
Garfield, i., 33, 139
Garfield, ancestry of James Abram, ii., 188
Garnet, i., 19
Garnock, ii., 246
Garrison, i., 99
Garth, i., 512, 543
Gartnait, i., 190, 197, 215
Gartnaoch I., i., 189
Garvie, ii., 403
Gascoine, i., 539
Gass, ii., 438
Gaston, ii., 23, 188
Gates, i., 24; ii., 157
Gatisfeth, i., 531
Gaven, ii., 40
Gaveston, i., 390
Gedd, Ged, i., 137; ii., 403
Geddes, i., 138, 142; ii., 390, 403, 438, 439
Geddes, Janet, i., 440, 453, 563
Gellatly, ii., 101, 402
Gelston, ii., 15, 16, 49
Gemmil, ii., 249, 253, 257, 263, 270
Genealogies of the Presidents, ii., 185–190
General Assembly constituted, ii., 129
Geoffrey of Monmouth, i., 317
George, i., 53, 114
GEORGIA, i., 4, 10–13, 26; Governors of, i., 49, 50; Line, i., 14; Scots in, ii., 30
Gerault, i., 53
Germaine, ii., 154
Germans in Colonial America, i., 81; ii., 2
Germanus, i., 224
Gerrish, i., 9
Gerrit, i., 496
Gerry, i., 31, 32, 48, 77, 133; ii., 135
Gerson, ii., 171
Getty, i., 605
Gevers, i., 537
Ghislin, i., 18
Gibb, Gybb, i., 20, 508, 520, 536; ii., 253
Gibbons, i., 35
Gibbs, i., 20
Gibson, ii., 10–13, 19, 51, 62, 65, 138, 166, 604; ii., 7, 10, 11, 254, 256, 266, 419
Giddings, i., 139
Gifford, i., 176, 286, 330, 348, 349, 354
Gilbert, Lord of Galloway, i., 169, 339, 349–351
Gilchrist, ii., 253, 393, 414, 438
Gilcomgain, i., 238, 265
Gildas, i., 200, 224, 228, 267
Giles, i., 292
Gilfillan, ii., 255, 414
Gilkey, i., 84
Gillacaemhan i., 316
Gillacolane, i., 329
Gille, i., 248
Gillecalum, i., 350; ii., 393
Gillescop, i., 352
Gillespie, i., 143, 450, 457, 534; ii., 15, 95, 393, 414
Gillies, ii., 254, 255, 269, 393, 414
Gillison, i., 19
Gilman, i., 32
Gilmichael, ii., 393
Gilmore, Gilmour, Gilmer, i., 50, 51, 138 532, 534; ii., 9, 98, 306, 393, 414
Gilmory, ii., 393
Gilpatrick, i., 339
Gilroy, ii., 414
Gilruth, ii., 414
Giltram, i., 189
Gilvray, ii., 414
Giraldus Cambrensis, i., 317
Giric, i., 234
Girtwood, ii., 393
Girty, i., 84, 85
Gist, i., 10–13, 18, 23, 24
Gladstone, Gladstanes, Gledston, i., 45, 134, 139, 140, 169, 591, 603, 605; ii., 190, 414, 438
Glanville, i., 347, 350
Glasgow, ii., 254, 418
Glass, ii., 402
Glassbrook, ii., 128
Glegge, i., 509, 538
Glencairn, ii., 413
Glencors, ii., 438
Glendenning, Glendinning, Clendenin, etc., i., 552; ii., 349, 414, 438
Glenn, Glen, i., 495; ii., 30, 313, 395, 414,
Glennie, i., 229; ii., 414
Glenurhard, i., 374
Glover, i., 9, 13, 25,; ii., 393
Glynnes, the, i., 473, 474, 481, 493, 495
Gnadenhutten massacre, i., 60
Godolphin, ii., 177

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Godwin, i., 266, 285
Goethe, i., 142
Goff, i., 51
Goidels, i., 183, 193, 194, 246
Goldsmith, ii., 129
Gooch, ii., 44, 45, 47–49
Good, ii., 419
Goodale, ii., 390
Goodall, ii., 390
Goodman, i., 18; ii., 170, 390
Good Regent, the, i., 424
Goodwillie, ii., 102
Gordon, i., 49–51, 78, 137, 139, 285, 328, 417, 420, 583, 595, 605, 606; ii., 7, 27, 96, 255, 256, 265, 274, 307, 368, 387, 392, 412, 437, 438
Gore, i., 511, 524, 542, 543, 600, 611
Gorham, i., 32
Gorman, i., 51
Gospatric, i., 332
Gouger, ii., 246
Gourlay, i., 349; ii., 127, 254
Govan, ii., 253
Gow, ii., 394
Gowan, i., 136, 606
Gowdy, ii., 30
Gowrie conspiracy, the, i., 431
Gracey, i., 606
Graden, ii., 438
Grady, i., 52
Graeme. *See* Graham
Graemes, i., 530. *See also* Grahams, Grimes
Graff, i., 35
Graham, Graeme, i., 16, 51, 67, 166, 328, 349, 369, 374, 375, 392, 400, 401, 512, 532, 605; ii., 73, 95, 97, 98, 127, 252, 255, 259, 267, 268, 270, 275, 387, 388, 415, 418, 419, 436, 438
Grahames (same as Graham), i., 550. *See also* Graemes, Grimes
Grammont, i., 417, 595
Grane, i., 532
Granger, ii., 396
Grant, i., 17, 19, 33, 50, 51, 85, 134, 136, 138, 180, 188, 374; ii., 58, 190, 259, 418, 419, 437
Grant, ancestry of Ulysses Hiram Simpson, ii., 188
Granville, i., 67
Graunton, i., 532
Gray, Grey, i., 16, 17, 19, 20, 35, 52, 93, 102, 135, 137, 180, 348, 372, 496; ii., 22, 72, 77, 189, 247, 253, 389, 419
Grayson, i., 19
Graze, ii., 253
Great Britain's auxiliaries, i., 6
Greathead, ii., 386
Greaton, i., 9
Greeley, i., 52, 93, 137, 180; ii., 18, 190
Green, Greene, i., 11, 12, 17, 19, 24, 30, 53, 49, 95, 108, 140; ii., 127, 389, 390, 419, 420
Greenhill, ii., 386
Greenleaf, i., 20
Greenman, ii., 96
Greenshields, ii., 254
Gregg, i., 17, 50, 496, 548, 605, 606; ii., 368, 370
Gregory, i., 19
Gregory the Great, i., 219, 271
Grelauga, i., 237
Grey. *See* Gray
Gridley, i., 9, 10, 56
Grier, Greer, i., 17, 35, 52, 53, 532, 536; ii., 84, 129, 255
Grierson, ii., 256, 258, 259, 265, 267, 268, 438, 439
Grieve, ii., 396,
Griffin, i., 140, 536
Griffith, i., 540; ii., 71, 96
Griffiths, i., 18; ii., 420
Grifford, i., 18
Grig, i., 208, 219, 227
Griggs, i., 51
Grime, Gryme, i., 533
Grimes, i., 51, 84, 543. *See also* Graemes, Grahames
Grimsditche, i., 511, 542
Grimsills, i., 605
Grindell, i., 532
Grinislaw, ii., 438
Grinlaw, ii., 252
Griston, ii., 255
Grost, i., 18
Grosvenor, ii., 396
Grover, ii., 128
Groves, i., 611
Grubb, i., 19, 26, 168
Grundy, i., 51
Gruoch, i., 238, 265, 283
Grynney, i., 534
Guest, i., 228
Guild, ii., 95
Guilline, ii., 250, 271
Guiret, i., 226
Gullaue, i., 225
Gunby, i., 10, 11, 13, 18
Gunn, ii., 437
Gunning, i., 524
Guthferth, i., 209
Guthorn, i., 237
Guthred, i., 220, 340
Guthrie, i., 51, 137, 454; ii., 255, 386, 411
Guye, i., 540
Gwendolew, i., 230
Gwinn, ii., 93
Gwinnett, i., 31

Habersham, i., 10
Hackston, i., 458, 460; ii., 240, 244

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Haco, i., 355
Haddan, i., 228
Haddock, ii., 419
Hadsor, i., 536
Haereha-land, i., 247
Hagan, i., 479
Haig, i., 507, 520, 533; ii., 438
Hait, i., 16; ii., 95
Haitlie, ii., 438
Hale, i., 11, 16
Hales, ii., 143
Halfdan, i., 227, 236
Haliburton, ii., 438
Halkerston, ii., 396
Halkett, ii., 417
Hall, i., 10, 11, 15, 18, 31, 113, 114, 136, 161, 401, 532, 536, 574, 606; ii., 43, 128, 368, 420
Hallam, Hallum, i., 16, 118; ii., 268
Hallet, i., 15, 16
Halliday, ii., 258, 266, 416
Halpen, ii., 397
Halsey, i., 471; ii., 127
Halstead, i., 52
Halyards, ii., 259
Hamill, i., 590, 605, 611; ii., 307, 328, 329
Hamilton, i., 17–19, 32–34, 37, 38, 40, 49–52, 70–73, 77, 84, 100, 102, 134, 136, 137, 139, 141, 145, 160, 166, 328, 409, 421, 424, 446, 454, 458, 459, 487, 490, 491, 496, 500, 502, 504, 506–509, 520–522, 531–533, 535–537, 550, 554, 560, 562, 567, 569, 571, 578, 582, 584–589, 594, 597–599, 603, 605, 606, 611; ii., 9, 133, 138, 190, 253, 255, 262, 263, 284–294, 308–340, 346, 350, 361, 362, 365, 368, 369, 386, 397, 412, 413, 418, 419, 438
Hamilton Manuscripts, ii., 308–340
Hamilton, martyrdom of Patrick, i., 409
Hamiltons, rise of the, i., 403
Hammond, i., 137
Hampton, i., 17, 75; ii., 15, 40
Hampton Court Conference, i., 123, 434
Hancock, i., 31, 50, 68; ii., 406
Hand, i., 11, 13, 18
Haney, i., 16
Hanks, ii., 187
Hanna, Hannay, Hannah, i., 36, 51, 496, 604; ii., 81, 83, 85, 95, 127, 254, 255
Hannum, i., 35
Hanover, Memorial of the Presbytery of, ii., 158
Hansard, i., 511, 523, 542
Harald, Earl of Orkney, i., 340
Harcourt, ii., 184
Hardacanute, i.,256
Hardman, i., 18
Hardy, i., 16, 18; ii., 251, 254
Hare, ii., 395
Harker, ii., 95
Harkness, ii., 237, 251
Harlan, i., 51, 52
Harlaw, i., 411
Harleston, Isaac, i., 13
Harmar, i., 12, 16, 17
Harney, i., 15
Harold, i., 248, 302, 320, 326, 336
Harold Harfagr, i., 237
Harper, i., 534, 604; ii., 45, 394
Harris, i., 18, 36, 51, 421, 496; ii., 5, 38, 39, 95, 405, 420
Harrison, i., 10, 14, 15, 18, 20, 31, 33, 53, 54, 74, 75, 139, 163, 468, 497, 511, 532, 542; ii., 420
Harrison, ancestry of Benjamin, ii., 189
Harrison, ancestry of William Henry, ii., 186
Harrower, ii., 396
Harrute, i., 605
Hart, i., 17, 31, 137, 138, 511, 542, 607; ii., 129, 262
Hartley, i., 12, 35
Hartopp, i., 541
Harts, i., 16
Harvey, i., 583, 610; ii., 97, 246, 255
Haslepp, ii., 306
Haslet, i., 10, 14
Hastings, i., 357
Hatton, i., 51, 539
Hausegger, i., 10, 14
Havard, i., 237
Havelock, i., 139
Haven, i., 558
Hawkins, i., 18
Hawthorne, i., 79, 180
Hay, i., 51, 164, 328, 348, 349, 354, 387, 396, 420; ii., 246, 255, 274, 386, 410, 438, 439
Hayes, ancestry of Rutherford Birchard, ii., 188
Hays, i., 33, 50, 137–139
Hazelwood, ii., 386
Hazen, i., 14, 24
Heard, i., 20, 611
Heath, i., 9, 12, 19, 24
Heathored, i., 262
Heinrichs, i., 155
Helps, i., 142
Hemingford, i., 374
Hemphill, i., 51
Henderson, i., 17, 51, 444–446, 450, 497, 533, 537, 568; ii., 101, 127, 130, 253, 255, 364, 406, 419, 438
Hendricks, i., 11, 50, 51
Hendry, i., 534; ii., 253
Hengeist, i., 224, 276, 292
Henry, i., 20, 32, 35, 49, 52, 55, 56, 67–69, 77, 180, 605, 620; ii., 5, 83, 94, 95, 190

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Henry I., i., 321, 322
Henry II., i., 42
Henry III., i., 352–354
Henry VII., i., 407
Henry VIII., i., 146, 147, 407, 409, 469, 470; and religion, i., 146; divorce of, i., 151; Reformation under, ii., 167
Henry, Patrick, and the Revolution, i., 55
Hepburn, i., 419, 420, 506, 521, 532; ii., 366
Herd, ii., 254
Herkimer, i., 25
Heron, i., 509, 537, 605; ii., 28, 256, 265, 395, 403, 419
Herries, i., 421, 438
Herring, ii., 40
Hertford, i., 409, 411
Hetherington, i., 132
Hewatt, Hewitt, ii., 28, 97, 438, 439
Hewes, i., 31
Heylin, i., 547; ii., 347
Heyward, i., 31
Hibberd, ii., 98
Hibernia, the name, i., 170, 199
Hicks, i., 16
Hiester, i., 36
Higgens, i., 540
Highland clans and chieftains in 1587, ii., 436–438; Host, i., 376, 457
Highlanders in North Carolina, i., 89
Highlands, the, i., 181
Hilhouse, i., 611; ii., 97
Hill, i., 16, 19, 51, 93, 162, 167, 486, 492, 496, 499, 550, 557, 612; ii., 7, 128, 188, 272, 293, 395, 438
Hillyer, ii., 129
Hilton, i., 511, 538
Hincks, i., 143, 144
Hind Let Loose, i., 115
Hinkly, i., 16
Hinman, i., 9
Hinsdale, i., 139
Hislop, Hyslop, ii., 257, 264
Hitchcock, i., 9, 13; ii., 76, 189
Hite, ii., 45, 46, 49
Hlodver, i., 238
Hoaker, ii., 66
Hobart, i., 233
Hobkirk, ii., 254
Hobson, i., 611; ii., 67
Hodge, i., 28, 118; ii., 415
Hodges, ii., 391
Hodgkin, ii., 415
Hodgkinson, ii., 415
Hodgson, ii., 415
Hodson, ii., 391
Hoes, ii., 186
Hoffler, i., 19
Hogan, i., 10, 11, 14, 25
Hoge, i., 36; ii., 5, 48, 94, 127
Hogg, i., 133, 457; ii., 419
Hogkish, i., 16
Hogsyard, i., 606
Holdams, i., 136
Holinshed's Chronicle, i., 283; Macbeth, i., 211, 283
Holland, i., 44, 90, 525
Holland Society, i., 81
Holling, i., 17
Hollingshead, i., 18; ii., 129
Holliocke, i., 522
Holmes, i., 9, 18, 19, 87, 533, 604; ii., 16, 17
Holts, ii., 74
Holyrood, Chronicle of, i., 372
Home, i., 16, 328, 508, 520, 535; ii., 387, 391, 438. *See also* Hume
Homes, i., 534; ii., 97
Honynge, i., 510, 540
Hood, i., 534; ii., 255
Hook, ii., 15
Hooper, i., 31; ii., 65, 393
Hope, i., 532
Hopkins, i., 13, 20, 31, 180, 583, 611
Hopkinson, i., 31
Horn, ii., 189, 253
Horsa, i., 276, 292
Horsburgh, ii., 402, 439
Horsfield, i., 35
Horton, ii., 95
House, i., 16
Houston, Huston, i., 32, 49–51, 86, 328, 462, 602, 605, 611; ii., 5, 98, 100, 127, 254
Hoveden, i., 193, 349
Howard, i., 13
Howe, i., 9, 10, 24, 78, 85, 180; ii., 154, 155–157, 334
Howell, i., 17; ii., 67
Hubbard, i., 54, 578; ii., 349
Hubley, i., 11, 17, 18, 35
Huddlestone, i., 496
Hudson, ii., 189
Huger, i., 10, 11, 13, 14, 24, 29, 30
Hugh, i., 256
Hughes, i., 17; ii., 88, 93, 420
Hughey, ii., 127
Huguenot Society, i., 81
Huguenots, the, ii., 2
Hume, i., 102, 103, 133, 136, 421, 508, 531, 536, 569, 604, 605; ii., 9, 259, 358, 365, 438. *See also* Home
Humper, ii., 253
Humph, i., 17
Humphreys, i., 17; ii., 5
Humpton, i., 10–12
Hunn, i., 35
Hunt, i., 536, 583, 610; ii., 127
Hunter, i., 49–51, 134, 137, 167, 328, 496, 532, 534, 594, 606; ii., 77, 80, 96, 129, 256, 267, 271, 396, 418, 419, 439

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Hunter, martyrdom of James, i., 410
Huntington, i., 9, 11, 14, 23, 24, 31; ii., 188
Husband, ii., 396
Hussa, i., 225
Huston. *See* Houston
Hutchine, i., 138, 534, 605
Hutchinson, Hutchison, Hutcheson, etc., i., 9, 14, 16, 56, 86, 95, 144, 604, 606; ii., 24, 95, 98, 99, 174, 181, 186, 253, 364
Hutton, i., 605
Huxley, i., 196
Hyde, ii., 129, 189
Hyres, i., 18

Ida, i., 225, 230, 235
Illinois, Governors of, i., 50
Imhair, i., 262
Inchmartin, i., 396
Independence in 1755, desire for, i., 66
Indiana, Governors of, i., 50
Indian murders in Pennsylvania, i., 58
Indulf, i., 209, 237
Ingersoll, i., 32
Ingibiorg, i., 262, 266, 322; ii., 213
Inglis, Ingles, i., 252, 285, 328; ii., 11, 253, 254, 256, 257, 259, 270, 389, 409, 438, 439. *See also* Englis
Ingram, i., 289
Inness, Innes, i., 51, 84, 197, 317; ii., 384, 411
Innisfallen, annals of, i., 317; ii., 193
Innrechtach, i., 240, 259
Inverkeithen, i., 354
Inverurie, rout at, i., 388
Iona, Church of, i., 246
Iona island, i., 120
Iredell, ii., 16
Ireland, i., 1; ii., 389
IRELAND, in 1688, i., 580; Church rule in, i., 559; commerce of, i., 614; ii., 173; Cromwell's soldiers in, i., 161; Dissenters in, i., 608; early Presbyterian congregations in, ii., 371–384; Line of, i., 155; map of, i., 468–469; persecution of Presbyterians in, i., 618; population in 1633, i., 563; in 1672, i., 580; Presbyterian ministers in (*see* Presbyterian); repression of trade in, ii., 172; Secession Church in, i., 621; under the Tudors, i., 469; woollen manufacture in, ii., 173;
Irish Annals, i., 236; ii., 192
IRISH, atrocities of the, i., 566; Dissenters, persecution of, i., 615; ministers ejected, in 1661, i., 579, 606; Presbyterian Church in 1688, i., 615; Presbyterian Church in 1702, i., 617; Presbyterian ministers before 1800, ii., 37–384; Rebellion of 1641, i., 448, 565; ii., 355–359; Society, i., 501, 503
Irvine, i., 10–12, 14, 17, 23, 24, 54, 496; ii., 172, 189, 387, 390, 438. *See also* Erwin, Irwin, Irving
Irving, i., 51, 133, 136, 180; ii., 439
Irwin, i., 17, 33, 532, 583, 610; ii., 80, 127, 128, 189, 438
Isadore of Seville, i., 197, 212
Isham, ii., 186
Islands Landnamabok, ii., 206

Jack, i., 50, 607; ii., 391
Jackson, i., 11, 12, 20, 33, 50, 54, 75, 86, 139, 143, 150, 154, 180, 496, 540, 605; ii., 16, 65, 128, 190, 251, 254, 255, 391, 420
Jackson, ancestry of Andrew, ii., 186
James, ii., 26, 27, 40, 189, 420
James, the Steward, i., 356
JAMES I., i., 150, 400; murder of, i., 401
James II., i., 150, 402
James III., i., 150, 403
JAMES IV., i., 150, 403, 407; character of, i., 404, 405
James V., i., 150, 408
JAMES VI. (I. of England), i., 111, 117, 123, 140, 141, 150, 419, 421; eulogizes the Scottish Kirk, i., 429; persecutions by, i., 463; on Presbytery, i., 435
JAMES VII. (II. of England), i., 112, 118, 150; in Ireland, i., 584
Jamison, Jameson, Jamieson, i., 76, 496; ii., 81, 83, 130, 151
Janet Geddes riot, i., 440, 453, 563
Jans, ii., 190
Jaquett, i., 15
Jardine, ii., 438
Jay, i., 32, 33, 52, 74, 77
Jefferson, i., 31–34, 37, 47, 67, 69, 77, 88, 94, 100, 101, 102, 135, 137, 139, 140, 152, 180; ii., 157, 160, 169, 190
Jefferson, ancestry of Thomas, ii., 186
Jeffreys, i., 461
Jemmet, i., 610, 611
Jenifer, i., 32
Jenkins, i., 20, 54
Jennings, i., 496; ii., 93
Jerden, ii., 306
Jerome, ii., 163
Joan of Arc, i., 434
Jocelin. *See* Joscelin
Johnes, i., 512; ii., 95, 438
Johnson, i., 23, 32, 33, 50–52, 54, 77, 138, 139, 166, 496, 519, 540, 605, 612; ii., 56, 57, 181, 188, 390, 391, 404, 420
Johnson, ancestry of Andrew, ii., 188
Johnstone, Johnston, i., 11, 17–19, 49–51, 101, 102, 137, 138, 164, 167, 444–446, 449, 450, 454, 457, 532, 588, 606;

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Johnstone (*continued*):
ii., 20, 37, 97, 127, 129, 255, 257, 262, 264, 306, 388, 414, 417, 419, 421, 436, 438, 439
Joiner, ii., 393
Joline, ii., 128
Jolly, ii., 390
Jones, i., 18–20, 50, 74, 138, 541, 543; ii., 15, 80, 83, 128, 185, 186, 391, 405, 420
Jones's Journal, ii., 80
Jonson, i., 133
Jordan, i., 480
Josceline, Joceline, i., 192, 350; ii., 166
Joseph, i., 530

Kali Hundason, i., 255
Kane, i., 143
Kasson, ii., 23, 169
Kearnes, i., 611
Keen, i., 19
Keill, i., 136
Keir, Kier, ii., 96, 253, 255
Keith, i., 20, 46, 49, 104, 550, 605, 606; ii., 6, 77, 129, 274, 387, 416
Kellar, i., 53
Kelly, Kelley, i., 51, 166; ii., 188
Kelso, i., 582
Kemble, i., 362
Kendrick, ii., 187
Kennedy, i., 51, 102, 166, 167, 242, 243, 328, 403, 496, 497, 532–534, 536, 574, 604–606, 611, 612, 620; ii., 77, 95, 254, 260, 275, 306, 307, 315, 319, 327, 328, 331, 334, 338, 346, 368, 369, 388, 391
Kenneth, i., 190, 223, 254, 282
Kenneth II., i., 209, 232
Kenneth McAlpin, i., 126, 207, 208, 217, 218, 220, 221, 233, 245, 262, 377
Kenneth McAlpin's Pictish descent, i., 217
Kenneth MacDuff, i., 210, 265
Kenneth MacMalcolm, i., 126, 189, 207, 208, 210, 216, 225, 227, 236, 238, 242, 261, 316
Kenney, i., 51
Kent, i., 180; ii., 24, 127
Kentigern, ii., 166
Kenton, i., 50; ii., 190
KENTUCKY feuds, i., 61; Governors, i., 50
Ker, Kerr, i., 51, 84, 113, 328, 606; ii, 14, 40, 127, 259, 368, 370, 388, 402, 417, 418, 419, 438. *See also* Carr
Kerney, i., 53
Kerns, the, i., 484
Kettletas, ii., 96
Keyes, i., 606
Kidd, i., 50, 117, 133, 138; ii., 169
Kiggard, i., 604
Killen, i., 162; ii., 252, 371
Killing time, the, i., 461
Kilner, i., 612
Kilpatrick, i., 538
Kincaid, Kinkead, i., 96, 604; ii., 98, 255, 414
King, i., 19, 20, 32, 42, 43, 137, 457, 458, 496, 599, 604, 610, 611; ii., 77, 86, 101, 128, 129, 135, 181, 368, 395, 420
King James's Bible, i., 436
King Robert's Testament, i., 371
King's curates, i., 456
Kingsmill, i., 511, 538, 542
Kingstone, ii., 397
Kingswell, i., 525
Kinkead. *See* Kincaid
Kinley, i., 53
Kinloch, ii., 101
Kinnaird, ii., 414
Kinnear, ii., 414
Kinniburgh, ii., 414
Kinross, ii., 414
Kirk, Kirke, i., 49, 461, 532, 591, 592, 594, 598–600, 601; ii., 253, 393, 438
Kirkaldy, ii., 413
Kirkaldy of Grange, i., 410, 421, 425
Kirkmichael, i., 434; ii., 439
Kirko, ii., 256, 265, 439
Kirkpatrick, i., 19, 50, 386; ii., 16, 95, 346, 413, 438, 439
Kirkton, ii., 438
Kirkwood, i., 15
Kitchen, ii., 393
Kitchener, ii., 393
Knewstub, i., 434
Knight, ii., 169, 396
Knox, i., 4, 6, 9, 10, 14, 21, 24, 27, 32, 51, 92, 93, 102, 103, 108, 109, 131, 136, 138, 144, 169, 242, 328, 405, 410, 424, 435, 484, 496, 509, 552, 560, 595, 605, 611; ii., 96, 97, 166, 170, 171, 177, 187, 346, 416, 439
KNOX, JOHN, a galley slave, i., 411; before Queen Mary, i., 415; days of, i., 415; death of, i., 425; influence of, i., 102; lands at Leith, i., 413; summoned to Edinburgh, i., 411
Kyle, i., 51, 240

Lacey, i., 16, 25
Lafayette, i., 24, 155
Lafferty, i., 84
Laidlow, ii., 438
Laing, i., 117, 182, 536; ii., 102, 129, 389. *See also* Lang
Lamb, i., 11, 15, 20; ii., 253, 394, 419
Lamb, martyrdom of Robert, i., 410
Lambard, i., 291
Lambert, i., 452, 512, 529, 530, 543
Lamberton, i., 376, 394, 396
Lamby, ii., 394

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Lammie, ii., 406
Lamne, i., 19
Lamont, i., 51, 496; ii., 438
Lane, ii., 79
Lanercost Chronicle, i., 372
Lang, i., 17, 133; ii., 389. *See also* Laing
Langdon, i., 32, 376
Langford, i., 492, 550, 603, 605, 620
Langland, ii., 438
Langtoft, i., 374
Lanman, i., 49
Lansdale, i., 18
Lansing, i., 32
Lapsley, i., 19
Lasceles, i., 374
Latimer, i., 35, 465, 468; ii., 438
Latta, ii., 96, 97, 129
Laud, William, i., 110, 560, 563; in Scotland, i., 440
Lauder, i., 285, 328; ii., 370, 418. *See also* Lawder
Lauderdale, ii., 329, 330
Laughlin, ii., 81
Laughton, i., 525
Laukhead, ii., 72
Laundel, i., 348, 349
Laurens, i., 32, 77
Laurie, ii., 257, 259, 391, 401. *See also* Lowry
Lavery, i., 137
Law, i., 606; ii., 24, 272
Lawder, i., 506, 521, 532, 604. *See also* Lauder
Lawes, i., 533
Lawrence, i., 18, 134, 143, 533; ii., 39, 96, 307
Lawrie, ii., 7, 8, 266
Lawson, i., 11, 18, 24, 30; ii., 251, 262, 365, 367, 391, 438
Lawton, i., 50, 540
Laxdaela Saga, ii., 207
League and Covenant, i., 449
League between Scotland and France, i., 145, 338, 399, 409
Leake, i., 596; ii., 127, 128
Learned, i., 9, 13, 23, 25
Leavitt, ii., 127
Leavmonth, i., 15
Lecky, i., 132, 133, 161, 610–612; ii., 307,
Lecky on the Scotch-Irish, ii., 184
Lee, i., 16, 20, 24, 30, 31, 56, 77, 139, 155, 180; ii., 187, 188, 420
Leech, Leetch, Leich, i., 532, 534; ii., 393
Leechman, ii., 393
Leidon, ii., 254
Leigh, i., 509, 526, 537, 558
Leighton, i., 454
Leith, ii., 418
Leith surrenders to the Reformers, i., 415
Leland, ii., 346
LeMercier, ii., 97
Lennox, i., 52, 610–612; ii., 258, 268, 307
Leonard, ii., 96
Lermont, i., 285; ii., 252
Leslie, i., 144, 166, 285, 286, 328, 410, 447, 448, 451, 540, 550, 552, 562, 563, 570, 612, 615; ii., 189, 275, 307, 317, 354, 357, 365
Lethington, i., 421
Letters of Intercommuning, i., 456
Leven, ii., 409
Levermore, ii., 185
Lewis, i., 10, 11, 12, 18–20, 24, 31, 86, 138, 496; ii., 39, 45, 46, 49, 96, 127, 128, 420
Ley, i., 525
Liberton, i., 285
Liberty of conscience, i., 70; ii., 150; of speech, i., 70, ii., 138; sons of, i., 71
Lidderdale, ii., 438
Lighterfoote, i., 536
Lightfoot, ii., 65
Lilburn, ii., 253
Lillington, i., 10, 14
Limavady burned, i., 600
Lincoln, i., 17, 24, 33, 36, 51, 180, 190
Lincoln, ancestry of Abraham, ii., 187
Lind, ii., 100
Lindisfarne, i., 235
Lindley, ii., 128
Lindsay, i., 51, 242, 286, 328, 330, 351, 354, 368, 374, 396, 399, 421, 441, 496, 506, 508, 520, 521, 533, 536, 604, 606, 611; ii., 40, 55, 66, 274, 387, 391, 408, 438
Linn, i., 155, 328; ii., 78, 127
Linton, ii., 438
Liotr, i., 237, 238
Lipscomb, i., 19
Lipton, i., 53
Lisgar, i., 143
Lisle. *See* Lyle
Lister, ii., 393
Litster, ii., 393
Little, i., 9, 13, ii., 40, 389, 419, 438
Littlejohn, ii., 389, 419
Littleton, i., 524, 528
Liturgy in Scotland, i., 440
Liturgy spurned, i., 441
Livermore, i., 16
Livingston, i., 10, 11, 14, 16, 31, 32, 33, 49, 51, 52, 74, 77, 113, 134, 138, 346, 402, 421, 549, 554, 560–562, 567, 578, 606; ii., 161, 256, 266, 346, 352, 368, 370, 397, 439
Livingstons, fall of the, i., 402
Lizars, ii., 401
Lloyd, i., 18, 596, 598, 600
Lloyd, successes of, i., 598

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Loarn Mor mac Erc, i., 199, 202, 204, 212, 217
Loch, i., 536; ii., 403
Lochry, ii., 82. *See also* Lowry *and* Laurie
Locke, i., 104; ii., 169
Lockhart, i., 285, 327, 534, 604; ii., 9, 258, 263, 306, 411
Lockington, i., 540
Lodborg, i., 42
Lodge, i., 534
Logan, i., 49–51, 395, 604; ii., 62, 101, 412
Logie, i., 391; ii., 412
Lollards of Kyle, i., 169, 405
Londonderry, i., 579; in 1622, i., 546; list of citizens in 1689, i., 612; siege of, i., 583. *See also* Derry
Londoners' Plantation in 1619, i., 501, 540
Long, i., 18, 610–612; ii., 419
Longfellow, i., 180
Longstreet, i., 17, 50, 135
Lorane, ii., 438
Lord of the Isles, i., 389, 400
Lords of the Congregation, i., 108, 412
Lorimer, ii., 96, 393, 403
Lothian, ii., 418
Lothian, cession of, i., 210, 211, 221
Loual, i., 286. *See also* Lovel
Loudoun, i., 327, 444, 445; ii., 306, 413
Louisiana, Governors of, i., 50
Lounsbery, i., 16
Love, i., 533; ii., 40, 419
Lovel, i., 330, 374. *See also* Loual
Lovelace, i., 76
Low, ii., 419
Lowden, *See* Loudoun
Lowis, ii., 438
Lowland Clans, 1547–1597, ii., 438, 439
Lowlands, i., 181; ii., 341
Lowry, i., 496; ii., 308. *See also* Laurie
Lowther, i., 538, 540
Loyalist population in 1775, i., 84, 88, 89
Loyalists, Sabine's list of, i., 84
Lucas, ii., 190
Lucius, king of Britain, i., 120
Luckey, ii., 39
Lucy, i., 18
Ludwig, i., 36
Lukin, ii., 406
Lulach, i., 238, 265; ii., 203
Lulach's grandson, i., 333; ii., 204
Lumsden, ii., 438
Lundin, i., 368, 374
Lundy, i., 99, 583, 585, 586, 597, 611
Lundy, treachery of, i., 587
Lusher, i., 510, 528, 540
Luther, i., 409; ii., 168
Lutz, i., 36
Lyford, i., 532
Lyle, Lyell, Lisle, i., 167, 328; ii., 411, 438
Lynch, i., 18, 31
Lynch law in America, i., 60
Lynn, i., 542
Lyon, i., 18; ii., 127, 392, 395, 419
Lyons, i., 530
Lytle, i., 50

Mabane, i., 15; ii., 39
McAdam, i., 135, 243, 493, 604, 605; ii., 253, 258, 269
McAden, ii., 39, 40, 43, 94
McAden's Journal, ii., 39
McAlan, i., 483, 492
McAlister, i., 167
McAlpin, ii., 398
McArthur, i., 138
Macarthy, i., 599
Macartney, McCartney, i., 620; ii., 68, 77, 268
McAulay, McCaule, McCauley, i., 133, 136, 167, 507, 519, 533, 534; ii., 43, 128, 407, 437
McAunley, i., 481
McBarron, i., 529
McBean, ii., 407
Macbeth, i., 79, 175, 211, 238, 239, 255, 256, 262, 265, 266, 283, 284, ii., 203
McBirney, i., 496
McBratney, i., 497; ii., 254
McBreck, i., 376
McBriar, ii., 438
McBride, i., 51, 604, 617; ii., 407
McCall, McColl, i., 50. *See also* McCoul
McCalla, i., 497; ii., 129
McCallummore, ii., 392
McCalmis, i., 19
McCandlish, ii., 77
McCann, i., 605
McCargo, i., 135
McCarmick, i., 599
McCarnock, i., 481
McCart, ii., 369
McCartan, i., 472, 480
McCarty, i., 53
McCasland, i., 533
McCassack, i., 534
McCaw, i., 496; ii., 407
McChesnie, ii., 254
McClain, McClean, ii., 82, 93, 129. *See also* McLane, McLean
McClanachan, i., 11, 12. *See also* McClenahan
McCleary, i., 12, 496; ii., 407
McClee, i., 604
McClellan, McClelland, i., 17, 50, 51, 93, 138, 139, 563, 567, 578, 605; ii., 22, 71, 81, 83, 128, 253, 295. *See also* McLellan

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

McClement, i., 496
McClenahan, ii., 97. *See also* McClenachan, McLennan
McClernand, i., 50
McClintock, i., 137, 143; ii., 11, 254
McClorgan, ii., 258
McCloud, i., 30; ii., 256. *See also* McLeod
McClure, McLure, i., 52, 143, 497; ii., 80, 86, 127, 401
McClure's Diary, ii., 81
McClurg, McLurg, i., 32; ii., 253, 407
McColpin, i., 604
McComas, i., 51
McConkey, i., 605
McConnell, i., 473, 481, 492, 496
McCook, i., 102
McCooks, the Fighting, i., 50, 138
McCorkle, ii., 43
McCormick, i., 52
McCorquodale, ii., 407
McCoughry, i., 496
McCoul, ii., 269. *See also* McCall
McCowan, i., 17
McCrabit, ii., 258
McCracken, i., 619; ii., 127, 407
McCracky, i., 16
McCrea, i., 135; ii., 95. *See also* McRae
McCreary, McCreery, McCrary, i., 51, 496; ii., 128, 334
McCreath, i., 243
McCredie, Macready, ii., 407
McCrie, ii., 170, 171
McCrindle, i., 243
McCronock, ii., 253
McCubbin, ii., 253, 407
McCue, ii., 127
McCulloch, McCullough, McCullagh, etc., i., 50–52, 93, 135, 136, 138, 243, 496, 507, 519, 535, 537, 604, 605; ii., 5, 32, 40, 85, 90, 129, 253, 255, 406, 438
McCullum, i., 135
McCumber, i., 51
McCune, ii., 82. *See also* McEwen
McCurdy, ii., 83 . *See also* Macurdy
McDevitt, i., 538
McDonald, i., 50, 51, 135, 136, 178; ii., 26, 34, 35, 57, 58, 128, 392, 405, 416–420, 437
McDonnell, i., 167, 493, 495, 503, 550, 571; ii., 57, 253, 281, 317
MacDonnells in Antrim, the, i., 492
McDonough, i., 50, 138; ii., 188
McDougall, i., 9, 24, 51, 345, 605; ii., 58, 437, 438
McDowall, McDowell, McDouall, i., 50, 137, 102, 138, 145, 605, 606; ii., 46, 79, 90, 95, 98, 189, 285, 296, 307, 392, 438
MacDuff, i., 345, 366, 369
MacDuncan, i., 324
Mace, ii., 40
McEachin, ii., 407
McElhatton, i., 17
McElroy, i., 605
McEnery, i., 51
McEnys, i., 479. *See also* Maginnis
McEredy, i., 534
McEvene, i., 534
McEwen, i., 51, 376; ii., 128, 251, 407. *See also* McCune
McFadden, i., 496
McFarlane, McFarland, i., 167, 422, 533; ii., 40, 436
McFarquhar, ii., 127
McFie, ii., 438
McFirbis, i., 260
McGachen, ii., 254, 407
McGarock, i., 496
McGarragh, ii., 101
McGarron, ii., 253
McGavock, i., 53
McGee, i., 27, 481, 496, 536; ii., 254, 255. *See also* Magee, McGhie, etc.
McGeoch, ii., 407
McGeorge, ii., 407
McGhie, ii., 405
MacGill, i., 481, 612; ii., 254, 269, 407
McGilligan, i., 457
McGillivray, ii., 407
McGimpsy, i., 592
McGinnis, i., 84, 479. *See also* Magennis
McGlay, i., 374
McGowan, i., 17, 496, 497, 533
McGready, ii., 88
McGregor, i., 27, 137, 154, 178; ii., 17, 18, 58, 97, 98, 405, 418, 419, 436
McGuffey, McGuffie, i., 140; ii., 406
McGuffog, McGuffock, ii., 406
McGuire, i., 16, 19, 477
McHaffie, ii., 256, 271
Machan, ii., 254
McHarg, ii., 407
McHarie, ii., 253
MacHeath, i., 326
Machen, ii., 11
McHenry, i., 17, 32, 51, 102
McIan, ii., 407
McIlvaine, i., 139
McIntosh, i., 10–12, 14, 24, 103, 134, 162, 178, 417; ii., 58, 392, 407, 437
McIntyre, i., 534; ii., 56, 405
McIoris, ii., 407
McIvor, ii., 405
McKaill, i., 456; ii., 256, 260, 363
Mackay, i., 10, 11, 133, 136, 464, 481, 534; ii., 31, 40, 49, 83, 85, 405, 417–419, 421, 437
McKean, McKeen, i., 31, 32, 35, 496; ii., 98, 257, 407
McKechnie, ii., 252
McKecoge, i., 538

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

McKee, i., 85, 138, 496, 519, 535; ii., 129, 257
McKellar, i., 137
McKellen, i., 557
McKenna, i., 525
McKennan, ii., 95
Mackenzie, i., 134, 135–137, 178, 247, 589, 590, 602, 603; ii., 34, 59, 254, 391, 392, 405, 419, 421, 437
McKerfue, ii., 258
McKerger, i., 604
McKerlie, i., 196, 242; ii., 406, 439
McKernan, i., 532
Mackey, i., 610, 611. *See also* McKie
McKibben, i., 496; ii., 89
McKichan, ii., 407
McKie, i., 166, 500, 507; ii., 7, 14, 44, 253, 405. *See also* Mackey
McKilchany, i., 534
McKilmun, i., 534
McKinley, i., 32, 33, 49, 51, 52, 138, 139; ii., 405
McKinley, ancestry of William, ii., 189
McKinley on the Scotch-Irish, ii., 190
McKinnell, ii., 407
McKinney, ii., 101
McKinning, i., 496
McKinnon, i., 252; ii., 405, 437
McKinstry, i., 496; ii., 97
McKittrick, i., 496
Macklin, i., 145
McKnight, ii., 95; ii., 127
McKym, i., 534
McLachlan, i., 376; ii., 405, 438
Maclaine, i., 144. *See also* McLane, McLean
McLane, i., 51
McLaughlan, martyrdom of Margaret, i., 461
McLaurin, McLaren, i., 51; ii., 436
McLaws, i., 50
Maclay, ii., 77
McLean, i., 19, 51, 52, 139, 178, 497; ii., 59, 98, 127, 190, 392, 418, 419, 421, 437. *See also* McClain, McLaine, McLane, etc.
McLellan, i., 455, 500, 507, 519, 535, 541; ii., 438. *See also* McClellan
McLennan, i., 197; ii., 58, 407. *See also* McClenahan
McLeod, i., 177, 178; ii., 31, 34, 37, 58, 96, 97, 392, 418, 419, 437. *See also* McCloud
McLoen, i., 342
McLuce, i., 136
McMaelbrigid, i., 221
McMahon, i., 166, 472, 477, 565, 576
McMaster, i., 34, 36, 376; ii., 407
McMasters, ii., 127
McMath, i., 538; ii., 439
McMichael, ii., 255, 256, 266
McMicking, ii., 407
McMillan, i., 51, 140, 164, 167; ii., 58, 87, 91, 128, 268. *See also* McMullin
McMillan's Journal, ii., 87–90
McMin, ii., 255
McMonnies, i., 51, 137
McMordie, ii., 39, 94
McMullan, McMullin, ii., 130, 307. *See also* McMillan
McMunn, i., 496
McMurrie, ii., 253
McNab, ii., 392, 405, 436
McNachtan, ii., 392. *See also* McNaughton
McNair, ii., 72
McNally, i., 605
McNaught, McKnaught, ii., 72, 407, 438 *See also* McNutt
McNaughton, ii., 53, 407, 438. *See also* McNachtan
McNeill, i., 167, 479, 611, 612; ii., 33, 34, 40, 368, 370, 392, 405, 437
McNeilly, i., 604
McNish, ii., 407
McNulta, i., 50
McNure, ii., 253
McNutt, ii., 58. *See also* McNaught
McPhadric, i., 243
McPhedries, i., 243
McPhelim, i., 480
McPherrin, ii., 93, 127
McPherson, i., 35, 50, 51, 102, 133, 138, 605; ii., 5, 72, 392, 405, 437
McPhillip, i., 605
McPuhan, ii., 254
McQuaker, ii., 407
McQuestin, ii., 82, 85
McQuhae, ii., 268
McQuham, ii., 268
McQuhan, ii., 256
McQuillan, i., 474, 493
McQuoid, i., 496, 497
McRae, ii., 58. *See also* McCrea
McRee, ii., 128
McRees, i., 15
McReikie, ii., 407
McRoberts, i., 496
McRory, i., 376, 479
McRuaidhri, i., 221
McSalvi, i., 376
McShane, i., 475
McSurley, i., 482
McSweeny, i., 478
McTaggart, ii., 254, 407, 418
McThomas, i., 376; ii., 437
McTire, ii., 253
McUbine, ii., 256, 265
Macurdy, ii., 93. *See also* McCurdy
McVeagh, i., 51
McVicar, ii., 392
McVittye, i., 536

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

McWhannel, ii., 407
McWhinnie, ii., 407
McWhirter, i., 496; ii., 253. *See also* McWhorter
McWhorter, ii., 95. *See also* McWhirter
MacWilliam, i., 352, 376, 476, 482, 497
Madder, Mader, i., 533; ii., 438
Madison, i., 32–34, 37, 38, 47, 57, 77, 137, 139, 180; ii., 133, 134, 135, 187, 190
Madison, ancestry of James, ii., 186
Mæatæ, i., 186
Maelbrigda, i., 221, 237, 238
Magaw, i., 10, 11, 14; ii., 129
Magee, i., 144, 166, 606. *See also* McGee
Magennis, i., 472. *See also* McGinnis
Maghan, i., 534. *See also* McCan
Magill, i., 611, 612; ii., 129. *See also* McGill
Magna Charta, i., 42, 43
Magnus, i., 250, 346, 355
Magruder, i., 50
Maguire, i., 475, 597
Mahon, ii., 127
Maid of Norway, i., 356
Mailcun, i., 200, 270
Main, ii., 251, 255, 262
Maine, i., 96
Maine, Scotch-Irish in, ii., 24
Mainwaring, i., 540
Maitland, i., 424, 450; ii., 438, 439
Major, i., 317, 377; ii., 171, 172
Makemie, i., 74, 75, 94, 143; ii., 7, 14, 50, 150
Makemie's trial, i., 76, 94
Makervail, ii., 254
Makhou, i., 376
Malbie, i., 480
Malcolm, i., 167, 209, 220–223, 227, 231–234, 238, 239, 248–250, 255, 260, 282–286, 302, 305, 307, 308, 321, 322, 331, 332, 337–339, 361, 496; ii., 245, 254, 393
Malcolm II., i., 211
Malcolm III., i., 232, 262
Malcolm IV., i., 329
Malcolm Canmore, i., 132, 180, 196, 211, 244, 245, 262, 266, 316, 317, 319, 320, 339, 341, 342, 364, 372, 377; ii., 186
Malcolm, Earl of Fife, i., 354
Malcolm MacDonald, i., 210
Malcolm MacHeth, i., 329
Malcolm MacKenneth, i., 204, 210, 238, 265, 266
Malcomson, i., 496
Malerb, i., 391
Malise, Earl of Strathern, i., 354
Malliherb, ii., 407
Malloch, ii., 254
Maltby, ii., 96
Manlis, i., 286
Mann, i., 180
Manning, i., 16; ii., 90
Mansfield, i., 9, 20, 510, 524, 539
Manson, i., 603, 605; ii., 391
Manton, i., 381
Map of Ireland, i., 468–469; of Scotch-Irish Settlements in Colonial America, ii., frontispiece; of Scotland, i., frontispiece
Mar, i., 285, 354
Marbury, i., 18, 542
Mareschal, i., 374. *See also* Marshall
Margaret, i., 127, 266, 305, 308, 330
Marianus, i., 255
Marianus Scotus, i., 316
Marietta, Ohio, settlement at, i., 28
Marion, i., 13, 25, 29
Marjoribanks, ii., 416
Marks, i., 19
Marquis, ii., 88, 93
Marsh, ii., 176
Marshall, i., 11, 17, 19, 20, 33, 36, 46, 52, 77, 137, 180, 472, 473; ii., 11, 101, 189, 252, 254, 396
Martin, i., 10, 11, 14, 18, 32, 34, 36, 49, 496, 534, 604, 605; ii., 64, 94, 96, 97, 101, 127, 130, 166, 251, 254, 418–420
Martyrs, numbers of the Scottish, i., 463
Mary of Guise, i., 409
Maryland, i., 4, 10–13, 18, 21, 23, 26, 87; archives, i., 80; Line, i., 14; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 7
Mary Stuart, i., 415–423; abdication of, i., 421; marries Bothwell, i., 420; marries Darnley, i., 417
Mary Tudor, i., 147, 152, 411.
Maske Manor, ii., 63
Mason, i., 10–12, 32, 46; ii., 101, 133, 134, 393
Masor, i., 606
Massachusetts, i., 3, 6, 9–12, 21, 23, 26; ancestor worship in, i., 96; caste in, i., 90, 91, 98; civil liberty in, i., 98; freedom of worship in, i., 93; glacial age of, i., 92; political equality in, i., 90; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 18; troops in 1778, i., 19
Matchett, i., 509, 527, 537
Mather, i., 27, 95, 96, 101; ii., 16, 254
Mathie, ii., 252
Mathison, ii., 254, 406
Matilda, i., 322
Matildis, i., 321, 322
Matthews, i., 11, 12, 496, 605
Mattocks, i., 16
Maule, i., 330; ii., 403
Maumont, i., 588
Maunde, i., 539
Maunderson, i., 536

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Maundeville, i., 480
Maxton, ii., 397
Maxwell, i., 9, 10, 20, 24, 137, 145, 286, 328, 330, 346, 372, 391, 428, 457, 496, 538, 551, 552, 605, 606, 611, 612; ii., 260, 276, 307, 334, 354, 397, 415, 438
Maybury, i., 20
Mead, Meade, i., 17, 27, 78; ii., 127, 146
Mean, ii., 69
Means, i., 17
Mease, ii., 5
Mechlin, ii., 128
Mecklenburg Declaration, i., 47, 103
Medary, i., 52
Medici, i., 417
Medill, i., 52; ii., 190
Medraud, i., 225
Meigs, i., 11
Meiker, i., 15
Meikle, i., 135; ii., 419
Meiklejohn, ii., 419. *See also* Micklejohn
Meiklewrath, ii., 270, 272
Meilochen, i., 121
Melanchthon, ii., 397
Meldrame, i., 519
Meldron, i., 285
Meldrum, ii., 259
Melkolf, i., 238, 256
Melrose, Chronicle of, i., 318, 372; ii., 418
Melville, i., 51, 137, 410, 429, 430, 437; ii., 307, 313, 439
Melville before James VI., 427, 430, 437
Melvin, i., 562
Memorial of Gibson and Smith, i., 62
Menteith, i., 374, 375, 385
Menzies, i., 135, 285; ii., 437–439
Mercer, i., 10, 24, 32, 93; ii., 393, 404
Merchant, ii., 393
Meredith, ii., 316
Merlin, i., 229, 245
Merrill, i., 20; ii., 98
Merriweather, i., 53
Merton, ii., 438
Mervin, Mervyn, i., 598; ii., 365–367
Meryn, i., 611
Meson, i., 19
Messer, ii., 393
Methven, i., 412
Meyer, i., 18
Meyners, i., 354
Mickle, ii., 389
Micklejohn, ii., 389. *See also* Meiklejohn
Micklewrath, ii., 256
Middlemaist, ii., 438, 439
Middleton, i., 31, 114, 391, 454
Mifflin, i., 25, 32
Miklewrock, ii., 257
Mildron, i., 531
Miles, i., 10, 14
Mill, i., 607; ii., 393
Mill, martyrdom of Walter, i., 412
Millard, ii., 187
Millen, ii., 306
Miller, Millar, i., 17, 52, 134–136, 141, 167, 496, 536, 611; ii., 76, 94, 95, 98, 128, 237, 246, 252, 253, 393, 418, 419, 421
Milligan, ii., 254, 404
Milliken, ii., 404
Milling, i., 496
Mills, i., 16, 51, 605; ii., 95
Milroy, i., 50
Miltimore, ii., 98
Milton, i., 575
Minnes, i., 18, 496
Minor, ii., 188
Mirk, ii., 306
Mirrie, ii., 253
Mississippi, Governors of, i., 50
Missouri, Governors of, i., 50
Mitchelburn, i., 588, 593, 601
Mitchell, i., 18, 19, 51, 136–138, 144, 457, 604; ii., 39, 71, 98, 127, 256, 266, 393, 419
Moddan, i., 239; ii., 211
Moffat, Moffit, Moffet, i., 532; ii., 96, 255, 438
Mohawk Valley, i., 50
Moira, i., 143
Molsted, i., 534
Mompesson, ii., 151
Monaghan, i., 472; in 1586, i., 477
Moncrieff, i., 457, 605, 610, 611; ii., 387
Monfoid, i., 328
Monk, i., 452, 574, 575; ii., 317, 358, 393
Monmouth's rebellion, i., 461
Monro, Monroe, Munro, Munroe, i., 33, 51, 77, 139, 143, 566, 568, 570–573, 575, 576, 590; ii., 128, 358, 366, 367, 369, 419, 437
Monroe, ancestry of James, ii., 186
Monson, i., 16
Montagu, ii., 154
Montealt, i., 394
Monteith, i., 533; ii., 127
Montesquieu, i., 34, 38
Montgomery, i., 17, 24, 49, 53, 143, 144, 160, 286, 327, 328, 348, 349, 399, 426, 486, 487, 490, 491, 496, 500, 502, 535, 550, 560, 573, 575, 576, 599, 605, 606, 611, 612; ii., 5, 9, 96, 127, 184, 253, 259, 272–308, 329, 411
Montgomery Manuscripts, ii., 272–308
Montgomery's Highlanders, ii., 54
Montrose, ii., 418
Monypenny, i., 508, 535, 605; ii., 393
Moorcraft, i., 606

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Moore, Moor, More, i., 9, 10, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 27, 49, 52, 53, 84, 166, 496, 510, 512, 529, 530, 534, 540, 541, 543, 551; ii., 6, 19, 93, 98, 168, 252, 309, 320, 325, 327, 328, 331, 333, 335–337, 339, 389, 395, 401, 416, 420. *See also* Muir
Moorehead, i., 496; ii., 85, 97, 98
Moray, i., 354, 378, 393, 396, 398; ii., 387. *See also* Murray
Morcant, i., 225
Moreville, i., 327, 340, 351. *See also* De Moreville
Morgan, i., 10–12, 14, 24, 29; ii., 15, 45, 420, 437
Morhan, i., 374
Morrell, i., 16
Morris, i., 11, 18, 28, 31, 32, 34, 36, 66, 70, 72, 74, 76, 77; ii., 187, 398, 420
Morrison, i., 17, 52, 505, 583, 587, 610–612; ii., 39, 98, 99, 253, 418, 419
Morrow, i., 29, 138, 166, 497; ii., 77, 190. *Same as* Murray
Morse, i., 52, 135, 143, 180; ii., 190
Morton, i., 31, 49, 51, 108, 418, 421, 457; ii., 97
Morton, execution of Regent, i., 425
Morwic, i., 350
Mostin, i., 511, 542
Motley, i., 180
Mott, i., 10, 11, 18
Moultrie, i., 9, 10, 14, 24
Mountain, ii., 395
Mountjoy, i., 19
Mouser, i., 17
Mowat, ii., 387
Mowaw, ii., 256
Mowbray, Moubray, i., 321, 335, 348, 349, 388, 392, 396
Mowe, ii., 438
Moylan, i., 20, 25, 27, 28
Moynes, i., 540
Muhlenberg, i., 10, 11, 14, 23, 24, 36
Muir, Mure, i., 167, 328; ii., 128, 255, 307, 395, 416. *See also* Moore
Muirhead, ii., 255, 268
Mulliken, ii., 404
Munch, i., 248, 249, 256
Mungo, ii., 166, 167
Munro. *See* Monro
Murchie, ii., 257, 272
Murdoch, i., 134, 496; ii., 128, 253, 254
Muredach, i., 206
Murie, ii., 253
Murpee, i., 15
Murphy, i., 166
Murray, i., 17, 27, 28, 50, 73, 133, 136, 138, 140, 328, 345, 353, 491, 500, 507, 519, 522, 535, 586, 587, 589–592, 595, 601–605; ii., 98, 101, 128, 254, 257, 306, 307, 387, 411, 417, 419, 421, 437–439. *See also* Moray
Muschet, ii., 387
Musgrave, i., 537
Mutter, ii., 393, 404
Myle, i., 18
Myrtom, i., 285

Nagel, i., 12
Nailey, i., 11
Nairn, ii., 418
Napier, i., 134, 136, 138; ii., 396, 415
Napoleon, i., 144
Nash, i., 10, 11, 14, 25, 229
Navigation Acts, i., 580; ii., 173
Neal, i., 33; ii., 188
Neaves, ii., 391
Nechtan, i., 126, 189, 197, 205, 206, 287
Neely, i., 15
Neilsbrook, ii., 326
Neilson, i., 456, 496, 497; ii., 253
Neithon, i., 198
Nelson, i., 31, 49, 52, 143
Nennius, i., 200, 224, 269, 316
Nesbit, i., 607; ii., 127, 237. *See also* Nisbet
Nesmith, Naesmyth, Nasmyth, i., 51; ii., 404, 438, 439
Netherwood, ii., 407
Netterville, i., 589
Neville, i., 11, 12, 19, 35, 335, 612; ii., 385
Nevin, ii., 288, 306, 307
Newbigging, ii., 254
Newburg, i., 533
Newcomb, i., 10, 14
Newcomen, i., 507, 533, 539, 589
Newell, ii., 83
New England, i., 1, 3, 14, 15, 26, 36, 43; and liberty, i., 55; colonies, i., 94; compromises, i., 44; element in the American Army, i., 24; in American history, i., 78; linen manufacture in, i., 153; political inequality in, i., 102; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 16; the Englishman of, i., 91; writers, one-sidedness of the, i., 2, 28, 81
Newenham, i., 609
New Hampshire, i., 3, 9–12, 16, 21, 26; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 17; town papers, i., 81
New Jersey, i., 3, 9–12, 17, 21, 23, 26; archives, i., 80; Colonial Governors of, i., 49; Line i., 14; Scots in, ii., 7
Newton, i., 138, 538, 540; ii., 128
New York, i., 3, 6, 9–12, 16, 21, 23, 26; Colonial Governors of, i., 49; documentary history, i., 80; Line, i., 14; politics, religious element in, i., 74; Scots in, ii., 50
Niall, i., 236

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Nichol, Nicol, Nickel, i., 76, 136; ii., 150, 251
Nicholas, Nicolas, i., 19; ii., 160
Nichols, Nickells, ii., 81, 83
Nicholson, i., 50, 143, 608, 611; ii., 147, 176
Nicklin, ii., 406
Nigel, Earl of Carrick, i., 169, 354
Ninian, i., 120, 192, 240, 257; ii., 163, 164, 438
Nisbet, ii., 250–252, 254, 257, 262, 269, 386. *See also* Nesbit
Nixon, i., 9, 11, 13, 23, 24; ii., 438
Noble, i., 589, 593, 603; ii., 98, 419
Non-jurors, i., 617, 619
Norman, i., 610–612
Normans in Scotland, i., 285, 327, 330, 336, 339, 341, 347, 348, 351, 364; ii., 400, 401
Norris, i., 16, 72, 605
Norse, the, i., 235; and Galloway, i., 235, 246; names in Scotland, i., 252–254, 263; sagas, i., 238; sagas, extracts from, ii., 204; sea-kings, i., 246
North, i., 25; ii., 184
North Carolina, i., 9–13, 15, 21, 23, 26, 87: Colonial Governors of, i., 49; Colonial records, i., 80; Highlanders in, ii., 35; Line, i., 14; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 32; sketches of, i., 72
Northmen, i., 232; invade Scotland, ii., 206; ravage Britain, ii., 199
Norton, i., 492, 554
Norwood, i., 18
Novantæ, i., 184, 195
Nowell, i., 605
Nutkin, i., 540
Nyneil, ii., 294

Oakes, i., 95
Oan, i., 204, 226
Oath of Abjuration, ii., 54, 617, 619
Obbyns, i., 537
O'Brian, O'Brien, i., 476; ii., 405
O'Cahan, i., 474
O'Carroll, i., 474, 475
Occam, i., 129
Ochiltree, i., 414, 425, 500, 520
O'Connolly, i., 565, 569
Octa, i., 224
O'Dogherty, i., 478, 498
O'Donnell, i., 475, 498
O'Dwire, ii., 60
Ogden, i., 11, 15, 17
Oge, i., 473, 480
O'Gilmer, i., 480
Ogilvie, Oglevee, Ogilvy, i., 328, 344, 434; 437
Ogle, i., 536
Oglesby, i., 51. *See also* Ogilvie
Oglethorpe, ii., 31
O'Hanlon, i., 472
O'Hara, i., 482
Ohio, Governors of, i., 50; settled by the Scotch-Irish, ii., 64
Olaf, i., 254
Olaf of Dublin, i., 209
Olaf of the Brogues, i., 262
Olaf the White, i., 236, 248, 262
Olave, i., 250
Oldham, i., 17, 18
Old King Cole, i., 228, 230
Oliphant, i., 133, 136, 328, 383; ii., 395 403
Oliver, ii., 100, 254, 438
Olney, i., 16, 17
O'Munts, i., 604
O'Neill, i., 162, 469, 471, 474, 476–484 486, 498, 529, 565, 566, 570, 572, 573 576; ii., 164, 183, 273, 280–288, 369 405
Opdike, i., 77
O'Quin, i., 482; ii., 368, 370
O'Reilly, O'Railye, i., 474, 498, 512
Origen, ii., 162
Orkneyinga saga, i., 235; ii., 209
Orme, i., 536; ii., 15, 47
Ormiston, i., 346; ii., 397
Ormond, i., 574
Ormsby, i., 611; ii., 75, 90
Orr, i., 51, 136, 167, 496, 497
Orth, i., 36
Osborne, i., 98, 256, 337, 376, 585, 602 606; ii., 39
Osgood, ii., 97
Osred, i., 287
Ostmen, i., 235
Osuald, i., 198, 213, 214
Oswald, ii., 189
Oswiu, Oswy, i., 198, 204, 214, 215, 226
Otadini, i., 185
Otis, i., 55, 56, 68–70, 74
Otterson, ii., 40
Overton, i., 19
Owen, i., 226, 227
Owens, i., 136
Owen the Bald, i., 210, 211, 221

Paca, i., 31
Pagan, ii., 417
Page, i., 20, 51
Paine, i., 31, 152
Paip, ii., 395
Palfrey, i., 96
Palladius, ii., 163, 164, 166
Palmer, i., 51
Parisi, i., 185
Park, i., 19, 134, 138, 167, 533, 605; ii. 64, 65, 263, 438
Parker, i., 11, 12, 16–19, 27, 532; ii. 262, 420

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Parkhurst, ii., 128
Parkman, i., 59
Parks, i., 19
Parmenter, i., 524
Parr, i., 17
Parson, ii., 393
Parsons, i., 13, 16, 19, 23, 25, 151, 509, 525, 529, 538, 542, 543, 564, 565; ii., 98
Paterson, Patterson, i., 9, 13, 17, 18, 23, 24, 34, 51, 52, 102, 137–139, 144, 164, 166, 496, 497, 534, 604; ii., 10, 73, 93, 134, 187, 253, 255, 258, 260, 263, 264, 419, 421, 440
Patillo, ii., 43, 94
Paton, Patton, i., 11, 15; ii., 11, 40, 46, 101, 130, 251, 254, 262, 406, 416
Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and March, i., 354; ii., 98
Patty, i., 496
Paul, i., 144
Paulett, ii., 406
Paulinus, i., 121, 124
Paxtang, i., 59
Paxtang Boys, i., 61, 62; memorial, i., 63; Rangers, i., 60
Paxton, i., 56
Payne, ii., 129, 417
Peabody, i., 180
Peachy, i., 10
Peacock, ii., 395
Peal, i., 18
Pearson, *See* Pierson
Pedan, Peden, i., 35, 102
Peddie, ii., 403
Peebles, i., 392, 567, 606, 607; ii., 360, 368, 418
Peers, i., 480
Pell, i., 16
Pemberton, i., 65; ii., 47
Penda, i., 198 ,204, 214, 215, 226
Pender, ii., 253
Pendleton, i., 20, 77, 160
Penman, ii., 253
Penn, i., 6, 29, 31, 61, 62, 67, 68, 83, 104; ii., 8, 62, 136, 137, 146
Pennicuik, ii., 413, 438, 439
Penn's formative influence, i., 104
Pennsylvania, i., 4, 6, 9–12, 17, 21, 25, 26; archives of, i., 79; Bank of, i., 28; Colonial Governors of, i., 49; Convention, i., 35; formative influence, i., 67, 104; ii., 136; frontiers of, i., 58; Line in the Continental Army, i., 14, 155; *Magazine*, i., 80; militia in 1775, i., 29; non-English population of, i., 90; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 60; taxables in 1760, i., 69, 87; taxation in, i., 57; Ulster emigration to, ii., 63–69
Penrose, i., 10, 11
Pentecost, i., 256, ii., 90
Pentland Hills, i., 456
Peoples, i., 605
Pepdie, ii., 403
Peppard, ii., 128
Percy, i., 351, 356, 368. *See also* De Percy
Periam, ii., 128
Perkins, i., 16, 511, 542; ii., 406
Perley, ii., 98
Perrot, i., 492
Perry, i., 50, 54, 138, 534; ii., 21
Peterkin, ii., 406
Peters, ii., 23, 63
Petition of Rights, i., 42, 43
Pettengill, i., 20
Pettigrew, i., 496
Pettit, ii., 5
Petty, i., 580, 607–609
Peyton, i., 19
Phalp, ii., 253
Phelps, ii., 405
Philipse, i., 74
Phillips, i., 523, 546, 611, 612; ii., 15, 311, 365, 405, 420
Philpot, ii., 406
Phinney, i., 9, 14
Piatt, i., 17
Pickels, ii., 129
Pickens, i., 25, 29
Pickering, i., 36
Pickett, ii., 90
Pictish Chronicle, i., 316; kings, i., 189, 190
Picts, the, i., 182–223; of Galloway, i., 192, 231, 233, 242, 336; of Lothian, i., 233; non-Aryan, i., 195
Pierce, i., 32, 33; ii., 98
Pierce, ancestry of Franklin, ii., 187
Pierson, Pearson, i., 15, 526; ii., 15, 96
Pike, i., 20
Pilgrims, i., 90
Pilgrims in Holland, i., 44
Pim, i., 168
Pinckney, Pinkeny, i., 10, 11, 32, 77, 357
Pinkerton, i., 188, 192, 374, 485
Piper, i., 496, 497; ii., 77
Pirie, ii., 252. *See also* Prie
Pitcairn, i., 135
Pitt, i., 68
Pittilloch, ii., 246
Plan of Union, ii., 136
Ploughman, i., 533
Plowden, ii., 26, 177, 183
Plowright, i., 534
Plumber, ii., 393
Plumsteed, i., 524
Plunket, i., 20, 144
Pocock, i., 151
Poe, i., 50, 51, 133, 180

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Pokelie, i., 405
Polhemus, i., 17
Polk, i., 10, 11, 14, 33, 51, 139, 143; ii., 190. *See also* Pollock
Polk, ancestry of James Knox, ii., 187
Pollock, i., 102, 133, 328, 496; ii., 251, 252. *See also* Polk
Polson, ii., 406
Pomeroy, i., 24, 51; ii., 24
Ponsonby, i., 612
Pont, i., 252, 605
Poor, i., 9, 11, 13, 25
Pope, ii., 185, 395
Population of America in 1776, i., 81, 83, 87; of Ireland in 1633, i., 563; in 1672, i., 580
Porteous, ii., 439
Porter, i., 20, 50, 51, 88, 93, 133, 496, 497, 605, 606; ii., 188, 189, 339, 396
Porterfield, i., 19, 328
Posthumus, i., 200
Potitus, ii., 164
Potter, i., 17, 25; ii., 77, 97, 99, 129, 245
Pottinger, i., 134, 143; ii., 404
Potts, i., 17; ii., 189
Powell, i., 15, 19, 36, 509, 526, 537; ii., 404
Power, ii., 86, 87, 128
Powers, ii., 99
Pownall, i., 87
Poynts, i., 511, 529, 541
Pready, ii., 71
Prentice, ii., 98
Presbyterian Church in Ireland, i., 159, 559; Church in Ireland, Adair's History of, ii., 345; church building destroyed by Massachusetts Puritans, ii., 21; churches in the South in 1760, ii., 96; circular letter in 1764, ii., 4; congregations in America in 1760, ii., 94; congregations in Colonial America (*see* Scotch-Irish settlements); congregations in Ireland before 1800, ii., 371–384; intolerance, i., 117; marriages in Ulster, i., 618; ministers deposed, i., 562; ministers in Ireland, the first, i., 578; party in New York, i., 73; ii., 4, 161
Presbyterian ministers in Ireland before 1800 (ii., 371–384); Abernethy: ii., 372–375, 381, 382, 384; Acheson, ii., 379; Adair, ii., 372 (2), 373–375; Adams, ii., 376, 383 (2); Airth, ii., 372; Alexander, ii., 374, 376 (2), 379, 384; Allen, ii., 377, 378; Ambrose, ii., 381 (2); Anderson, ii., 372, 377, 379; Arbuckle, ii., 377; Archibald, ii., 382; Armstrong, ii., 376, 383; Arnold, ii., 372, 376; Arrott, ii., 381; Ash, ii., 383; Bailly, ii., 377; Baird, ii., 376; Ball, ii., 372; Bankhead, ii., 372; Barber, ii., 383; Barr, ii., 380, 383; Baty, ii., 373; Beard, ii., 377; Biggar, ii., 373, 379, 380, 382; Birch, ii., 377, 383; Black, ii., 374, 381; Blair, ii., 373, 377, 378, 380–382; Blakely, ii., 375; Bole, ii., 380; Bond, ii., 376, 383; Boyd, ii., 371, 372, 374, 381 (3), 382; Boylan, ii., 382; Boyle, ii., 375; Brice, ii., 372, 379; Bridge ii., 375; Brizzle, ii., 380; Brooke, ii., 374; Brown, ii., 373 (2), 374, 376, 377, 379 (2), 383, 384; Bruce, ii., 377, 379, 380 (3), 381, 384; Brydone, ii., 380; Bryson, ii., 378, 381; Buchanan, ii., 380; Burke, ii., 383; Buttle, ii., 373; Buys, ii., 373; Caldwell, ii., 373, 377, 378 (2), 381, 382 (2), 383; Cameron, ii., 378; Campbell, ii., 372, 374, 377 (2), 383, 384; Canning, ii., 381; Carlisle, ii., 372, 375; Carson, ii., 380, 384; Chalmers, ii., 377; Charleton, ii., 381; Cherry, ii., 375 (2); Christy, ii., 376; Clark, ii., 372; Clarke, ii., 372, 375; Clerk, ii., 380; Cobham, ii., 372, 375, 378; Cochran, ii., 378, 379; Cochrane, ii., 373 (2), 376–378 (3), 380, 382; Cock, ii., 375; Coleheart, ii., 378; Colvert, ii., 380 (2); Colville, ii., 377 (2); Conyngham, ii., 380; Cornwall, ii., 373–375; Cornwalls, ii., 375; Coulter, ii., 372; Couthart, ii., 383; Cowan, ii., 380; Craig, ii., 381, 382; Craighead, ii., 377 (3), 381; Crawford, ii., 374, 376, 379, 383; Creighton, ii., 379, 382; Crooks, ii., 373, 382; Crookshanks, ii., 376; Culbert, ii., 375; Cumine, ii., 380; Cuming, ii., 371, 372; Cunningham, ii., 372 (2), 376 (2), 379, 382, 383 (2), 384; Darragh, ii., 382; Davis, ii., 375, 377, 380; Davison, ii., 372, 376, 382; Dean, ii., 376; Delap, ii., 378, 382 (2); Denham, ii., 378; Dewart, ii., 376; Dick, ii., 384; Dickson, ii., 374, 375, 379 (2), 383; Dill, ii., 377, 380, 383; Dixon, ii., 383; Dobbin, ii., 372, 382; Donaldson, ii., 375; Douglass, ii., 374 (2), 375, 376; Drummond, ii., 378, 383 (2); Drysdale, ii., 383; Duffin, ii., 378; Dugald, ii., 381; Dugall, ii., 381; Dun, ii., 380; Dunbar, ii., 373, 379, 380; Dunlop, ii., 372 (2), 375, 380, 383 (3); Dunn, ii., 378; Dykes, ii., 381; Edgar, ii., 381; Elder, ii., 371, 373, 378 (2), 379, 380 (2), 383; Elliot, ii., 381; Erskine, ii., 377, 380; Erwin, ii., 378; Ewing, ii., 380; Fairly, ii., 376; Fergie, ii., 380; Ferguson, ii., 372, 374 (2), 380–383; Fisher, ii., 373, 377, 381; Fleming, ii., 373, 376–379,

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

PRESBYTERIAN ministers etc. (*continued*):
381, 383; Fletcher, ii., 373; Fowler, ii., 376; Frazer, ii., 375; Frieland, ii., 380; Fugie, ii., 380; Fullarton, ii., 375; Fullerton, ii., 371; Fulton, ii., 378; Gamble, ii., 373, 378; Gaston, ii., 373; Getty, ii., 373, 380; Gibson, ii., 375, 376, 379 (2); Gilchrist, ii., 380; Glasgow, ii., 372, 375, 378; Glass, ii., 378; Glendinning, ii., 374, 380; Glendy, ii., 381; Goorley, ii., 382; Gordon, ii., 375 (2), 379, 383 (3); Goudy, ii., 373 (2), 375, 376; Gowan, ii., 372, 376, 377, 379; Gray, ii., 375, 378, 382 (2), 383; Greer, ii., 381; Greg, ii., 374, 382; Grey, ii., 374; Hair, ii., 378; Haliday, ii., 372, 373, 382; Hall, ii., 376, 380, 384 (2); Haltridge, ii., 371, 372, 378, 379; Hamil, ii., 376; Hamilton, ii., 371, 372 (2), 373 (3), 374 (3), 375, 376 (2), 377, 378 (4), 379 (2), 380 (3), 382; Hanna, ii., 377; Hare, ii., 376, 378, 379; Harris, ii., 381; Harrison, ii., 379; Harper, ii., 380 (2); Harpur, ii., 382; Hart, ii., 382; Harvey, ii., 373, 374, 379 (2), 381 (2), 382; Haslett, ii., 373; Hasty, ii., 372; Hay, ii., 377 Hemphill, ii., 375 (2), 382; Hempton, ii., 374; Henderson, ii., 375, 378, 383; Henry, ii., 372, 374, 375 (3), 376 (2), 377 (3), 378, 379 (2), 383 (3), 384; Heron, ii., 379, 381; Heslem, ii., 377; Higinbotham, ii., 375; Hill, ii., 373, 383; Hodgeheard, ii., 373; Hogg, ii., 381; Hogsyard, ii., 373; Holmes, ii., 372, 377 (3), 378, 379, 383, 384; Holyday, ii., 372; Hood, ii., 380, 381; Hooks, ii., 379; Horner, ii., 377; Houston, ii., 372, 373 (2), 377; Hubbard, ii., 374, Huey, ii., 380, 382; Hull, ii., 373; Hume, ii., 379, 380, 382; Hunter, ii., 377, 381; Hutchinson, ii., 372, 377 (2), 378, 382, 383; Iredell, ii., 377 (2); Irvine, ii., 381; Jackson, ii., 372, 373, 376–378; Jacque, ii., 377; James, ii., 374; Johnson, ii., 374 (2), 377; Johnston, ii., 375; Keith, ii., 378; Kelburne, ii., 373; Kelso, ii., 373, 377, 378, 380; Kennedy, ii., 372, 374 (4), 378 (3), 380 (3), 381, 382 (3), 384 (2); Ker, ii., 371, 372, 375, 379, 382 (2); Kerr, ii., 372; Keyes, ii., 373, 375; Killen, ii., 371; Kilpatrick, ii., 381; King, ii., 373, 377, 379, 383; Kinkead, ii., 380, 383; Kinnear, ii., 375; Kirkpatrick, ii., 373 (2), 381, 383, 384; Knox, ii., 376–378 (2), 379, 381; Kyle, ii., 375; Labun, ii., 380; Laird, ii., 373, 377, 383; Landess, ii., 379; Landish, ii., 379; Lang, ii., 374, 381, 382; Laurie, ii., 381; Law, ii., 373, 374, 379; Lawson, ii., 380, 381; Leather, ii., 379; Lee, ii., 378, 379; Leech, ii., 373, 380; Leggat, ii., 377 (2); Leitch, ii., 375; Lewson, ii., 374; Lind, ii., 371; Lindsay, ii., 373; Liston, ii., 380, 384; Little, ii., 380; Livingston, ii., 372, 373, 375, 377, 380, 384; Logan, ii., 373; Logue, ii., 374 (2); Longmoore, ii., 374; Love, ii., 383; Lowry, ii., 381; Lyle, ii., 374; Lynd, ii., 375, 383; Lyndsay, ii., 378; Lynn, ii., 378; Lyttle, ii., 380; McAdam, ii., 381; McAlpine, ii., 373; McAulay, ii., 379; McAuley, ii., 375; McBeath, ii., 378, 384; McBride, ii., 373 (2); McBroom, ii., 371; McCance ii., 376; McCleave, ii., 376; McClelland, ii., 372, 373, 375, 380; McClintock, ii., 382; McClure, ii., 371; McCollum, ii., 377, 381; McComb, ii., 376; McConnell, ii., 380; McCormick, ii., 381; McCracken, ii., 372 (2), 380; McCreight, ii., 376; McCurdy, ii., 375, 379; McDowell, ii., 373, 377; McEwen, ii., 380; McFarlane, ii., 381; McFerson, ii., 375; McGachin, ii., 378; McGarragh, ii., 374; McGaughey, ii., 377; McGill, ii., 375; McGregor, ii., 371; McGuachin, ii., 378; McIlree, ii., 379, 384; McKay, ii., 373, 374, 384; McKee, ii., 372, 374, 377; McKenzie, ii., 376; McKinley, ii., 382; McKinney, ii., 376; McLaine, ii., 373 (2), 381, 382; McLellan, ii., 382; McMahon, ii., 380; McMaster, ii., 376, 378; McMean, ii., 377; McMuglan, ii., 376; McMullan, ii., 374, 379; McMurray, ii., 379; McNeill, ii., 375, 383; Magee, ii., 381; Main, ii., 379; Mairs, ii., 376, 381, 382 (2), 383; Malcom, ii., 377; Malcome, ii., 378, 380; Marshall, ii., 372 (2), 373, 380, 384; Martin, ii., 376 (2), 379, 382; Masterton, ii., 373, 376; Mathewson, ii., 372; Maxwell, ii., 372, 375, 382; Mayn, ii., 373; Menogh, ii., 381 (2); Mercer, ii., 378; Mill, ii., 379; Millar, ii., 375, 378–380; Miller, ii., 379; Milliken, ii., 379; Milling, ii., 377; Mitchell, ii., 382; Montgomery, ii., 372 (3), 375 (2), 381; Moody, ii., 381, 382 (2); Moor, ii., 373; Moorcroft, ii., 372, 382; Moore, ii., 374 (2), 378 (2), 382 (2); Moorehead, ii., 378 (2), 382; Morell, ii., 372, 384; Mulligan, ii., 372 (2), 379; Munro, ii., 374; Murdock, ii., 376; Murphy, ii., 379; Murray, ii., 376 (2);

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

PRESBYTERIAN ministers, etc. (*continued*):
Neill, ii., 373; Neilson, ii., 374, 377, 378, 380; Nelson, ii., 373, 378, 380, 382; Nesbit, ii., 373, 383; Nevin, ii., 376, 377 (2); Nichol, ii., 378; O'Bryan, ii., 379; Ogilvie, ii., 380; O'Quin, ii., 374; Orr, ii., 375 (2), 376 (3), 379–381; Osborne, ii., 374, 376, 380, 383; Park, ii., 374; Patrick, ii., 381; Patterson, ii., 372, 377; Patton, ii., 372, 374 (2), 376, 378, 380 (2), 381, 382 (2); Peebles, ii., 378; Pettigrew, ii., 372; Pinkerton, ii., 380; Pitcairn, ii., 373; Plunket, ii., 379; Plunkett, ii., 378; Porter, ii., 374, 375, 379; Pringle, ii., 372, 379; Rainey, ii., 382, 383; Ramsay, ii., 371, 373, 375, 383; Rankin, ii., 372; Ray, ii., 378, 382; Reagh, ii., 378; Reed, ii., 374; Reid, ii., 373 (2), 379–381, 383, 384; Rentoul, ii., 373, 381; Richardson, ii., 380; Richey, ii., 377; Riddel, ii., 372; Ridge, ii., 372; Rodgers, ii., 373, 376, 379; Rogers, ii., 372, 376, 382; Ronaldson, ii., 383; Ross, ii., 375, 379, 381; Rowan, ii., 372, 375; Rowat, ii., 372; Rule, ii., 381; Savage, ii., 375; Scott, ii., 373–375, 378 (2), 379 (2), 380, 381; Seaton, ii., 371; Seawright, ii., 380; Semple, ii., 371 (2), 380; Shannon, ii., 383; Sharp, ii., 375; Shaw, ii., 371 (2), 373 (2), 374 (2), 377; Sherrard, ii., 384; Sherrid, ii., 372; Simm, ii., 372, 374; Simms, ii., 371; Simpson, ii., 372, 375, 378, 382, 383; Sims, ii., 384; Sinclair, ii., 379 (2), 384; Sloan, ii., 375, 381; Smith, ii., 372 (2), 377–380 (2), 382 (2), 383; Smylie, ii., 373, 378 381; Smyth, ii., 378–380; Spear, ii., 383; Sproat, ii., 372; Squire, ii., 380, 381; Stavely, ii., 376; Steel, ii., 383; Stephenson, i., 379; Stewart, ii., 374 (2), 376, 377 (2), 378; Stirling, ii., 373 376 (2); Stitt, ii., 378, 382; Stoupe, ii., 378 (2); Strawbridge, ii., 374; Strayton, ii., 383; Strong, ii., 373; Stuart, ii., 374, 376 (3), 381; Sturgeon, ii., 381; Taggart, ii., 373, 378; Tailzeur, ii., 378; Tate, ii., 380; Taylor, ii., 372, 374 (2), 376, 378, 383; Tennent, ii., 373; Thomb, ii., 375; Thompson, ii., 372, 373 (5), 374 (2), 380 (2), 381 (2), 382 (2); Todd, ii., 384; Tomb, ii., 375, 381; Traill, ii., 372; Trotter, ii., 382; Trumble, ii., 382; Tuft, ii., 372; Turbit, ii., 376; Turretine, ii., 382, 383 (2), 384; Vance, ii., 378, 383 (2); Waddle, ii., 377; Wadsworth, ii., 372; Walker, ii., 377, 381 (2), 383; Walkinshaw, ii., 374; Wallace, ii., 375, 379–381 (2), 382 (2), 384; Warnock, ii., 375, 376; Watson, ii., 379, 380; Weir, ii., 375; Welsh, ii., 372, 384; White, ii., 372 (2), 374 (3), 378, 381, 383, 384; Whiteside, ii., 374, 383, 384; Whitlaw, ii., 372; Wightman, ii., 382; Will, ii., 379; Williamson, ii., 375 (2); Wilson, ii., 371–375, 378 (3), 379, 380 (2), 381 (2), 383 (4); Winsley, ii., 376; Wirling, ii., 377, 380 (2); Woodside, ii., 378, 379; Wooll, ii., 379; Wright, ii., 377 (2); Wylie, ii., 375; Young, ii., 372, 375, 377, 378, 381 (2)

PRESBYTERIANISM *vs.* Congregationalism, i., 47; a system of representative government, i., 47

PRESBYTERIANS, i., 26, 86; and the Revolution, ii., 4; in America, i., 28; in New York, ii., 162; persecuted in Ireland, i., 561; persecuted in Massachusetts, ii., 20; persecutions by the, i., 110–119

Presbyteries from 1760 to 1788, accessions to American, ii., 126–129

PRESBYTERY of Abingdon, i., 126; of Antrim, in 1661, i., 606; in 1702, i., 617; of Armagh, i., 617; of Belfast, i., 617; of Boston, ii., 97; of Carlisle, ii., 127; of the Carolinas and Georgia, ii., 129; of Coleraine, i., 617; of Connecticut River, ii., 99; of Convoy, i., 617; of Derry, i., 617; of Donegal, ii., 76, 84, 94, 127; of Down, in 1661, i., 606; in 1702, i., 617; of Dutchess County, ii., 127; Eastern, ii., 99; To the Eastward, ii., 98; of Grafton, ii., 99; of Hanover, i., 94, 103, 104; ii., 94, 127, 158; the first Irish, i., 567; of Kentucky, ii., 130; of Lagan, in 1661, i., 606; of Lewes, ii., 95, 127; of Londonderry, ii., 97, 100; of Long Island, ii., 14; Middle, ii., 99; of Monaghan, i., 617; New Brunswick, ii., 95, 127; of Newcastle, ii., 14, 95, 128; of New England, Associate Reformed, ii., 100; of New York, ii., 95, 128; of New York, Associate, ii., 99; of North America, Reformed Presbyterian, ii., 100; of Orange, ii., 128; of Palmer, ii., 99; of Pennsylvania, Associate, ii., 101, 130; of Pennsylvania, Second Associate, ii., 130; of Philadelphia, i., 75; ii., 14, 96, 129; of Route, ii., 368; of Route, in 1661, i., 606; of Salem, ii., 98; of Snow Hill, ii., 14; of South Carolina, ii., 96, 129; of Suffolk, ii., 96, 129; of Tyrone, in 1661, i., 606; in 1702, i., 617; of Ulster, First, ii., 360; Western, ii., 99

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Prescott, i., 9, 13
President, powers of the, i., 39
Presidents, genealogies of the, ii., 185–192
Preston, i., 286, 330, 538
Prettyman, ii., 386
Price, i.,'10, 11, 18, 536; ii., 391, 420
Prichard, or Pritchard, i., 188; ii., 392, 404
Pride, i., 575
Prie, ii., 253. *See also* Pirie
Prime, ii., 96
Prince, ii., 98, 404
Pringle, i., 532, 538, 604; ii., 25, 254, 404, 438, 439
Prior, i., 16
Probert, ii., 404
Proctor, ii., 80, 85, 393
Prodger, ii., 404
Prosper of Aquitaine, ii., 163
Proud, i., 88; ii., 67
Proudfit, ii., 101, 130
Prowel, i., 19
Prudden, ii., 95
Prynne, i., 395
Ptolemy, i., 184, 185, 225
Pugh, ii., 392
Pulaski, i., 25
Pumry, ii., 15
Purdon, ii., 438
Purdy, Purdie, i., 606; ii., 402
Purfrey, ii., 306
Puritans, i., 2, 28, 79; ii., 1; bigotry of, i., 93; in Ireland, i., 574; intolerance of, i., 95; persecutions by the, i., 86
Purves, ii., 403, 438
Purviance, Purveyance, i., 534; ii., 5
Putnam, i., 9, 11, 24
Pyle, ii., 438
Pynnar, i., 504, 512, 531, 546

Quakers, ii., 1; against slavery, ii., 137, in New England, i., 95, 101; pusillanimity of the, i., 60
Quarles, i., 19
Quay, i., 51
Queensferry Paper, the, i., 113–115
Quin, i., 479
Quincy, i., 352. *See also* DeQuinci
Quirk, i., 53

Rabblings in Scotland, i., 119
Rae, i., 532, 536; ii., 96. *See also* Ray, Rea, Rhea, Wray
Raeburn, i., 134
Ragman Roll, the, ii., 213–236
Raid of Ruthven, i., 427
Ralston, i., 328, 509, 536, 612; ii., 72, 93, 253. *See also* Rolleston
Ramsay, i., 13, 51, 78, 88, 133, 136, 142, 286, 328, 330, 348, 349, 354, 534, 567, 589, 606; ii., 30, 96, 183, 186, 189, 253, 368, 438
Randall, i., 20, 51; ii., 40
Randalson, martyrdom of James, i., 410
Randolph, i., 32, 34, 77, 346, 390, 391, 395, 396, 398; ii., 45, 133, 387
Rangers, Pennsylvania, i., 59
Rankin, i., 99, 139, 534; ii., 126, 127, 130, 253
Rattray, i., 392. *See also* Rotray
Rawdon, i., 492, 585, 603, 611, 612
Rawlins, i., 50
Ray, i., 140. *See also* Rae, Rea, Rhea, Wray
Rea, i., 496, 605. *See also* Rae, Ray, Rhea, Wray
Read, i., 13, 15, 31, 32, 533, 538, 604. *See also* Reed, Reid
Rebellion of 1638, i., 447
Reclus, i., 170, 181
Redding, i., 18
Redick, ii., 438
Redman, i., 19; ii., 5
Redpath, Ridpath, ii., 438
Redstone country, ii., 64
Redvers, i., 333
Ree, i., 19
Reece, ii., 39
Reed, i., 9, 10–14, 25, 49, 154; ii., 61, 128, 129. *See also* Read, Reid
Reeding, ii., 319
Reel, ii., 188
Rees, i., 17
Reese, ii., 128
Reeve, ii., 96
Reeves, ii., 129
Reformation, the beginning of the, i., 408
Reformed Presbyterian Church, ii., 100
Reginald, i., 364
Reginald Hy Ivar, i., 254, 360
Reginald of Durham, i., 195
Regium Donum, i., 580
Regnerus, i., 42
Regulators of North Carolina, i., 61
Reid, i., 19, 51, 52, 135, 145, 405, 407, 496, 604–606; ii., 95, 101, 249, 253, 254, 258, 389, 390, 419, 421. *See also* Read, Reed
Reigniere, i., 76; ii., 150, 153
Reilly, i., 18, 565
Reley, i., 540
Religion in Scotland and England, i., 120
Religious conflict in Britain, the first, i., 122; freedom, i., 74
Remyngton, i., 510, 524, 539
Renton, ii., 438
Renwick, i., 460; ii., 130, 252, 255, 260
Renwick, martyrdom of James, i., 462

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Restoration of Charles II., i., 453
Reuda, i., 272
Revolution of 1642, i., 449
Revolution, generals of the American, i., 24; officers of the, i., 15, 26; Presbyterian elders in the, i., 29; a Scotch-Irish rebellion, i., 155; in Virginia, i., 69
Revolutionary soldiers under George Rogers Clark, i., 53, 54
Reynolds, i., 36, 50, 102, 435, 606
Rhea, i., 11; ii., 127. *See also* Rae, Ray, Rea, Wray
Rhode Island, i., 9, 11–13, 17, 21, 26
Rhodes, i., 15
Rhydderch Hael, i., 214, 230, 232; ii., 166
Rhys, i., 185, 194
Rice, i., 16, 18, 127, 584
Richard, ii., 255, 256
Richard I., i., 340
Richard of Hexham, i., 323
Richards, i., 586; ii., 96, 391
Richardson, i., 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 36, 137, 168, 506, 533, 606; ii., 43, 74, 96, 97, 254, 334, 336, 337, 391, 406
Richmond, ii., 253, 262
Ricsig, i., 236
Riddell, Riddle, i., 145, 351, 496; ii., 8, 438
Ridge, i., 562, 578; ii., 349, 350
Ridgeway, i., 509, 511, 512, 522, 525, 529, 530, 537–539, 541, 543
Riker, i., 16
Ripley, ii., 99
Rising of 1715, i., 620
Ritchie, i., 532; ii., 406
Ritson, i., 188
Ritzema, i., 10, 14
Rizzio, assassination of, i., 419; the Queen's favorite, i., 418, 431, 438
Roach, i., 135
Roan, ii., 50, 94
Robbin, i., 534
Robert, i., 19, 321
Robert II., i., 399
Robert III., i., 399
Roberts, i., 36, 53; ii., 188, 405, 420
Robertson, i., 49, 51, 53, 86, 133, 134, 252, 340, 345, 359, 431; ii., 247, 251, 388, 404, 418–420, 436, 437
Robie, ii., 406
Robinson, i., 16, 52, 102, 134, 139, 166, 436, 533, 605; ii., 38, 40, 45, 50, 72, 419, 420
Robson, Robeson, i., 51; ii., 391, 438
Roche, i., 137, 592
Rochford, i., 611
Rockefeller, i., 52
Rockwell, ii., 59
Rodericus, i., 226
Rodger, Roger, i., 167, 333, 534; ii., 252, 253
Rodgers, i., 50, 496; ii., 95, 101, 130, 391. *See also* Rogers
Rodney, i., 31
Roe, i., 511, 526, 529, 542; ii., 96, 126
Roger. *See* Rodger
Rogers, i., 30, 53, 54; ii., 415. *See also* Rodgers
Rogerson, ii., 415
Rognwald, i., 237, 248–250, 256; ii., 206
Roland of Galloway, i., 339, 340, 350, 389
Rolleston, Roulstone, i., 509, 522, 526, 527, 537. *See also* Ralston
Rollo, ii., 384
Romanism introduced into Scotland, i., 126
Romanized Britons, i., 232
Ronald, i., 262
Ronaldson, i., 137; ii., 130
Rone, i., 540
Roome, ii., 438
Roosevelt, i., 29, 33, 50, 87, 88; ii., 13
Roosevelt, ancestry of Theodore, i., 33, 54; ii., 189
Roosevelt on the Scotch-Irish, ii., 191
Roper, i., 538
Rosborough, ii., 128
Rose, i., 328; ii., 129, 189
Rosebery, i., 134
Rosen, i., 593
Rosper, ii., 254
Ross, i., 18, 31, 51, 71, 134, 137, 138, 327, 354, 357, 374, 457, 557, 605, 606, 611; ii., 45, 59, 71–73, 269, 329, 387, 418, 419, 421, 437, 438
Rothes, i., 421, 444
Rotray, i., 285. *See also* Rattray
Rougheid, ii., 401
Roules, i., 525
Rousseau, ii., 169
Route, the, i., 481, 493
Row, ii., 306
Rowan, i., 49, 605, 607; ii., 308
Rowantree, ii., 408
Rowell, i., 16
Rowley, i., 542, 620
Roxborough, Roxburgh, i., 18; ii., 418
Roy, ii., 402
Royal bounty, grant of, i., 617, 619
Ruby, i., 17
Rue, ii., 128
Rump parliament, i., 575
Rumsey, i., 52
Run, i., 208, 227
Rush, i., 31, 35, 80; ii., 5
Russell, i., 10–12, 480, 509, 524, 538, 541, 543, 604; ii., 129, 187, 188, 252, 253, 255, 295
Russon, i., 512, 530

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Rutherford, i., 25, 450; ii., 25, 97, 237, 254, 438
Rutherglen Declaration, i., 458
Ruthven, i., 328, 346, 418, 419, 421, 431, 432; ii., 437
Rutledge, i., 31–34, 49, 52, 277, 512; ii., 134
Ruvigny, i., 616
Ryderchen, i., 225, 226
Rymer, i., 395

Sabine, i., 89
Sacheverell, i., 509, 527, 537
Sackett, i., 16; ii., 96
Sadler, Saddler, i., 610; ii., 393
St. Alban, ii., 162
St. Clair, i., 10, 24, 138, 348, 349, 395; ii., 80, 85
St. Columba, i., 189, 203
St. Cuthbert, i., 192
St. John, i., 510, 529, 537, 541
St. Patrick, i., 120, 121, 169; ii., 164
St. Patrick, Friendly Sons of, i., 1, 27, 28
St. Plebeia, i., 257
St. Serf, ii., 164, 166
Salmon, ii., 391, 419
Sample, i., 17
Samuel, ii., 254
Samuels, ii., 190
Sanderson, Saunderson, i., 506, 533, 603; ii., 366, 367
Sandilands, i., 286, 330; ii., 386
Sands, ii., 253
Sanford, Sandford, i., 15, 16, 542
Sangster, ii., 246, 393
Sankey, ii., 49, 95
Sanquhar Declaration, i., 460
Sanschir, i., 286
Sare, i., 534
Sargent, Sergeant, i., 9, 13, 20
Sarsfield, i., 598
Saunders, i., 53
Savage, i., 473, 480; ii., 273, 295, 296, 306, 307
Sawyer, ii., 55, 393
Saxon occupation of Galloway, i., 251
Sayre, i., 534, 541
Sayres, i., 19
Scalacronica, the, i., 371
Scales, ii., 393
Scammell, i., 11, 16
Scammon, i., 9
Scarlet, ii., 402
Schenck, ii., 128
Schomberg, i., 595, 615
Schuyler, i., 24
Sclater, ii., 393
Scone, i., 344
Scot, abroad, the, i., 433; in Ulster, i., 140
Scot's Water, i., 211
Scotch, Barrier Act, i., 47; Catholics of New York, i., 84; ii., 57; Highlanders of North Carolina, i., 84; Tories, ii., 57
Scotch-Irish, in American politics, i., 49; and the Constitution, i., 31; Bibliography, ii., 531–551; defenders of the frontiers, ii., 25, 31, 50, 62; governors, i., 32; in the Northwest Territory, ii., 64; population in 1775, i., 83; presidents, i., 33; and the Revolution, ii., 156, 181; the Roundheads of the South, ii., 192; settlements in Colonial America, ii., 102–130 (*see also below*); settlements, map of, ii., frontispiece; statesmen, i., 33; the term, i., 1, 26, 162; typical Americans, i., 82; who are the, i., 159
Scotch-Irish and other Presbyterian Settlements and Churches in Colonial America: Abbeville, S. C., ii., 54; Abington, Pa., ii., 14, 15, 60, 96, 108; Abingdon, Va., ii., 110; Accomac, Va., ii., 14; Achor, Ky., ii., 125; Acquebogue, N. Y., ii., 123; Acworth, Me., ii., 122; Adam's Meeting House, Va., ii., 111; Aimwell, S. C., ii., 28; Aimwell on Cedar Creek, S. C., ii., 117; Aimwell on Peedee, S. C., ii., 116; Akron, Ky., ii., 125; Alamance, N. C., ii., 113; Albany, N. Y., ii., 55, 56, 95, 96, 123; Albemarle, Va., ii., 94; Alexandria, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Alexandria, Va., ii., 110; Allentown, N. J., ii., 95, 118; Allen Township, Pa., ii., 95, 104; Amelia, Va., ii., 109; Amenia, N. Y., ii., 123; Amesbury, Mass., ii., 98, 122; Amwell, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Antietam, Md., ii., 108; Antrim, N. H., ii., 100, 121; Argyle, N. Y., ii., 53, 102, 124; Armagh, Pa., ii., 81, 107; Ashbridge, Ky., ii., 125; Ashford, Mass., ii., 95, 121; Ashley River, S. C., ii., 115; Auburn, Mass., ii., 97; Auburn, N. H., ii., 121; Augusta, Va., ii., 45, 48, 49, 94, 108; Austinville, Va., ii., 111; Back Creek, Md., ii., 107; Back Creek, Va., ii., 94, 108; Bald Eagle, Pa., ii., 77, 78; Ballston, N. Y., ii., 56, 124; Baltimore, Md., ii., 108; Barbacue, N. C., ii., 113; Barnard, Vt., ii., 99, 122; Barnegat, N. J., ii., 120; Barnet, Vt., ii., 100, 122; Barnett's, N. C., ii., 114; Barrington, N. H., ii., 98, 122; Baskingridge, N. J., ii., 14, 95, 118; Bath, Me., ii., 24; Bath, N. H., ii., 122; Batsto, N. J., ii., 120; Beaufort, S. C., ii., 28 115; Beaver Creek, S. C., ii., 116; Beaver Dam, S. C., ii., 117;

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scotch-Irish Settlements, etc. (*continued*):
Bedford, N. H., ii., 100, 121; Bedford, N. Y., ii., 15, 56, 123; Bedford, Pa., ii., 80, 83, 106; Beersheba, S. C., ii., 116; Belfast, Me., i., 27, 122; Bensalem, Pa., ii., 60, 102; Berlin, Md., ii., 108; Berlin, N. J., ii., 120; Bermuda Island, ii., 96; Bethany, N. C., ii., 114, 115; Bethany, S. C., ii., 117; Bethel, Ky., ii., 125; Bethel, Md., ii., 108; Bethel, N. C., ii., 113; Bethel, Pa., ii., 92, 93, 106; Bethel, S. C., ii., 14, 25, 97, 116; Bethel, Va., ii., 110, 111; Bethel, Pon Pon, S. C., ii., 115; Bethesda, N. C., ii., 114; Bethesda, Pa., ii., 106; Bethesda, S. C., ii., 116; Bethlehem, Ga., ii., 117; Bethlehem, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Bethlehem, N. Y., ii., 50, 123; Bethlehem, S. C., ii., 117; Bethpage, N. C., ii., 115; Bethsalem, Ga., ii., 117; Beulah, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Big Creek, Ga., ii., 130; Big Pigeon, Tenn., ii., 110; Big Spring, Ky., ii., 125; Big Spring, Pa., ii., 70, 71, 84, 94, 101, 103; Blackman's, N. J., ii., 120; Black Mingo, S. C., ii., 28, 115; Black River, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Black River, N. C., ii., 114; Black River, S. C., ii., 97; Blackwoodtown, N. J., ii., 119; Bladensburg, Md., ii., 14, 15, 107; Blandford, Mass., ii., 22, 97, 98, 100, 121; Blooming Grove, N. Y., ii., 95, 123; Blue Licks, Ky., ii., 125; Blue Spring, Ky., ii., 125; Blue Spring, Va., ii., 110; Bluestone, Va., ii., 110; Bluff, N. C., ii., 113; Bohemia Manor, Md., ii., 95, 107; Boonesboro, Ky., ii., 125; Boothbay, Me., ii., 24, 98, 120; Bordentown, N. J., ii., 95; Boscawen, N. H., ii., 98, 121; Boston, Mass., i., 27; ii., 97, 100, 120; Bound Brook, N. J., ii., 14, 95, 118; Bovina, N. Y., ii., 56; Boyd's Neck, Va., ii., 110; Bozza, N. C., ii., 115; Bracken, Ky., ii., 125; Bradaway, S. C., ii., 117; Bradford, N. H., ii., 98, 100, 121; Brainerd, N. J., ii., 120; Briar Creek, Ga., ii., 97; Bridgehampton, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Bridgeton, N. J., ii., 120; Briery, Va., ii., 109; Bristol, Me., ii., 25, 97, 98, 100, 120; Broadalbin, N. Y., ii., 56, 124; Broad Creek, Md., ii., 61, 95; Brookhaven, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Brotherton, N. J., ii., 120; Brown Marsh, N. C., ii., 115; Brown's Creek, S. C., ii., 116; Brown's Meeting House, Va., ii., 109; Brunswick, Me., ii., 24, 97, 98, 100, 120; Brush River, S. C., ii., 117; Buck Head, Ga., ii., 97, 130; Buckingham, Md., ii., 108; Buck Island, Va., ii., 94, 109; Buckskin, Ky., ii., 126; Buffalo, N. C., ii., 113; Buffalo, Pa., ii., 102, 130; Buffalo, Va., ii., 48, 94, 109; Buffalo Crossroads, Pa., ii., 76, 77, 105; Buffalo Valley, Pa., ii., 76; Bull Creek, Pa., ii., 107; Bulloch's Creek, S. C., ii., 97, 116; Bull Pasture, Va., ii., 109; Bullskin, Ky., ii., 125; Bullskin, Va., ii., 49, 108; Bulltown, S. C., ii., 116; Byrd, Va., ii., 94, 109; Cabin Creek, Ky., ii., 126; Cabin John's, Md., ii., 108; Calvary, S. C., ii., 117; Cambridge, N. Y., ii., 55, 71, 96, 101, 102, 123; Camden, S. C., ii., 116; Campbelltown, N. C., ii., 34; Camp Union, Va., ii., 110; Canaan, Me., ii., 122; Candia, N. H., ii., 121; Cane Creek, N. C., ii., 115; Cane Ridge, Ky., ii., 125; Cane Run, Ky., ii., 125; Canon Creek, S. C., ii., 130; Canterbury, N. H., ii., 121; Cape Breton Island, N. S., ii., 58; Cape Elizabeth, Me., ii., 97, 100 121; Cape May, N. J., ii., 15, 96; Captain John's, Md., ii., 108; Carlisle, Pa., ii., 71, 94; Carmel, Ga., ii., 118; Carmel, S. C., ii., 116; Carmel, Va., ii., 111; Caroline, Va., ii., 94; Carter Hall, Va., ii., 45; Cartridge Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Caswell, N. C., ii., 114; Catawba, S. C., ii., 97; Cathey's Meeting House, N. C., ii., 39, 113; Catholic, S. C., ii., 116; Cedar Bridge, N. J., ii., 120; Cedar Creek, Del., ii., 14, 60, 103; Cedar Creek, S. C., ii., 116, 129, 130; Cedar Creek, Va., ii., 45, 94, 108; Cedar Spring, Pa., ii., 73, 76, 105; Cedar Spring, Va., ii., 54; Centre, Md., ii., 108; Centre, N. C., ii., 38, 49, 113; Centre, Pa., ii., 76; Chambersburg, Pa., ii., 70, 103; Chanceford, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Charleston, S. C., ii., 14, 25, 96, 97, 115, 130; Charlestown, Pa., ii., 96; Charlestown, Va., ii., 110; Charlotte, N. C., ii., 114; Charlottenburg, Ont., ii., 57; Charlton, N. Y., ii., 124; Charter's Valley, Tenn., ii., 112; Chartiers, Pa., ii., 87, 106, 130; Chatham, N. J., ii., 15; Chelsea, Conn., ii., 96, 121; Cherry Spring, Ky., ii., 125; Cherry Valley, N. Y., ii., 55, 96, 123; Chester, N. H., ii., 23, 100, 120; Chester, N. J., ii., 119; Chester, N. Y., ii., 124; Chestnut Level, Pa., ii., 38, 62, 94, 103; Chestnut Ridge, Tenn., ii., 112; Chestnut Spring, N. C., ii., 114; Chillicothe, Ohio, ii., 126; Chillisquaque, Pa., ii., 76, 77, 105; Chilmark, Mass., ii., 97; Christiana, Del., ii., 70; Christiana Bridge, Del., ii., 104; Church Hill,

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scotch-Irish Settlements, etc. (*continued*):
Md., ii., 108; Churchville, Md., ii., 95, 108; Cincinnati, Ohio, ii., 126; Clark's Log Meeting House, N. J., ii., 120; Clark's Mill, N. J., ii., 120; Clear Creek, Ky., ii., 125; Clear Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Clear Creek, Ohio, ii., 126; Clinch River, Va., ii., 112; Coddle Creek, N. C., ii., 114, 130; Cohansey, N. J., ii., 15, 118; Cold Spring, N. J., ii., 118; Colerain, Mass., ii., 21, 55, 98, 100, 121; Columbia, Ohio, ii., 126; Columbia, S. C., ii., 117; Concord, Ga., ii., 118; Concord, Ky., ii., 125; Concord, N. H., i., 27; Concord, N. C., ii., 113; Concord, S. C., ii., 117; Concord, Va., ii., 48, 110; Concrete, Va., ii., 110; Conemaugh, Pa., ii., 107, 130; Conestoga, Pa., ii., 61; Congruity, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Connecticut Farms, N. J., ii., 15, 119; Cook's Creek, Va., ii., 94, 109; Cool Spring, Del., ii., 62, 95, 103; Cool Spring, Pa., ii., 93; Cooperstown, N. Y., ii., 124; Cork, Me., ii., 100; Cork Settlement, Me., ii., 120; Cortland Manor, N. Y., ii., 123; County Line, N. C., ii., 114; Cove, Pa., ii., 105; Cove, Va., ii., 109; Cow Pasture, Va., ii., 40, 49, 109; Crabapple, Ohio, ii., 93, 126; Crab Orchard, Ky., ii., 125; Crab Orchard, Va., ii., 110; Craftsbury, Vt., ii., 122; Craig's Creek, Va., ii., 111; Cranbury, N. J., ii., 119; Crompond, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Crooked Creek, Va., ii., 45; Cross Creek, N. C., ii., 113; Cross Creek, Pa., ii., 92, 93, 106; Cross Roads, N. C., ii., 114; Cross Roads, Ohio, ii., 126; Cross Roads, Pa., ii., 93; Crosswicks, N. J., ii., 95, 109; Croydon, N. H., ii., 99, 122; Crystal Spring, S. C., ii., 130; Cub Creek, Va., ii., 48, 49, 94, 108; Cuffeytown, S. C., ii., 117; Cumberland, Va., ii., 95; Currie's Bush, N. Y., ii., 124; Damariscotta, Me., ii., 100, 121; Dan, Va., ii., 109; Dan River, N. C., ii., 113; Danville, Ky., ii., 125; Dartmouth, N. H., ii., 99; Davis's Head of Holston, Va., ii., 111; Dayton, Ohio, ii., 126; Dedham, Mass., ii., 98; Dee Ess, Va., ii., 109; Deep Creek, Va., ii., 109; Deep River, N. C., ii., 114; Deep Run, N. C., ii., 130; Deep Run, Pa., ii., 62, 96, 101, 103; Deer Creek, Md., ii., 95, 108; Deerfield, N. J., ii., 96, 119; Deer Island, Me., ii., 122; Deer Park, N. Y., ii., 124; Denny's Station, Ohio, ii., 126; Derry, Pa., ii., 62, 94, 103, 105; Diamond Hill, S. C., ii., 130; Dick's Gap, Pa., ii., 76, 105; Doe Run, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Donegal, Pa., ii., 61, 81, 93, 94, 103, 106; Dorchester, Ga., ii., 117; Dorchester, S. C., ii., 115; Dover, Del., ii., 14, 60, 95, 103; Downing's, Va., ii., 109; Drawyers, Del., ii., 14, 15, 60, 65, 102; Dry Hollow, Pa., ii., 105; Duck Creek, Del., ii., 61, 95, 103; Duet's Corner, S. C., ii., 130; Dunbarton, N. H., ii., 122; Duncan's Creek, S. C., ii., 116; Dunlap's Creek, Pa., ii., 79, 80, 86, 92, 93, 106, 130; Durham, Pa., ii., 70, 104; E. and O., N. C., ii., 114; Eagle Creek, Ohio, ii., 126; Earltown, N. S., ii., 58; Eastchester, N. Y., ii., 123; East Conococheague, Pa., ii., 100, 101, 103; Easthampton, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; East Hanover, N. H., ii., 99, 122; East Kishacoquillas, Pa., ii., 105; East Nottingham, Md., ii., 14, 61, 95, 103; Easton, Mass., ii., 98, 100, 121; Ebbing Spring, Va., ii., 111; Ebenezer, Ga., ii., 117; Ebenezer, Pa., ii., 107; Ebenezer, S. C., ii., 116, 130; Edenton, N. C., ii., 113; Edgefield, S. C., ii., 117; Edisto Island, S. C., ii., 14, 25, 115; Eighteen-Mile Creek, Ga., ii., 130; Elizabeth, N. J., ii., 31, 96, 118; Elizabeth, N. C., ii., 115; Elizabeth Creek, Va., ii., 108; Elizabeth River, Va., ii., 14, 74; Elk Branch, Va., ii., 49, 109; Elk River, Md., ii., 15; Ellsworth, Me., ii., 122; Eno, N. C., ii., 113, 130; Eusebia, N. C., ii., 113; Fagg's Manor, Pa., ii., 62, 95, 103; Fairfield, N. J., ii., 118; Fairfield, N. C., ii., 115; Fairfield, Pa., ii., 81, 93, 106; Fairforest, S. C., ii., 116; Fairlee, Vt., ii., 99, 122; Fairmount, N. J., ii., 119; Fairview, S. C., ii., 116; Falling Creek, Ga., ii., 117, 118; Falling Spring, Pa., ii., 70, 103; Falling Spring, Va., ii., 109; Falling Waters, Va., ii., 49, 109; Falmouth, Me., i., 27; ii., 18, 100, 120; Fannet, Pa., ii., 75; Fauquier, Va., ii., 110; Fayetteville, N. C., ii., 34, 95; Fergus Creek, Ga., ii., 118; Fermanagh, Pa., ii., 101, 105; Ferry, The, Md., ii., 108; Fifth Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Fishdam, S. C., ii., 117; Fishing Creek, S. C., ii., 94, 97; Flats, The, West Va., ii., 111; Flemingsburg, Ky., ii., 125; Flint Run, Va., ii., 111; Florida, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Forest, The, Del., ii., 70, 95, 104; Forest, The, Va., ii., 109; Fork of Pamunkey, Va., ii., 110; Forks of Brandywine, Pa., ii., 61, 70, 103; Forks of Catawba, N. C., ii., 113; Forks of Dick's River, Ky., ii., 125;

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scotch-Irish Settlements, etc. (*continued*):
Forks of Holston and French Broad, Tenn., ii., 112; Forks of James, Va., ii., 50, 108; Forks of Wheeling, West Va., ii., 93, 111; Forks of Yadkin, N. C., ii., 113; Forks of Youghiogheny, Pa., ii., 71; Fort Edward, N. Y., i., 27; ii., 53; Fort Pitt, Pa., ii., 79, 80, 90 (*see also* Pittsburgh); Fourth Creek, N. C., ii., 39, 113, 130; Foxhill, N. J., ii., 119; Fox Run, Ky., ii., 125; Francestown, N. H., ii., 121; Frankfort, Pa., ii., 102; Frankfort, Va., ii., 111; Franklin, N. Y., ii., 124; Frankstown, Pa., ii., 105; Frederick, Md., ii., 108; Fredericksburg, N. Y., ii., 124; Freehold, N. J., ii., 14, 15, 95, 118; Galloway, N. Y., ii., 124; Galway, N. Y., ii., 124; Gap Creek, Tenn., ii., 112; Generostee, S. C., ii., 130; George's Creek, Pa., ii., 86, 93, 106; George's Creek, S. C., ii., 117; Georgetown, Ky., ii., 126; Georgetown, Me., ii., 24, 100, 121; Georgetown, Md., ii., 108; Gilead, N. C., ii., 130; Glades, The, Pa., ii., 89; Glade Spring, Va., ii., 111; Glen, N. Y., ii., 56; Glengarry, Ont., ii., 57; Gloucester, N. J., ii., 118; Gloversville, N. Y., ii., 57; Goffstown, N. H., ii., 100, 121; Golden Grove, N. C., ii., 114; Golden Grove, S. C., ii., 117; Goochland, Va., ii., 94; Good Hope, S. C., ii., 117; Good Hope, Va., ii., 110; Goodluck, N. J., ii., 119; Goodwill, N. Y., ii., 123; Goose Pond, Ga., ii., 118; Gordon's Meeting House, Va., ii., 109; Goshen, Ga., ii., 117; Goshen, N. Y., ii., 50, 96, 123; Goshen, N. C., ii., 32, 94, 113, 130; Graham's Meeting House, Va., ii., 111; Granby, S. C., ii., 117; Granville, N. Y., ii., 124; Grassy Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Grassy Spring, S. C., ii., 116; Grassy Valley, N. C., ii., 113; Gray, Me., ii., 122; Great Conewago, Pa., ii., 70, 94, 104; Great Cove, Pa., ii., 105; Great Creek, S. C., ii., 97; Great Egg Harbor, N. J., ii., 119; Great Island, Pa., ii., 76, 78, 105; Great Kioka, Ga., ii., 118; Great Plains of French Broad, N. C., ii., 115; Great Valley, Pa., ii., 14, 15, 60, 103; Greenbrier, West Va., ii., 111; Greencastle, Pa., ii., 70, 71, 100; Greenfield, Mass., ii., 121; Greensboro, Ga., ii., 118; Green Spring, Va., ii., 112; Greenville, S. C., ii., 116; Greenway Court, Va., ii., 44; Greenwich, Mass., ii., 121; Greenwich, N. J., ii., 119; Greenwich-on-Cohansey, N. J., ii., 118; Greenwich, N. Y., ii., 53, 96; Grier's, N. C., ii., 113; Groton, Mass., ii., 122; Grove, The, N. C., ii., 32, 103; Guinston, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Guysborough County, N. S., ii., 58; Hackettstown, N. J., ii., 119; Hagerstown, Md., ii., 108; Halifax, N. S., ii., 58; Hall's Meeting House, Va., ii., 108; Hanging Rock, S. C., ii., 116; Hannastown, Pa., ii., 82, 130; Hanover, N. H., ii., 99, 122; Hanover, N. J., ii., 119; Hanover, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Hanover, Pa., ii., 70, 103; Hanover, Va., ii., 50, 94, 108; Hanover Centre, N. H., ii., 99; Harmon's Creek, Pa., ii., 102; Harpersfield, N. Y., ii., 56, 124; Harrisburg, Pa., i., 60; Harris's Creek, Va., ii., 109; Harris's Settlement, Ga., ii., 117; Harrodsburg, Ky., ii., 125; Hartford, Vt., ii., 99, 121; Hart's Log, Pa., ii., 105; Hat Creek, Va., ii., 48, 110; Haverstraw, N. Y., ii., 124; Hawfields, N. C., ii., 113, 130; Head of Christiana, Del., ii., 14, 60; Head of Christiana, Pa., ii., 102; Head of French Broad, Tenn., ii., 113; Head of Elk, Md., ii., 95; Head of Elk, Pa., ii., 103; Head of Smith's River, Va., ii., 110; Head of Timber Creek, N. J., ii., 119; Head Spring, S. C., ii., 130; Hebron, N. Y., ii., 54, 124; Hebron, Tenn., ii., 112; Hempstead, N. Y., ii., 122; Henrico, Va., ii., 94, 109; High Bank Prairie, Ohio, ii., 126; High Bridge, Va., ii., 110; Hillsboro, N. C., ii., 115; Hitchcock, S. C., ii., 116; Hitchcock's, N. C., ii., 114; Hold's Creek, Ohio, ii., 126; Hollows, N. C., ii., 114; Hopewell, Ky., ii., 125; Hopewell, N. J., ii., 14, 95, 96, 118; Hopewell, N. Y., ii., 124; Hopewell, N. C., ii., 39, 113, 115; Hopewell, Pa., ii., 70, 93, 104; Hopewell, S. C., ii., 116, 117; Hopewell, Tenn., ii., 112; Hopewell, Va., ii., 110; Hopewell on Peedee, S. C., ii., 116; Horeb, S. C., ii., 117; Horne's, Ohio, ii., 126; Horseshoebottom, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Hudson, N. H., ii., 122; Hudson, N. Y., ii., 124; Hunter's Settlement, Pa., ii., 70; Hunting Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Huntingdon, Pa., ii., 76, 79, 105; Huntington, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Indian Creek, S. C., ii., 97, 116, 130; Indian Land, S. C., ii., 97, 116; Indian River, Del., ii., 70, 104; Indiantown, S. C., ii., 28, 97, 116; Island Creek, Ohio, ii., 93; Jackson's Creek, S. C., ii., 116; Jackson's River, Va., ii., 110; Jacob's Swamp, Pa., ii., 81; Jahher's, S. C., ii., 117; Jamaica, N.

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scotch-Irish Settlements, etc. (*continued*):
Y., ii., 95, 123; James's Island, S. C., ii., 14, 25, 97, 115; Jersey Settlement, N. C., ii., 113; Jessamine Creek, Ky., ii., 125; John's Island, S. C., ii., 14, 25, 97, 115; Johnston's Fork, Ky., ii., 126; Johnstown, N. Y., ii., 57, 123; Jonesborough, Tenn., ii., 112; Joppa, Ga., ii., 118, 130; Joppa, N. C., ii., 114; Junkin's Tent, Pa., ii., 71; Keith, N. C., ii., 115; Ketchabonock, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Kettle Creek, Ga., ii., 118; Kingsbury, N. Y., ii., 124; King's Creek, Pa., ii., 107; Kingston, N. H., ii., 97, 98, 100, 120; Kingston, N. J., ii., 119; King's Tree, S. C., ii., 26; Kingwood, N. J., ii., 119; Kishacoquillas, Pa., ii., 74, 76–78; Knob's Creek, N. C., ii., 110, 114; Knowlton, N. J., ii., 120; Knoxville, Tenn., ii., 112; Kortright, N. Y., ii., 56, 124; Lamington, N. J., ii., 119; Lancaster, Ont., ii., 57; Lansingburgh, N. Y., ii., 124; Laurel Hill, N. C., ii., 115; Laurel Hill, Pa., ii., 81, 86, 92, 106, 107, 130; Leacock, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Lebanon, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Lebanon, Pa., ii., 92, 93, 106; Lebanon, S. C., ii., 116; Lee's Creek, Ky., ii., 126; Lennox County, Ont., ii., 57; Letort Spring, Pa., ii., 72; Lewes, Del., ii., 14, 15, 60, 95, 102; Lewistown, Pa., ii., 105; Lexington, Ga., ii., 118; Lexington, Ky., ii., 125, 130; Lexington, Va., ii., 108, 111; Liberty, Ga., ii., 118; Liberty Spring, S. C., ii., 117; Licking Creek, Pa., ii., 71; Lick Run, Pa., ii., 105; Ligonier, Pa., ii., 80, 81, 106; Ligonier Valley, Pa., ii., 107; Limestone Ridge, Pa., ii., 105; Linvell's Creek, Va., ii., 109; Litchfield, Conn., ii., 56; Little Britain, Ga., ii., 118; Little Britain, N. Y., ii., 123; Little Britain, N. C., ii., 114; Little Britain, Pa., ii., 62, 103; Little Conewago, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Little Egg Harbor, N. J., ii., 119; Little Falling River, Va., ii., 109; Little Levels, Va., ii., 110; Little Mountain, Ky., ii., 125; Little Pigeon, Tenn., ii., 110; Little River, N. C., ii., 114; Little River, S. C., ii., 116, 130; Little River, Tenn., ii., 110; Little Run, S. C., ii., 129, 130; Lock Haven, Pa., ii., 78; Locust Bottom, Va., ii., 110; Logtown, N. J., ii., 119; Londonderry, N. H., i., 27; ii., 14, 18, 56, 57, 70, 97, 100, 120; Longacoming, N. J., ii., 120; Long Cane, S. C., ii., 129, 130; Long Canes, S. C., ii., 54, 97; Long Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Long Run, Pa., ii., 81, 93, 106; Longstreet, N. C., ii., 113; Louisville, Ga., ii., 130; Lower Alloways, N. J., ii., 119; Lower Brandywine, Pa., ii., 14, 15, 92, 103; Lower Buffalo, N. C., ii., 115; Lower Buffalo Pa., ii., 93; Lower Chanceford, Pa., ii., 71, 100; Lower Concord, Tenn., ii., 112; Lower Fishing Creek, S. C., ii., 116; Lower Hardwick, N. J., ii., 119; Lower Haw River, N. C., ii., 114; Lower Hico, N. C., ii., 114; Lower Long Cane, S. C., ii., 116; Lower Marlborough, Md., ii., 14; Lower Marsh Creek, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Lower Mount Bethel, Pa., ii., 92; Lower Octorara, Md., ii., 107; Lower Octorara, Pa., ii., 14; Lower Path Valley, Pa., ii., 105; Lower Providence, Pa., ii., 62, 96; Lower Robinson's Run, Pa., ii., 107; Lower Ten Mile, Pa., ii., 106; Lower Tuscarora, Pa., ii., 73, 76, 105; Lower Union, S. C., ii., 116; Lower West Conococheague, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Lower West Nottingham, Pa., ii., 14; Lunenburgh, Va., ii., 109; Lycoming, Pa., ii., 105; Lyme, N. H., ii., 99; Lyme, Vt., ii., 121; Lynch's Creek, S. C., ii., 97; Lynnhaven, Va., ii., 108; McAden's Church, Va., ii., 110; McAfee's, Ky., ii., 125; Machias, Me., ii., 121; McKay's, N. C., ii., 113; Madison, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Mahoning Ohio, ii., 126; Mahoning, Pa., ii., 105; Maidenhead, N. J., ii., 14, 96, 118; Mamre, N. C., ii., 115; Manahawken, N. J., ii., 120; Manokin, Md., ii., 14, 15, 107; Mansfield-Woodhouse, N. J., ii., 119; Marietta, Ohio, ii., 126; Marlboro, N. Y., ii., 123; Marlborough, Md., ii., 15; Marsh Creek, Pa., ii., 101; Martha's Vineyard, Mass., ii., 17; Martinsburg, West Va., ii., 111; Mattituck, N. Y., ii., 15, 123; Mayo, Va., ii., 109; Meeting House Spring, Pa., ii., 70, 103; Mendham, N. J., ii., 96, 119; Mercersburg, Pa., ii., 70, 75, 104; Merrymeeting Bay, Me., ii., 24; Metuchen, N. J., ii., 120; Mexico, Pa., ii., 101; Middlefield, N. Y., ii., 55, 99, 123; Middle Fishing Creek, S. C., ii., 116; Middle Hico, N. C., ii., 113; Middle Octorara, Pa., ii., 62, 100, 103; Middle Spring, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Middletown, N. J., ii., 118; Middletown, Pa., ii., 62, 103; Middletown, Va., ii., 111; Middletown Point, N. J., ii., 119; Middle Tuscarora, Pa., ii., 73, 105; Milesburg, Pa., ii., 78; Milford, Conn., ii., 23, 95, 121;

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scotch-Irish Settlements, etc. (*continued*):
Milford, S. C., ii., 117; Mill Creek, Pa., ii., 102, 106, 107; Miller's, S. C., ii., 117; Miller's Run, Pa., ii., 71, 93, 107; Millstone, N. J., ii., 119; Mineral Spring, N. C., ii., 115; Mingo, Ohio, ii., 126; Mingo Creek, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Monaghan, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Monocacy, Md., ii., 108; Monongahela, Pa., ii., 92, 93; Monroe, N. Y., ii., 56; Montour's, Pa., ii., 106; Montour's Run, Pa., ii., 93; Moore's Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Morganton, N. C., ii., 114; Moriah, N. C., ii., 115; Moriches, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Morristown, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Mossy Creek, Va., ii., 48, 109; Mossy Spring, Pa., ii., 70, 103; Mountain, Va., ii., 94, 109; Mountain Brook, N. Y., ii., 125; Mountain Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Mountain Plain, Va., ii., 48, 94, 108; Mountain Society, N. J., ii., 118; Mount Bethel, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Mount Bethel, Tenn., ii., 112; Mount Hope, Pa., ii., 107; Mount Moriah, Pa., ii., 89; Mount Olivet, S. C., ii., 116; Mount Pleasant, N. J., ii., 119; Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, ii., 126; Mount Pleasant, Pa., ii., 81, 84, 86, 93, 106, 107; Mount Sterling, Ky., ii., 125; Mount Zion, Ga., ii., 117; Mount Zion, Ky., ii., 125; Mount Zion, S. C., ii., 117; Mouth of Big Sandy, Ky., ii., 126; Mouth of Fleming, Ky., ii., 126; Mouth of Octorara, Md., ii., 61; Mouth of Swanano, Tenn., i., 112; Muddy Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Muddy Creek, Pa., ii., 89, 93, 100, 106; Muddy Run, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Murderkill, Del., ii., 14, 60, 103; Nazareth, S. C., ii., 116; Needwood, Va., ii., 109; Neely's Creek, S. C., ii., 130; Neelytown, N. Y., ii., 124; Neshaminy, Pa., ii., 62, 96, 103; Neshannock, Pa., ii., 93; Newark, N. J., ii., 15, 95, 118; Newberne, N. C., ii., 113; New Bethel, Tenn., ii., 112; New Boston, Mass., ii., 98; New Boston, N. H., ii., 121; New Brunswick, N. J., ii., 118; Newburgh, N. Y., ii., 124; Newbury, Vt., ii., 99, 121; Newburyport, Mass., ii., 98, 100, 121; Newcastle, Del., ii., 14, 15, 60, 95, 102; Newcastle, Me., ii., 100, 121; New Dublin, Va., ii., 111; New Florence, Pa., ii., 82; New Glasgow, Mass., ii., 100, 121; New Gloucester, Me., ii., 100, 121; New Haven, Pa., ii., 82; New Hempstead, N. Y., ii., 124; New Hope, Ga., ii., 118; New Hope, N. C., ii., 115, 130; New Ipswich, N. H., ii., 121; New Kent, Va., ii., 94; New London, Pa., ii., 62, 97, 103; New Market, N. H., ii., 98, 100, 120; New Mecklenburg, Va., ii., 45; New Monmouth, Va., ii., 108; New Perth, N. C., ii., 130; New Providence, Ky., ii., 125; New Providence, N. J., ii., 119; New Providence, N. C., ii., 113; New Providence, Pa., ii., 93; New Providence, Tenn., ii., 112; New Providence, Va., ii., 49, 50, 94, 108; New Salem, Pa., ii., 93; New Scotland, N. Y., ii., 56, 124, 125; New Stirling, N. C., ii., 130; Newton, N. J., ii., 119; Newton, S. C., ii., 117; Newtown, N. Y., ii., 15, 95, 123, 124; Newtown, Pa., ii., 69, 96, 103; New Windsor, N. Y., ii., 124; New Windsor, S. C., ii., 97; New York, N. Y., ii., 14, 15, 95, 101, 123; Ninety-Six, S. C., ii., 116; Noblesboro, Me. ii., 25, 100, 120; Noblestown, Pa., ii., 107; Norristown, Ohio, ii., 126; Norriton, Pa., ii., 14, 60, 102; North Buffalo, Pa., ii., 106; North Cornwall, Ct., ii., 122; North Fork, Va., ii., 110; North Garden, Va., ii., 109; North Mountain, Va., ii., 49, 50, 108; North Pacolet, S. C., ii., 116; Northumberland, Pa., ii., 76, 77, 105; Norwich, Vt., ii., 99, 121; Nottingham, N. H., ii., 122; Nottingham, Pa., ii., 61; Nutbush, N. C., ii., 114; Nutfield, N. H., ii., 18 (*see also* Londonderry); Oakham, Mass., ii., 98, 122; Octorara, Pa., ii., 70, 71, 101, 104; Old Fork, Va., ii., 108; Old Scots Meeting House, N. J., ii., 118; Olney, N. C., ii., 115; Onancock, Va., ii., 108; Onslow, N. S., ii., 58; Opequon, Va., ii., 45, 48, 49, 94, 108; Orange, N. J., ii., 96, 118; Orangeburg, S. C., ii., 117; Orangedale, N. Y., ii., 124; Orangedale, Ohio, ii., 126; Orford, N. H., ii., 99, 122; Osborne's, N. C., ii., 39; Osnabruck, Ont., ii., 57; Otsego, N. Y., ii., 21, 55; Owens's Creek, Va., ii., 109; Oxford, Mass., ii., 97, 120; Oxford, N. J., ii., 119; Oxford, Pa., ii., 61, 101, 103, 104; Oxford, Va., ii., 110; Paint Creek, Ohio, ii., 126; Paint Lick, Ky., ii., 125; Palmer, Mass., i., 27, 97, 100, 120; Pamunkey, Va., ii., 108; Paris, Ky., ii., 125; Parkinson's Ferry, Pa., ii., 92; Parsippany, N. J., ii., 119; Patchogue, N. Y., ii., 123; Path Valley, Pa., ii., 64, 74, 76; Patterson, N. Y., ii., 124; Patuxent, Md., ii., 14, 107; Paxtang, Pa., ii., 62, 71, 94, 100, 103, 104; Paxton, Vt., ii., 121;

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scotch-Irish Settlements, etc. (*continued*):
Peaked Mountain, Va., ii., 49, 94, 109; Peaks of Otter, Va., ii., 109; Peapack, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Peedee, S. C., ii., 97; Peekskill, N. Y., ii., 123; Pelham, Mass., ii., 21, 55, 98, 100, 121; Pemaquid, Me., ii., 24, 97, 100, 120; Pembroke, Mass., ii., 122; Pembroke, N. H., ii., 98, 100, 121; Pencader, Del., ii., 60, 101, 102; Pennington, N. J., ii., 119; Penn's Neck, N. J., ii., 119; Penn's Valley, Pa., ii., 76, 105; Pent Gap, Tenn., ii., 112; Pequea, Pa., ii., 61, 71, 94, 101, 103; Perth Amboy, N. J., ii., 118; Peterboro, N. H., ii., 98, 100, 121; Petersburg, Va., ii., 109; Peters's Creek, Pa., ii., 107; Philadelphia, N. C., ii., 114; Philadelphia, Pa., i., 1; ii., 14, 15, 70, 95, 96, 101, 102, 104; Philadelphia, S. C., ii., 117; Phillippi, N. Y., ii., 124; Pictou County, N. S., ii., 58; Piermont, N. H., ii., 99, 122; Pigeon Creek, Pa., ii., 87, 93, 106; Pike Run, Pa., ii., 93, 107; Pilesgrove, N. J., ii., 118; Pine Creek, Pa., ii., 105; Pine Grove, Va., ii., 11; Pine Tree, S. C., ii., 97; Piney Creek, Md., ii., 108; Pipe Creek, Md., ii., 108; Pisgah, Ky., ii., 125, 130; Pisgah, Va., ii., 109; Pittsburgh, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Pittsburgh, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Pitts Creek, Md., ii., 107; Pittsgrove, N. J., ii., 96, 118; Pitt Township, Pa., ii., 93; Plattsburgh, N. Y., ii., 124; Pleasant Garden, N. C., ii., 114; Pleasant Run, Va., ii., 110; Pleasant Valley, N. Y., ii., 124; Plumstead, Pa., ii., 62, 103; Pocomoke, Va., ii., 15; Poke Run, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Pole Green, Va., ii., 108; Pomfret, Vt., ii., 122; Pon Pon, S. C., ii., 97; Poplar Springs, Ga., ii., 130; Poplar Tent, N. C., ii., 113; Porpooduc, Me., ii., 100, 120; Port Royal, S. C., ii., 97; Portsmouth, N. H., i., 27; Poughkeepsie, N. Y., ii., 95, 123; Poundridge, N. Y., ii., 124; Pownalboro, Me., ii., 98, 120; Prince Edward County, Ont., ii., 57; Prince Edward Island, ii., 58; Princeton, Mass, ii., 121; Princeton, N. J., ii., 33, 47, 119; Princetown, N. Y., ii., 124; Proctor's Tent, Pa., ii., 81; Prosperity, N. C., ii., 130; Prosperity, S. C., ii., 130; Providence, Ga., ii., 117; Providence, N. C., ii., 130; Providence, Pa., ii., 103; Providence, Tenn., ii., 112; Providence, Va., ii., 95, 109; Puckety, Pa., ii., 107; Purity, S. C., ii., 116; Quaker Meadows, N. C., ii., 114; Queensboro, Ga., ii., 130; Quihawken, N. J., ii., 119; Quogue, N. Y., ii., 123; Raccoon, Pa., ii., 93; Raft Swamp, N. C., ii., 115; Rahway, N. J., ii., 15, 96, 119; Ramah, N. C., ii., 115; Randolph, Me., ii. 122; Randoph, Vt., ii., 99; Rayburn's Creek, Ga., ii., 130; Readington, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Red Clay Creek, Del., ii., 15, 61, 95; Red Clay Creek, Pa., ii., 103; Red House, N. C., ii., 113; Red Oak, Ohio, ii., 126; Redstone, Pa., ii., 79; Reed Fork, N. C., ii., 114; Reedy Branch, S. C., ii., 116; Rehoboth, Md., ii., 14, 95, 107; Rehoboth, Pa., ii., 80, 106; Rein's Creek, N. C., ii., 115; Remsen's Bush, N. Y., ii., 124; Restigouche County, N. S., ii., 58; Rich Cove, Va., ii., 109; Richland, Ohio, ii., 93, 126; Richmond, Ga., ii., 118; Ridgebury, N. Y., ii., 124; Rimm's Creek, Tenn., ii., 112; Roanoke, Va., ii., 49, 110; Roberts, S. C., ii., 117; Robinson's Run, Pa., ii., 107; Rock, The, Md., ii., 14, 60, 61, 95, 103; Rock, S. C., ii., 116; Rockaway, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Rock Creek, Pa., ii., 70, 71, 100, 104; Rockfish, N. C., ii., 115; Rockfish, Va., ii., 48, 49; Rockfish Gap, Va., ii., 94, 108; Rock Spring, Va., ii., 112; Rock Springs, N. C., ii., 130; Rockville, Md., ii., 108; Rocky Creek, S. C., ii., 116, 130; Rocky Mount, S. C., ii., 97; Rocky Neck, S. C., ii., 117; Rocky River, N. C., ii., 42, 94, 113; Rocky River, S. C., ii., 116, 130; Rocky Spring, Pa., ii., 70, 71, 104; Rocky Spring, S. C., ii., 116, 130; Rocky Spring, Va., ii., 108; Rocsiticus, N. J., ii., 119; Romney, West Va., ii., 90, 110; Rosborough, S. C., ii., 117; Round Hill, Pa., ii., 70, 80, 94, 104, 106; Royalton, Vt., ii., 99, 122; Roxbury, N. Y., ii., 124; Rumbout, N. Y., ii., 95, 123; Rutland, Mass., ii., 121; Rye, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Ryegate, Vt., ii., 100, 102, 122; Saba Island, ii., 96; St. Clairsville, Ohio, ii., 93, 126; St. George's, Del., ii., 70, 95, 104; St. George's, Me., ii., 122; St. John's, S. C., ii., 96; St. Peter's, Va., ii., 109; Salem, Ga., ii., 118; Salem, Ky., ii., 125; Salem, Mass., ii., 98, 122; Salem, N. Y., ii., 53, 54, 96, 123; Salem, N. C., ii., 114; Salem, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Salem, S. C., ii., 28; Salem, Tenn., ii., 112; Salem, Va., ii., 111; Salem on Black River, S. C., ii., 116; Salisbury, N. C., ii., 113; Salisbury, Pa., ii., 96; Saltketcher, S. C., ii., 28, 97, 116; Salt River, Ky.,

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scotch-Irish Settlements, etc. (*continued*):
ii., 125; Saluda, S. C., ii., 97, 116; Sandy Creek, N. C., ii., 114; Sandy Creek, Va., ii., 109; Sandy River, N. C., ii., 114; Sardis, N. C., ii., 130; Savannah, Ga., ii., 97; Scarboro, Me., ii., 98, 100, 120; Schenectady, N. Y., ii., 124; Schodack, N. Y., ii., 125; Scotchtown, N. Y., ii., 125; Scotland, Me., ii., 120; Seabrook, N. H., ii., 98, 122; Service, Pa., ii., 102; Setauket, N. Y., ii., 15, 123; Sewickley, Pa., ii., 85, 87, 93, 106; Shark River, N. J., ii., 120; Sharon, Ga., ii., 118; Sharpsburg, Md., ii., 108; Shaver's Creek, Pa., ii., 105; Shearman's Creek, Pa., ii., 105; Sheepscot, Me., ii., 100, 121; Shell Bluff, S. C., ii., 97; Shepherdstown, Va., ii., 110; Sherrill's Creek, Ga., ii., 118; Shiloh, Ky., ii., 125; Shiloh, S. C., i., 117; Shippensburg, Pa., ii., 84; Shirley, Pa., ii., 76, 105; Short Creek, Ohio, ii., 93, 126; Shrewsbury, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Shrewsbury, Pa., ii., 104; Shunam, Tenn., ii., 112; Siloam, Ga., ii., 118; Silver Creek, Ky., ii., 125; Silvers's Spring, Pa., ii., 70, 94, 103; Simcoe County, Ont., ii., 58; Simpson's Creek, Ky., ii., 126; Sinking Creek, Pa., ii., 105; Sinking Spring, Tenn., ii., 112; Sinking Spring, Va., ii., 110, 112; Sinking Valley, Pa., ii., 105; Sinks, Va., ii., 110; Six Mile Spring, N. C., ii., 113; Slate Creek, N. C., ii., 115; Slate Ridge, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Smithtown, N. Y., ii., 123; Smyrna, Ga., ii., 118; Smyrna, Ky., ii., 125; Smyrna, N. C., ii., 114; Smyrna, S. C., ii., 117; Snow Hill, Md., ii., 14, 15, 107; Soldier's Delight, Md., ii., 108; Souhegan, N. H., ii., 100, 121; Southampton, N. Y., ii., 15, 16, 96, 122; South Argyle, N. Y., ii., 124; Southeast, N. Y., ii., 123; South Fork of Catawba, N. C., ii., 114; South Fork of Ten Mile, Pa., ii., 92, 106; South Hanover, N. J., ii., 95, 119; Southold, N. Y., ii., 122; South Pacolet, S. C., ii., 116; South River, West Va., ii., 111; South Ryegate, Vt., ii., 122; South Tyger River, S. C., ii., 117; South Washington, N. C., ii., 115; Speedwell, N. C., ii., 114; Spreading Spring, Va., ii., 110; Spring Creek, Va., ii., 111; Springdale, Ohio, ii., 126; Springfield, Ky., ii., 125; Springfield, N. J., ii., 15; Springfield, N. Y., ii., 124; Springfield, Ohio., ii., 126; Springfield, West Va., ii., 111; Spring Hill, Pa., ii., 130; Spruc Creek, Pa., ii., 105; Squirrel Hill, Pa ii., 81, 82, 106; Stafford, Conn., ii 97; Stamford, N. Y., ii., 124; Stanc ing Stone, Pa., ii., 79 (*see* Hunting don); Stanford, Ky., ii., 125; State Island, N. Y., ii., 123; Statesville, N C., ii., 39, 113, 130; Staunton, Va ii., 45, 110; Steel Creek, N. C., ii., 113 Steel Creek, S. C., ii., 130; Stephens burg, Va., ii., 49; Steubenville, Ohio ii., 93; Stewart's Crossings, Pa., ii. 81; Stillwater, N. Y., ii., 54, 56, 124 Stirling, Me., ii., 25, 100, 121; Stone Church, Va., ii., 108; Stonermouth Ky., ii., 125; Stony Creek, N. C., ii. 114; Stony Creek, S. C., ii., 28, 97 115; Stony Ridge, Pa., ii., 100, 104 Succasunna, N. J., ii., 120; Sugar Creek, N. C., ii., 39, 113, 130; Sugar Ridge, Ky., ii., 126; Sumter, S. C., ii., 97; Sunbury, Ga., ii., 97; Sunbury, Pa., ii., 105; Sutton, Mass., ii., 97; Swanano, N. C., ii., 115; Sylvester, Me., ii., 122; Tehicken, Pa., i., 104; Ten Mile, Pa., ii., 92; Tennessee, N. C., ii., 113; Tent, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Thetford, Vt., ii., 99, 121; Thicketty, S. C., ii., 117; Third Creek, N. C., ii., 39, 114; Thomaston, Me., ii., 97; Three Ridges, Pa., ii., 93, 106; Three Runs, S. C., ii., 97; Three Springs, Pa., ii., 93, 107; Thyatira, N. C., ii., 39; Timber Creek, N. J., ii., 119; Timber Ridge, Va., ii., 50, 94, 108; Tinicum, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Tinkling Spring, Va., ii., 48, 49, 94, 108; Toboyne, Pa., ii., 105; Tomahawk, N. C., ii., 114; Tom's Creek, Md., ii., 108; Tom's River, N. J., ii., 120; Topsham, Me., ii., 24, 99, 100, 120; Townsend, Me., ii., 100, 120; Treddyfrin, Pa., ii., 61; Trenton, N. J., ii., 95, 118; Triple Forks, Va., ii., 48, 49; Truro, N. S., ii., 57; Tuckahoe River, N. J., ii., 120; Tunbridge, Me., ii., 122; Tunbridge, Vt., ii., 99; Turkey, N. J., ii., 119; Turkeyhill, S. C., ii., 117; Turner, Me., ii., 122; Tuscarora, Pa., ii., 94, 105; Tuscarora, Va., ii., 108, 109; Tuscarora Valley, Pa., ii., 64; Twenty-Six, Mile Creek, Ga., ii., 130; Tygart's Valley, West Va., ii., 88, 109; Tyrone, Pa., ii., 81, 86, 105, 106; Union, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Union, N. C., ii., 115; Union, Ohio, ii., 126; Union, Pa., ii., 93, 107; Union, S. C., ii., 116; Unity, N. C., ii., 115; Unity, Pa., ii., 81, 86, 93, 106; Unity, S. C., ii., 117; Unity, Va., ii., 110; Upper Buffalo, Pa., ii., 92, 106; Upper Con-

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scotch-Irish Settlements, etc. (*continued*):
cord, Tenn., ii., 112; Upper Creek, N. C., ii., 115; Upper Fishing Creek, S. C., ii., 116; Upper Hardwick, N. J., ii., 119; Upper Haw River, N. C., ii., 114; Upper Hico, N. C., ii., 113; Upper Holston, Va., ii., 111; Upper Hopewell, N. J., ii., 120; Upper Long Cane, S. C., ii., 116; Upper Marlboro, Md., ii., 14, 15, 107; Upper Marsh Creek, Pa., ii., 70, 94, 104; Upper Octorara, Pa., ii., 14, 61, 95, 109; Upper Path Valley, Pa., ii., 105; Upper Raccoon, Pa., ii., 106; Upper Salem, Pa., ii., 93; Upper Ten Mile, Pa., ii., 106; Upper Toboyne, Pa., ii., 76; Upper Tuscarora, Pa., ii., 105; Upper West Conococheague, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Valley, Va., ii., 110; Voluntown, Conn., ii., 22, 97, 100, 120; Waccamau, S. C., ii., 28, 115; Wading River, N. J., ii., 120; Wadmalaw, S. C., ii., 117; Waggoner's Settlement, Tenn., ii., 112; Wahab, Va., ii., 110; Walden, N. Y., ii., 123; Wales, S. C., ii., 97; Walker's, Va., ii., 48, 109; Wallkill, N. Y., ii., 50, 55, 71, 96, 123; Walnut Hill, Ky., ii., 125; Wando Neck, S. C., ii., 97; Warren, Me., ii., 25, 97, 121; Warren, Mass., ii., 22, 100, 121; Warrentown, Ohio, ii., 126; Warrior Run, Pa., ii., 76, 105; Warrior's Creek, S. C., ii., 130; Warrior's Mark, Pa., ii., 105; Warwick, N. Y., ii., 123; Washington, Ga., ii., 118; Washington, Ky., ii., 126; Washington, N. J., ii., 119; Washington, Pa., ii., 105, 106; Washington Hollow, N. Y., ii., 123; Wateree, S. C., ii., 116; Waterford, N. Y., ii., 125; Waxhaw, S. C., ii., 94, 97, 116, 130; Welsh Run, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Welsh Tract, N. C., ii., 94, 113; West Alexander, Pa., ii., 107; Westchester, N. Y., ii., 123; West Conococheague, Pa., ii., 101; Western, Mass., ii., 100, 121; Westfield, N. J., ii., 15, 118; Westfield, N. Y., ii., 124; Westhampton, N. Y., ii., 123; West Hanover, N. J., ii., 119; West Hebron, N. Y., ii., 124; West Kishacoquillas, Pa., ii., 105; West Liberty, West Va., ii., 110; West Londonderry N. H., ii., 121; Westminster, Tenn., ii., 112; West Nottingham, Md., ii., 61, 107; Westtown, N. Y., ii., 124; Wheatfield, Pa., ii., 93; Whippany, N. J., ii., 14, 118; White Clay Creek, Del., ii., 14, 15, 61, 95, 103; White Creek, N. Y., ii., 124; White House, N. J., ii., 95, 119; White Plains, N. Y., ii., 96, 123; Wicomico, Md., ii., 14, 15, 95, 107; Williamsburg, Ont., ii., 57; Williamsburg, S. C., ii., 25, 96, 97, 115; Wilmington, Del., ii., 70, 95, 104; Wilmington, N. C., ii., 114; Wilton, S. C., ii., 14, 25, 97, 115; Winchester, Va., ii., 45, 48, 110; Windham, N. H., ii., 96, 98, 100, 121; Windy Cove, Va., ii., 40, 109, 110; Winnsboro, S. C., ii., 117; Winthrop, Me., ii., 122; Wiscasset, Me., ii., 18, 100, 121; Woodbridge, N. J., ii., 14, 15, 118; Woodbury, N. J., ii., 118; Wood's Gap, Va., ii., 48, 109; Woodson's, Va., ii., 109; Woodstock, Ga., ii., 118; Worcester, Mass., i., 27; ii., 19, 97, 100, 120; Wyllis's Creek, Va., ii., 94, 109; Yellow Frame, N. J., ii., 119; York, Pa., ii., 70, 104; Yorktown, N. Y., ii., 123; Yuille's, Va., ii., 111
Scoti Chronicon, i., 373
Scotia, the term, i., 199, 348
Scotland christianized, i., 120; civilization in, i., 105; early chronicles of, i., 372; family names in, ii., 384–422; families of, ii., 422–436; golden age of, i., 353; in 1100, i., 315; in 1150, i., 334; in Middle Ages, i., 317; map of, i., frontispiece; the name, i., 170, 186; the Reformation in, i., 107, 108; under Charles II., i., 451
Scots, and Picts, i., 272; army in Ulster, i., 566–569; Guard, i., 434; in Canada, ii., 58; in Constitutional Convention, i., 34; in France, i., 433, 434; in the Northwest Territory, ii., 59; of Dalriada, i., 288
Scots in Washington's Cabinet, i., 32
Scott, i., 11, 14, 16, 24, 25, 50–52, 79, 102, 103, 133, 135–139, 161, 328, 360, 433, 437, 534, 567, 605; ii., 8, 127, 254, 262, 388, 390, 409, 417, 419, 421, 438
Scottish achievement, i., 133; admirals, ii., 478, 479; advocates, ii., 477, 478; artists, i., 51; baronets, ii., 461–466; bishops, ii., 451–461; celebrities, i., 135–140; chamberlains, ii., 479, 480; chancellors, ii., 466–468; commissioners, ii., 468–471; comptrollers, ii., 471, 472; and English character, i., 127; families, ii., 422–436; families in Ireland, ii., 518–527; Highlands, i., 181; independence restored, i., 340; inventors, i., 52; judges, i., 52; justices-general, ii., 476, 477; keepers of the seal, ii., 472, 473; Kirk, the, i., 105; literature, i., 133; Lowlands, i., 181; ii., 341; martyrs, i., 461, 463; ii., 237–272; martyrs, epitaphs of the, ii., 260;

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Scottish (*continued*):
ministers ejected in 1662, i., 454; Parliaments, members of the, ii., 480–518; peers, ii., 440–451; philosophers, i., 134; presidents of the courts, ii., 477; presidents of the Privy Council, ii., 473; provincial governors, i., 49; registers, ii., 475; secretaries of state, ii., 473–474; soldiers, i., 50; statesmen, i., 51; superstition, i., 127; surnames, ii., 384–422; treasurers, ii., 468–471; writers, i., 51
Scroggie, ii., 408
Scrymgeour, i., 375; ii., 438
Scular, ii., 252
Scull, i., 17
Seaboard colonies, the, ii., 14
Seaman, i., 87
Seaton. *See* Seton
Seawright, ii., 393
Sedborough, i., 510, 524, 531, 539
Seely, i., 17
Selbhac, i., 205, 206, 217
Selgovæ, i., 184, 195
Selir, Seller, i., 16; ii., 393
Selkirk, ii., 413
Selman, i., 18
Seme, ii., 40
Semple, Sempill, i., 328, 578, 607; ii., 128, 237, 252, 257, 306, 307, 369, 370, 416
Separation of Church and State, i., 152; ii., 157; due to Scotland, i., 147
Servanus, ii., 164, 166
Seton, Seaton, i., 285, 328, 396, 421; ii., 275
Severus, i., 171, 187
Sevier, i., 29
Sewall, ii., 189
Seward, i., 20
Seymour, i., 492
Shakespeare, i., 79, 133
Shakespeare's Celtic descent, i., 140
Shannon, i., 496, 604; ii., 127, 190
Sharon, i., 51
Sharp, i., 110, 147, 455, 457, 460, 533, 555; ii., 152, 239
Sharp, James, made Archbishop of St. Andrews, i., 454; death of, i., 458
Shaw, i., 164, 285, 405, 490, 496, 536, 550, 574, 604–606, 611, 612; ii., 40, 288, 306, 368, 407, 420, 437, 438
Shearer, ii., 396
Shee, i., 10
Shelby, i., 29
Sheldon, i., 11, 19
Shepard, Shepherd, i., 10, 11; ii., 14, 396
Sheridan, i., 27
Sheriff, ii., 396
Sherman, i., 12, 16, 31–34, 48; ii., 39, 133–135
Sherrard, Sherrad, i., 583, 610, 611
Sherwood, i., 16
Shields, i., 19; ii., 12, 13, 187, 269
Shillilaw, ii., 257
Shipley, ii., 187
Shippen, i., 26
Shirley, i., 57
Shirloe, i., 532
Short, ii., 258, 268
Shreve, i., 10, 11, 14, 18
Shugart, i., 18
Shumway, i., 16
Shute, i., 27; ii., 16
Sibbalds, i., 604
Sibthorp, i., 540
Sidney, i., 104
Sievewright, ii., 393
Sigurd, i., 211, 237–239, 248
Sihtric, i., 209
Sill, i., 16
Silliman, i., 25
Sim, ii., 391
Simeon of Durham, i., 206, 235, 259, 372
Simond, i., 327
Simonton, ii., 129. *See also* Symington
Simpkins, ii., 406
Simpson, Simson, i., 17, 134, 137, 139, 167, 567, 606; ii., 8, 96, 97, 128, 188, 253, 360, 391, 419
Sims, ii., 405
Sinclair, Sinclare, i., 135, 328, 612; ii., 275, 358, 387, 419, 437, 438
Singer, ii., 393
Singleton, i., 20
Siward, i., 211, 256, 265, 266, 274, 374
Skeffington, i., 492, 611, 612
Skene, Skeen, i., 49, 189, 197, 242, 373; ii., 245, 403
Skinner, ii., 393
Skuli, i., 237, 254
Slade, i., 154; ii., 16
Slagle, i., 35
Slaughter, i., 53
Slavery in America, i., 104
Sleich, ii., 438
Slemmons, ii., 127
Slenach, rout at, i., 388
Sloan, i., 144, 164, 604; ii., 39, 328, 334
Smailholme, Smelholm, etc., i., 508, 520, 535
Small, i., 33, 47; ii., 389
Smallwood, i., 10, 13, 14, 19, 23, 24
Smart, ii., 101
Smeaton, Smeton, ii., 404
Smelley, i., 534
Smilie, Smylie, i., 35, 36
Smillie, i., 51
Smith, i., 16–20, 31, 52, 60, 62, 65, 70, 71, 73, 87, 90, 134, 136, 137, 166, 192, 480, 496, 527, 529, 541; ii., 5, 11, 40,

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Smith (*continued*):
87, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99, 101, 127, 128, 161, 186, 188, 244, 250, 254, 257, 262, 266–268, 292, 293, 296, 394, 397, 404, 418–420
Smollett, i., 133
Smyth, Smythe, i., 29, 496, 533, 534
Snell, ii., 402
Snodgrass, ii., 93, 129, 252
Snow, i., 510, 528
Snowden, Snowdon, ii., 5, 413
Solemn League and Covenant, the, i., 568
Solway Moss, the panic of, i., 409
Somerled, Thane of Argyle, i., 263, 326, 329
Somers, i., 119
Somerville, i., 396, 536; ii., 102. *See also* Summervail
Sonmans, ii., 7
Sons of Liberty, i., 71
Soper, i., 19
Sorlie Boy, or Surleboy, i., 481, 492
Soulis, i., 330, 357, 380, 391. *See also* Sully
Souter, ii., 403. *See also* Suter
South in 1768, Episcopalians and dissenters in the, ii., 129
South Carolina, i., 4, 9–13, 26; churches in 1767, ii., 97; Colonial Governors of, i., 49; historical collections, i., 80; Line, i., 14; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 25
Southerland, ii., 31. *See also* Sutherland
Spaight, i., 32, 610
Sparks, i., 18, 88
Spaulding, ii., 437
Spearman, ii., 397
Speed, i., 51
Speer, i., 187
Spence, Spens, i., 345; ii., 186, 404
Spencer, Spenser, i., 9, 12, 15, 24, 27, 105; ii., 95, 385, 404
Spike, i., 583, 611
Spiller, i., 19; ii., 187
Spottiswood, Spotswood, i., 11, 19, 49, 560; ii., 408, 438
Spratt, i., 605
Spring, ii., 390
Springer, ii., 129
Sproat, ii., 129
Sprot, ii., 254
Spurgeon, i., 136
Spyker, i., 18
Squire, i., 611, 612
Staff of Jesus, i., 469
Stafford, i., 536
Stairs, i., 405
Stake, i., 17
Stalker, ii., 397
Stamers, i., 539
Stamp Act, ii., 3
Stanhowe, i., 509, 527, 537
Stark, i., 9, 11, 13, 24, 93, 138; ii., 18, 389, 402, 417, 419
Starkie, ii., 401
Stark's Rangers, i., 27, 154
Starr, i., 11
Steel, Steele, i., 137, 496, 536; ii., 94, 130, 253, 255, 257, 264, 403
Steivison, i., 536
Stephen, i., 10, 25, 322, 324, 326, 328
Stephen de Blois, i., 334, 335
Stephens, i., 19, 49, 51; ii., 127
Stephenson, ii., 82, 346. *See also* Stevenson
Sterling, ii., 95
Steuben, i., 8, 21, 24
Steven, i., 16; ii., 253, 255
Stevens, i., 10, 11, 14, 25, 30
Stevenson, i., 51, 133, 136, 137, 496, 534, 606; ii., 83, 189, 256. *See also* Stephenson
Steward, ii., 385
Stewart, i., 12, 15, 17, 50–52, 60, 69, 83, 110, 134, 138, 143, 166, 327, 328, 344, 345, 354, 367, 369, 370, 375, 379, 393, 395, 398, 399, 417, 424, 425, 495, 496, 500, 504, 506, 511, 519, 521, 528, 532–536, 538, 542, 549, 550, 564, 566, 567, 575, 578, 583, 603–606, 611, 612; ii., 34, 40, 69, 189, 245, 247, 251, 255, 256, 262, 265, 267, 296, 306, 307, 352, 359, 365–368, 370, 396, 417–420, 436–439. *See also* Stuart
Stewart, origin of the name, i., 285, 327; ii., 385
Stiles, i., 143; ii., 97
Still, i., 19
Stille, i., 155
Stimson, ii., 188
Stinson, i., 64
Stirke, ii., 6
Stirling, ii., 259, 394, 418
Stirling Castle besieged, i., 383
Stobo, i., 50, 54; ii., 12–14, 25, 189
Stockdale, ii., 408
Stockton, i., 31; ii., 128
Stoddart, ii., 252, 417
Stokes, i., 539
Stone, i., 11, 16, 18, 20, 31, 36, 85; ii., 188
Stookes, i., 531
Story, i., 156, 180
Stott, ii., 419
Stout, i., 17, 35; ii., 389
Strachan, ii., 258, 259, 270, 408. *See also* Straquhin
Strafford, i., 563; ii., 353
Strain, i., 497, 605; ii., 95
Strang, ii., 262, 389

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Straquhin, i., 285. *See also* Strachan
Strathbogie, i., 344, 396
Strathclyde, Kingdom of, i., 231, 232, 240, 246, 317
Strathclyde Welsh, i., 234, 314
Strathern, ii., 408
Strathie, ii., 414
Strickland, ii., 98
Striker, i., 15. *See also* Stryker
Strong, i., 16, 32, 611; ii., 127, 389, 419
Strother, ii., 187
Strowde, i., 611
Struthers, i., 113; ii., 252
Stryker, ii., 128
Stuart, i., 50–52, 108, 137, 147, 169, 180, 399, 400, 409, 415–423, 460, 507, 508, 536, 612; ii., 9, 72, 385, 437. *See also* Stewart
Stuarts, accession of the, i., 398
Stubbins, i., 538
Stubbs, i., 228
Stull, i., 18
Stuteville, i., 347
Sullivan, i., 24, 27, 166
Sully, i., 349, 392. *See also* Soulis.
Sumarlidi, i., 239, 248
Summer, ii., 390
Summervail, ii., 259. *See also* Somerville
Sumner, i., 10, 11, 14, 24
Sumter, i., 25, 29
Suter, ii., 393
Sutherland, i., 345, 534, 598; ii., 418, 419, 437. *See also* Southerland
Sutton, i., 69, 540
Swadlin, ii., 322
Swan, ii., 88, 93, 190, 253, 395, 419
Swanston, ii., 254
Swedes in Colonial America, i., 81
Swift, i., 11, 16, 142, 153; ii., 174, 332, 419
Swinburne, i., 317
Swinton, ii., 438
Sword, ii., 271, 403
Sym, Symme, i., 532; ii., 189, 259
Syme, ii., 11
Symington, i., 135, 533; ii., 411. *See also* Simonton
Symon, ii., 254
Synge, i., 608, 614; ii., 176
Synod of the Associate Reformed Church, ii., 99; of Belfast, i., 617; of the Carolinas, ii., 129; of Lagan, i., 617; of Monaghan, i., 617; of New York and New Jersey, ii., 129; of New York and Philadelphia, ii., 96; of New England, ii., 98; of Philadelphia, ii., 14, 42, 47, 129; of Ulster, i., 617, 620; of Virginia, ii., 129
Synod at Whitby, i., 123
Syverts, ii., 189
Taaffe, i., 512, 543
Tables, the, i., 443
Taggart, i., 604; ii., 98
Taket, ii., 251
Talbot, i., 512, 530, 543, 582, 589
Talifero, Tailyefer, i., 19, 286. *See also* Telfair, Telford
Talmage, ii., 96
Talore, i., 189, 214
Talorcan, Talorgan, i., 190, 197, 198, 205–207, 214, 215, 217, 233, 288
Tam, ii., 263
Tanistry, i., 208, 471, 477
Tanner, ii., 393
Taran, i., 190
Tarla, i., 207
Tartur, i., 481
Tasker, ii., 187, 396
Taswell, i., 16
Tate, i., 538, 606; ii., 93, 94, 128, 438. *See also* Teate
Tathe, i., 530
Tatum, i., 15
Taxation without representation, i., 58, 67, 69, 70
Taylor, Tailor, i., 102, 142, 374, 496, 510, 528, 537, 540; ii., 7, 14, 19, 31, 33, 50, 53, 185, 186, 390, 393, 418–420
Taylor, ancestry of Zachary, ii., 187
Teate, i., 536, 539; ii., 128. *See also* Tate
Teese, i., 534
Telfair, i., 49; ii., 100, 101. *See also* Talifero
Telford, i., 135
Teller, i., 51
Temple, i., 27, 98; ii., 24
Templeton, ii., 39, 129
Templin, ii., 127
Ten Broeck, i., 25
Ten Eyk, i., 16
Tennent, Tennant, i., 102, 103, 143, 606; ii., 15, 95, 96, 127, 128, 396
Tenner, i., 15
Tennessee, emancipation in, i., 98; Governors of, i., 50
Ternan, ii., 164
Terrie, i., 542
Tertullian, ii., 162
Test Act, i., 148, 152, 153, 614, 615, 621; ii., 175
Teutonic population of Galloway, i., 246
Tew, i., 17
Texas, Governors of, i., 50
Thane, ii., 95
Thatcher, Thacher, i., 56; ii., 129
Thaw, i., 135
Theobalds, ii., 150
Theodoric, i., 225
Theodosius, i., 193, 228
Thilli, i., 347

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Thin, ii., 419
Thom, ii., 127. *See also* Tom
Thomas, i., 9, 19, 20, 24, 53; ii., 97, 420
Thomas mac Alan, i., 352
Thompson, i., 9–11, 14, 25, 51, 52, 90, 134, 144, 166, 611; ii., 78, 82, 97, 128, 186, 258, 263, 390, 420
Thomson, i., 133, 135, 144, 496, 534; ii., 15, 38, 47, 49, 94, 127, 246, 252–254, 391, 418–420, 438
Thorfinn, i., 211, 237–239, 248–250, 255, 256, 262, 263, 266, 284, 322, 340
Thorfinn rules in Scotland, ii., 210
Thorne, i., 20
Thornton, i., 31, 93, 137; ii., 22, 67, 365
Thorpe, i., 289
THORSTEIN the Red, i., 236, 248; rules in Scotland, ii., 208
Thrasher, ii., 396
Thrashie, ii., 396
Thurman, i., 51, 183
Thurston, i., 53; ii., 397
Thwaites, i., 30
Thweat, i., 19
Tiffin, i., 600
TIGHERNAC, i., 235, 244; annals of, i., 317; ii., 193
Tikye, i., 604
Tilghman, i., 103
Tilton, ii., 187
Tinto, ii., 254
Tipton, i., 51
Tirrell, i., 512, 543
Titcomb, i., 16
Tithes in Ulster, ii., 177
Titus, i., 16
Tod, Todd, i., 36, 50, 52, 53, 95, 496; ii., 253, 254, 396, 402, 419
Todhunter, ii., 396
Toland, i., 144
Tolbert, i., 17
TOLERATION Act, i., 109, 616, 621; in Colonial America, ii., 151
Tom, i., 15, 257, 269. *See also* Thom
Tompkins, i., 583, 610, 612; ii., 406
Tomlinson, ii., 406
Toodie, i., 535
Toombs, ii., 100
Tories, i., 89
Torrence, ii., 252, 270
Tostig, i., 266, 285, 320
Toures, i., 286, 330
Townshend, ii., 183
Trail, ii., 330, 333, 334, 338
Traill, Trayle, i., 508, 520, 533; ii., 7, 312, 415
Traquair, ii., 414, 418
Treadwell, i., 20
Treat, ii., 5, 96
Trenton, i., 13
Trevor, i., 505; ii., 306, 307, 318
Trial by jury, i., 42
Trimble, i., 50, 52, 138; ii., 190. *See also* Trumbull, Turnbull
Triplett, i., 19
Troop, i., 16
Trothengha, i., 20
Trotter, ii., 438
Troupe, i., 392
Trowbridge, ii., 188
Trumbull, i., 8, 33, 46, 532; ii., 438. *See also* Trimble, Turnbull
Trumwine, i., 192, 205
Tuadubr, i., 226, 288
Tubman, i., 612
Tuchet, i., 509, 510, 538
Tucker, i., 54
Tudor, i., 55, 407, 411
Tudor-Stuart Church, i., 146
Tulchan bishops, i., 425
Tupper, i., 20
Turnbull, i., 139, 167; ii., 402, 438. *See also* Trumbull, Trimble
Turner, i., 454, 455; ii., 7, 53, 54, 393, 418, 420
Turvin, i., 509, 525, 538
Tuthill, ii., 189
Tuttle, ii., 95, 128
Tweed, ii., 409
Tweeddale, ii., 409
Tweedie, ii., 409, 438, 439
Tybbals, i., 539
Tyler, i., 9, 33, 89
Tyler, ancestry of John, ii., 187
Tyrconnell, i., 475; ii., 182
TYRONE, i., 474, 506, 509, 511, 520, 525; in 1586, i., 477; in 1611, i., 520, 525, 529; in 1619, i., 532, 537, 541

Uchtred, i., 221, 223, 232, 329, 339, 349, 350
Udney, i., 537
ULSTER, i., 1, 140; allotments of land in, i., 506; allotments to native Irish in, i., 512; and the American Revolution, i., 149; annals of, i., 235, 317; ii., 193; Bagnal's description of, in 1586, i., 476; in 1611, i., 518–531; Brereton's description of, in 1634, i., 555; causes of emigration from, ii., 15; confiscation of, i., 484, 499; desolation of, i., 505; ejected ministers in, i., 606; emigrant's letter in 1725, ii., 64; emigrants from, i., 241; emigration from, i., 153–155, 614, 621; ii., 182; emigration in 1736, ii., 68; emigration to America, i., 153; ii., 178–180; emigration to Carolina, ii., 26, 28; English settlers in, i., 492, 502, 550; Galloway settlers in, i., 500; in Shane O'Neill's time (1552), i., 472; land in, i., 159; landlordism in,

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

Ulster (*continued*):
i., 148; linen manufacture in, i., 621; muster returns in 1618, i., 546; oppressions in, i., 148; persecution of Presbyterians in, i., 153; Plantation, conditions of the, ii., 340–345; population of, 1619–1733, 1767, i., 607–610; Presbyterian ministers in, i., 554, 578; Presbyterians in 1653, i., 604; Pynnar's survey of, in 1619, i., 532–546; settlers in Galloway, i., 246; Scottish undertakers of lands in, i., 518; Stewart's account of, i., 548; the Great Plantation of, i., 498
Ulsterman, the, i., 162
Umfraville. See De Umfraville
Underwood, ii., 407
Union, Franklin's plan of, i., 57
Unnes, ii., 254
Upshaw, i., 19
Upton, i., 603, 604, 611, 612, 620; ii., 182, 370
Urie, ii., 11, 75, 84, 86, 254, 257, 263
Urien, i., 225
Urquhart, i., 328; ii., 97, 98
Usher, Ussher, i., 291, 561; ii., 310, 347, 351, 352, 359

Valentine, i., 19, 534; ii., 64
Valentinian, i., 228
Valley Forge, i., 15, 22
Valloins, i., 374
Van Alsteyn, ii., 186
Van Artsdalen, ii., 128
Van Buren, i., 33
Van Buren, ancestry of Martin, ii., 186
Van Cortlandt, i., 11, 25, 74
Van Deusen, ii., 186
Van Hook, ii., 39
Van Rensselaer, i., 74
Van Schaick, i., 9–11, 14, 16, 25; ii., 189
Vance, Vans, i., 51, 349, 500, 519, 535; ii., 83, 127, 190, 387. *See also* Vaus, Vaux
Vane, i., 95
Vanhorne, ii., 150
Vanmeter, ii., 44, 45
Varnon, i., 541
Varns, ii., 259
Varnum, i., 9, 13, 20, 25
Vaughan, i., 12, 511, 542, 611
Vaux, Vaus, i., 286, 330, 349. *See* Vance
Vecturiones, i., 187
Veitch, ii., 387, 402, 438, 439
Vere. *See* Weir
Verner, i., 604
Vernet, ii., 362
Verplanck, i., 74
Vesci, i., 347, 357
Vesey, i., 603; ii., 365, 368
Vesie, i., 539
Vigfusson, i., 249
Virius Lupus, i., 186
Virginia, i., 4, 10–13, 21, 23, 26,
Meade's *Churches and Families of*, 78; Colonial Governors of, i.,
historical collections, i., 80; Line, 14; plan, i., 34; Presbyterians in, 47; Scotch-Irish in, ii., 7, 44; sketch of, i., 78; troops in 1778, i., 18; v ley, ii., 69
Von Holst, i., 54
Vortigern, i., 224, 267, 275–292
Vose, i., 11

Waddell, ii., 127, 252, 254, 271
Wade, i., 139
Wadsworth, i., 20, 25
Waggoner, i., 19
Waghan, ii., 392
Wail, i., 16
Wakefield, i., 610
Walanga, i., 349
Walbridge, i., 16
Walcot, ii., 408
Waldo, ii., 25
Waldron, i., 510, 528, 540
Walenses, i., 228, 328
Wales, i., 19, 20
Walker, i., 9, 16, 463, 496, 588, 589, 59 601–603, 611; ii., 71, 252, 393, 418 420
Walker's mendacities, i., 602
Walkinshaw, i., 328; ii., 407
Wall, i., 19
Wallace, i., 19, 50, 51, 67, 117, 138, 14 166, 169, 327, 328, 343, 348, 367, 36 371–375, 377, 383, 437, 455, 496, 57 604, 606, 607; ii., 5, 48, 127, 12 136, 253, 256, 265, 369, 389
Wallace, martyrdom of Adam, i., 411
Wallace, William, Guardian of Scot land, i., 367; rise of, i., 378; deat of, i., 385
Wallensis, ii., 389
Wallet, ii., 254
Walls, i., 53
Walter Fleanthie, i., 285
Walter, the High Steward, i., 327
Waltheof, i., 221, 322
Walton, i., 31, 74, 137
Wanley, i., 290
War and slavery, i., 128, 132
War of Independence, causes of, i., 14
Ward, i., 9, 14, 20, 24, 51, 137, 510, 524 540; ii., 420
Wardlaw, i., 286, 330
Wardrop, ii., 396
Ware, i., 10
Warford, ii., 128
Waring, i., 619

For additional names see references on page 553 of this volume.

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